Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS MONOGRAPHS ON GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

PROCEEDINGS FROM THE PENN-LEIDEN COLLOQUIA ON ANCIENT VALUES VII

Edited by
JAMES KER
CHRISTOPH PIEPER

BRILL

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CHAPTER 1

General Introduction: Valuing Antiquity in Antiquity[1]

James Ker and Christoph Pieper

1 The Penn-Leiden Project

Readers of earlier volumes of the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values will know that the project has addressed its central questions—principally, 'the use, organization, function and effects of value discourse in different cultural and historical contexts in classical antiquity'[2]—from ever-new angles, assembling a three-dimensional portrait of ancient valuation practices. The first six Colloquia and their corresponding volumes focused initially on the use and meaning of the concepts *andreia* (manliness) and *parrhêsia* (freedom of speech), then on the organization of values in spatial categories (city and countryside), the notion of anti-value (badness), the valuing of others and, most recently, aesthetic value. As incoming editors for the seventh volume, we saw an opportunity to add, as it were, a fourth dimension, by directing attention to the organization of value in time, focusing on marked ancient uses of the 'past'. The title we chose for our Colloquium was 'Valuing antiquity in antiquity'; we invited speakers to address 'ancient valuations of antiquity as expressions of lived value systems', asking, *inter alia*, 'How did specific Greek and Roman communities use notions of antiquity to define themselves and others?' In certain obvious ways our topic was the temporal correlate of 'City and countryside', which had focused on 'city' and 'countryside' as a pair of 'conceptual "containers" of value judgments'[3] rather than on a single value or a specific object or mode of evaluation. But 'antiquity' is a more capacious container than, say, the

1 The title of this introduction corresponds to the title of our conference. Only afterwards, we came across the volume by Gardner and Osterloh 2008 which has almost the same title (but deals mainly with Jewish and Christian culture in Late Antiquity). In the following, the translations of all Greek and Latin authors are taken from the relevant Loeb edition, unless otherwise indicated.

2 Sluiter and Rosen 2008, 2. For a fuller account of the progress of the project, see Sluiter and Rosen 2012, 6–7.

3 Sluiter and Rosen 2008, 3.

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space of the countryside. Indeed, *any* of the value-systems previously considered in this series might be, and often were, mapped onto a temporal axis.

In the Colloquium itself we were delighted to discover that there was more to say about antiquity as a locus or criterion of value than we had initially envisaged—see our sketch of the chapters below. At this point let us simply point out three further distinctive aspects of the topic. First, the practice of referring to an antique past through language is not limited to the use of a finite set of evaluative terms: beyond the numerous adjectives and nouns that explicitly denote a stage in the past perceived as distant, separate, singular, or special, gestures toward such a past are as ubiquitous as language itself, where contrastive past-tense reference is constitutive, habitual and often consequential. Second, the valuation of antiquity is a phenomenon observed by scholars working in virtually every field of ancient studies—witness the fact that we received some 113 paper-proposals (and we take this opportunity again to thank all who responded so enthusiastically, with our apologies for having had to exclude many excellent papers). In the end we opted not to choose one paper from every sub-field (something that we feared would have spread the conversation too thin), and instead composed the Colloquium around half a dozen especially prominent discursive practices—see the Table of Contents. Third, the valuation of antiquity within antiquity has an over-determined significance given the fact that modern scholars who study the ancient world are by definition engaged in a similar practice themselves; not only this, but they (we) are dependent on prior value-judgments made by the ancients. This aspect was alluded to in the recursive phrasing of our Colloquium's title, and although only a few of the chapters in the volume explicitly address this by offering comparisons between ancient and modern evaluative practices, we believe that the volume as a whole, in drawing attention to the arbitrary or contingent factors in ancient valuations of the past, prompts careful reflection on what it is we do when we ascribe value to the ancient Greco-Roman world in part or in whole.

One other thing about the editors: unlike the founding editors of the series, we are primarily Romanists—a fact that has influenced our choice of examples in the Introduction, but not, we hope, the overall scope of the volume.

2 The Past as the Antique

That the past mattered and was constantly evaluated in antiquity is hardly surprising. In many ways, the Greco-Roman world could be (and has been) characterized as a society that constantly lived with and sometimes even in

the past. The past could be seen in countless monuments, objects, or even natural phenomena;[4] it could also be read about in literature; it could be heard about in public speeches; or it could be experienced in religious rituals and in the law courts—all this with an uncanny tenacity and salience, as well as dynamism and efficacy.[5] Depending on the medium through which it was made manifest, the past could be restricted to a specific place or be movable in space.[6] On a functional level, it could serve to constitute identity for individuals, groups or even whole states, as can be seen, for example, in the regular exhibition of genealogies of Roman families or in the way in which the Greeks defined themselves as belonging together through references to the Persian Wars or the Homeric works.[7] It could be used as a powerful means for political legitimization—think of Augustus' Forum in Rome which arrayed the statues of famous triumphant generals of the past and of the forefathers of the Julian family, all culminating in the triumphant statue of Augustus in the center—or for ethical education, as in many works of Plato or Isocrates, or in Cicero's *De senectute* which extolls both old age as such and a past generation of venerable Roman ancestors.[8] It could be revered as superior to the present, as in

4 Cf. Boardman 2002, 79–126. On p. 191, he notes 'the Greek ability to attribute improbable antiquity to "antiques"'.

5 On the ancientness of the language of Roman ritual (and its later evaluation by Isidore of Sevilla), see the concise observations by Farrell 2001, 89–90; on antiquity in the Roman law system, see Schiavone 2003. Compare also the Roman rhetorical notion of *repraesentatio* (partly equivalent to *enargeia*), denoting vivid evocations of the past through narrative, described by Ker 2007.

6 See for antiquity in defined spots esp. the chapters by Miles (ch. 5) and Farrell (ch. 4), for a movable past those by Reiterman (ch. 6: objects that could be transported), Leemreize (ch. 3: *Aegyptiaca* being transferred to Rome). Bassi (ch. 7) shows how locally defined antiquity is made movable through literary codification.

7 See generally on the importance of genealogies in aristocratic self-imagery in Rome Walter 2004, 84–130 (= chapter 3: 'Ahnenbildnisse, Leichenzüge, Grabdenkmäler, Münzen'); more specifically on the recurrence of (mostly fictitious) Greek forefathers Hölkeskamp 1999. See Boedeker 1998, esp. 195 on the Athenians' use of the past in the fifth century BCE as 'a foundation for its radically innovative present'. On Thucydides' use of the Trojan War as a foil for his narration of the war between Athens and Sparta, see Grethlein 2010, 257–261; his observation that what he calls the 'plupast' (i.e., something that precedes the time in which the main narrative is set) 'does not prefigure the past, but it helps to better assess it' (261) is truly applicable to many instances in which Greek or Roman authors refer to antiquity. On the historical 'plupast' see Grethlein and Krebs 2012, esp. 2–3 on its function as narratological analepsis, and 6–8 on its function as a means of opening 'extra layers of meaning' (7).

8 Still central to the imagery of Augustan Rome is Zanker 2009[5]; more specifically on the Forum Augustum Spannagel 1999. On the past as means to define the social boundaries of in-groups,

Imperial Greek literary criticism,[9] or simply admired aesthetically in *mouseia*, libraries and private collections,[10] and it could be codified as a treasure to be kept for future generations—famously, in Thucydides' formula *ktêma es aiei* (1.22.4). The past could consequently be turned into an object to be studied academically, witness Aulus Gellius' innumerable references to collecting or studying the meaning of ancient words or, more important still, antiquarian authors as Varro.[11] Our few examples here are, of course, taken from the pool of more noteworthy instances. But we must also not forget that the past could just 'be there': most households possessed objects that were inherited from earlier generations and were still in everyday use.

This last point prompts a clarification: is every past automatically also 'antique'? One will rightly be hesitant to attribute this label to any random event, person or object of the past. Therefore, when we speak of antiquity in this volume, we mean really any past understood to be distant, separate, singular, or special—or in other words, a past that has been distinguished in one way or another through public discourse. For the moment, we may begin to articulate this notion of antiquity through a non-exhaustive list of partially overlapping characteristics: antiquity can refer to (a) a more remote past in explicit or implicit contrast to a more immediate one;[12] (b) a 'not yet' time (*non-*

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see McInerney (ch. 2); on its function in panegyric, Cordes (ch. 12); on its moral use in classical Greece, Pownall 2004.

9 Cf. Porter 2006b.

10 Porter 2006a, here 19–28.

11 See Griffe 2003, 560–561 for a typical example of antique words from Gell. *N.A.* 10.25. See also Howley (ch. 18) on Gellius and Ramelli (ch. 19) on philosophical allegoresis as a powerful means to access the past. For Grethlein 2010, 281–282, a major distinction in the use of the past is whether it is meant to take constructive part in the present (in which case the gap between past and present is regularly blurred) or whether it is removed into a critical, almost academic context (in which case the distance between present and past is usually marked). See also Grethlein in this volume (ch. 13, 345–350).

12 The question of from what point onwards a past event (or a person from the past) was remote enough to become an ancient event (or person) was prominent in antiquity, too. Often, however, the texts ironize attempts to pinpoint any numeric distinction between remote and recent past. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.35–38: 'I should like to know what is the year that gives to writings fresh value. A writer who dropped off a hundred years ago, is he to be reckoned among the perfect and ancient, or among the worthless and modern?' (*scire velim chartis pretium quotus adroget annus: / scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter / perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter / vilis atque novos?*). Similarly critical of traditional attributions of literary value (positive or negative) based on age is Aper in Tac. *Dial.* 16–17; he argues that people who should rightly be called *antiqui* are the *veteres et olim*

dum), i.e., an era of history (or before history) that is previous to a moment in time that a society can agree on as the starting point of something new in nature or culture, even their own identity;[13] (c) alternatively to (b), a time of origin, whether it yields an earlier race of human beings, often considered superior in some way or other, or simply defines a prior period, age or stage;[14] (d) a time in the past that is separated from our time by a notable gap which can be defined through a certain number of years, but also in terms of a moral, aesthetical or historical rupture; (e) a shared past, i.e., a past that through multiple processes of communication and cultural canonization has been made distinct in the collective memory of a group of persons or a whole state. Variations in emphasis among these different characteristics are virtually always tied to the use of the kind of patterns that sociologist of time Eviatar Zerubavel (2003) has termed 'time maps'—the 'plotlines', 'ladders', 'zigzags', 'mountains', 'valleys', 'circles', 'trees' (to name just a few)—by which 'collective memory' and 'the social shape of the past' are continually remade in the present according to specific sociocultural needs. In one or more of its multiple shapes and forms, antiquity lurked almost everywhere, at almost every time and for almost everyone in the Greek and Roman world.

To get a sense of how important the notion of antiquity was considered to be in Roman society, it is useful to consider the lexical development of the word *antiquus*. It can not only refer to something ancient,[15] but it can also simply mean 'good' without any reference to temporality—only, however,

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nati; according to him, the Homeric heroes represent this category, whereas the Greeks of fourth-century Athens hardly lived enough long ago to deserve this labeling. But even if Aper starts reflecting on the number of years to calculate how much time should divide his time from *antiquitas*. (cf. *Dial.* 16.6–7), the text undermines such arithmetic, since in the case of Roman authors, the fifth century BCE (represented by Menenius Agrippa in *Dial.* 17.1) can be called *antiquitas*. Cf. Kraus (ch. 9, 222). One gets the feeling that what Aper really refers to is a distinction between mythic times (or, to be more cautious, a past which is not accessible through immediate, literary evidence of its own time) and historic times. See for the distinction between three phases of time (ἄδηλον, μυθικόν and ἱστορικόν) Censorinus *DN* 21 who quotes Varro; cf. Romano 2003.

13 On such a great divide between the golden and iron ages, see esp. Feeney 2007, 108–137.

14 On the myth of the races or ages, hard and soft primitivisms and varying ancient models of progress and decline, see Lovejoy and Boas 1935.

15 In comparison to *vetus*, *antiquus* refers to an early past, whereas *vetus* stresses the continuity between past and present, as Mamoojee 2003, 71 argues: 'the two differ in that *antiquus* points to early and *vetus* to lasting life'.

in the comparative or the superlative, never in the positive.[16] The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* offers as the first occurrence of unaccompanied *antiquior* meaning 'good' a fragment from Cato's speech *De Ptolemaeo minore contra ‹L.› Thermum sive de Thermi quaestione*, which according to Malcovati's *ORF* dates from ca. 154 BCE.[17] In the first century BCE, this use of the word 'antiquus' is found more often.[18] On the other hand, one must not forget that *antiquus*, like its closest semantic relative *vetus*, could carry both positive and negative value, meaning 'out of fashion' and 'good old' according to context.[19] An equally charged history can be traced for other ancient terms such as Greek ἀρχαῖος.[20] Each of the chapters below explicates further this loadedness of the past, whether summoned up by a given term, concept, practice or circumscribed area of concern.

16 Mamoojee 2003, 68–69 shows that *antiquus* originally carried two distinct stems, *antiquus* for a temporal and *anticus* for local meaning; from this second stem, the comparative and superlative notion of 'superiority' originated (i.e., 'more in the foreground', 'more visible', 'privileged'). See also Bettini's 1991, 113–133, 142–150 account of *antiqui* as those who stand in front of *posteri* in the Roman imagination, as manifested in the ordering of the *imagines* in the funeral procession or in the pageant of Roman heroes in *Aeneid* 6; temporal precedence coincides with localization in relation to the viewer and thus to superior value or importance.

17 Cf. *TLL* 2, 177–183 s.v. *antiquus*, here specifically section III. For the Cato-fragment, see *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (*ORF*^{3}), ed. E. Malcovati, frg. 178: *quantoque suam vitam superiorem atque ampliorem atque antiquiorem animum inducent esse quam innoxiiorem* [sic] ('and how much loftier, greater, and better they will come to believe that their lives are, rather than [simply] blameless'). Of course, the word *antiquus* (also in the positive) can bear the meaning good old from the very beginning when accompanying a noun with positive value (cf. *TLL* 2 s.v. *antiquus* II 2), as in Ennius' famous fragment *moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque* ('the Roman state leans on the good old traditions and on men of the old days'), on which fragment see Nethercut (this volume ch. 17, 446).

18 It is possible that Cicero's practice in his early speeches reflects this semantic development. Kinsey 1971, 149 *ad* Cic. *Quinct.* 59 remarks that 'Cicero in his early works seems to have distinguished between the uses of *antiquus* and *vetus*, using *antiquus* for praise and *vetus* for blame'.

19 Cf. Mamoojee 2003, 79–80. He stresses that the negative tone is often enforced with *iste*, the positive with *ille*. Most of the examples the *TLL* offers for this negative connotation refer to aesthetic judgments of refined stylistic abilities and taste (mostly in oratory or poetry); cf. *TLL*, s.v. *antiquus* II 3.

20 Kim in this volume (ch. 14) studies the Greek term ἀρχαῖος from an aesthetic point of view.

3 Some Roman Perspectives on the Ancient and the Old

In the culminating twelfth book of his work on how to educate an orator, Quintilian tries to define the fields of knowledge a speaker must have in order to become not only technically skilled, but a true orator (the famous *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, 'a good man skilled in speaking'). Beyond other priorities, such as philosophical and juridical training, the orator's familiarity with history is highlighted as indispensable: a command of the past gives the speaker authority and trustworthiness. Yet, Quintilian continues, the past an orator should refer to is not restricted to what 'really' happened. Also the 'fictions of the great poets' (*quae sunt a clarioribus poetis ficta*, *Inst.* 12.4.1) can serve as a point of reference, because they 'are either sanctioned by the guarantee of antiquity or believed to have been invented by great men as moral lessons' (*haec aut vetustatis fide tuta sunt aut ab hominibus magnis praeceptorum loco ficta creduntur*, *Inst.* 12.4.2). The passage offers two interesting ideas that seem crucial for any reflection on valuing antiquity in antiquity. Generally, a memory of the past that the speaker shares with his audience has an (almost) undisputed value *per se* and thus can lend legitimacy and authority to anyone who is in control of it. Actually, the act of sharing it (primarily through the act of speaking about it in front of a public) seems crucial to Quintilian's argument. 'Sharing', however, encompasses a more general idea still: basically, any episode from the past might work as an historical *exemplum*, yet the more often it is repeated and therefore the better it is recognized by the public, the stronger its effects are.[21] A logical consequence of this is that the speaker will not choose any arbitrary event but one that is already part of the shared memory. This might be why Quintilian is so persistent in reminding his readers that poetic fictions can also serve as the past—the literary canonization obviously is more important for the functioning of the *exemplum* than its historical truth:[22] an 'invented antiquity' is better than an obscure one. In a nutshell, the few sentences Quintilian dedicates to the value of history confront us with the whole argument

21 The repetitiveness of *exempla* can, however, also result in their being blurred and thus open to versatile responses and transformations, as the chapters by Murnaghan (ch. 8), Leach (ch. 10) and Gillespie (ch. 11) show. For a formal explication of the Roman 'loop of exemplarity' in which the narrative account of an exemplary event typically includes mention of an audience present at the original event who ascribe social value to it, see Roller 2004, 4–6.

22 On the role of literary canon-formation, see in this volume the chapters by Nethercut, de Vos, Kim, de Jonge, de Vos and Nethercut and (ch. 14–17) and (from the perspective of the re-codification of myth in literature), Murnaghan (ch. 8).

concerning both the valuation of the past and using this value. One could also reasonably argue that Quintilian does not speak here about the past in general, but about a defined, almost canonical past which we would label as antiquity. This is supported also by the fact that age on its own is not enough to commend something old: e.g., in Quintilian's discussion of the value of archaic vocabulary in book 1, he asserts that 'in the case of old words the best will be those that are newest, just as in the case of new words the best will be the oldest' (*ut novorum optima erunt maxime vetera, ita veterum maxime nova*, *Inst.* 1.6.41)—where the second clause in the Latin makes it clear that archaisms, even if in principle they are considered to be authoritative,[23] should not be so remote and forgotten that one's audience are precluded from a shared understanding of their meaning.

A further remark on the passage from book 12: it seems no coincidence that Quintilian links the authority speakers can acquire through invoking antiquity to the reverence enjoyed by old people, who 'are believed to know more and to have seen more' (*quod plura nosse et vidisse creduntur*, *Inst.* 12.4.2). A younger speaker who has studied history well will be older than his years; actually, his historical knowledge and control of the *exempla* transforms him into a living fossil (*ut, quantum ad cognitionem pertinet rerum, etiam praeteritis saeculis vixisse videamur*, *Inst.* 12.4.2). Roman society was deeply grounded in such a respect for old age. It is not by chance that the most important political entity in republican Rome was called the assembly of the elders, i.e., *senatus* (as Cicero in his *Cato maior* 56 reminds us: *senatores id est senes*). At the same time, however, the political, juridical and ethical values that should guide the senators' decisions were themselves dictated by the examples of the forefathers, the *mos maiorum*.[24] Obviously, concepts of antiquity and of

23 Cf. *Inst.* 1.6.39: archaic expressions 'give a speech grandeur' (*adferunt orationi maiestatem*) and 'possess the authority of antiquity' (*auctoritatem antiquitatis habent*). See on the authority of archaisms in connection to the Roman veneration for the predecessors Grebe 2000, 205: 'Die Empfehlung zur Verwendung von *verba prisca* hängt schließlich mit der Gewohnheit der Römer zusammen, die *maiores* und deren Leistungen für beispielhaft zu halten.' Comparable sentiments on archaic vocabulary are discussed in this volume by Howley (ch. 18, 467–469).

24 A very powerful example for this connection between the deeds of the *maiores* and the reverence for their old age in their own time is offered by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.40–47, in the episodes that precede the secession of the *plebs* on the Mons Sacer: Valerius Maximus who (together with Menenius Agrippa) eventually will play a decisive role in arbitrating the political crisis is an old man of more than 70 years, and Dionysius stresses this fact more than once. Generally, within the sixth book of his *Antiquitates*, the

(human) old age are intertwined, and both are regularly valued in positive terms.[25]

The extolling of antiquity, or nostalgia for a somehow disconnected past, indeed seems ubiquitous in ancient culture.[26] Yet one must not forget that such a reverence for the past is inconceivable without a firm anchoring in the present. On the one hand, the past lends consistency and significance to the present, as Cicero in *Orator* 120 expresses it (comparing control of the past to becoming an adult):

> To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child. For what is the worth of human life, unless it is woven into the life of our ancestors by the records of history? Moreover, the mention of antiquity and the citation of examples give the speech authority and credibility as well as affording the highest pleasure to the audience.
>
> *nescire autem quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Quid enim est aetas hominum, nisi memoria rerum veterum cum superiorum aetate contexitur? commemoratio autem antiquitatis exemplorumque prolatio summa cum delectatione et auctoritatem orationi affert et fidem.*

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word-field 'old' vs. 'young' plays a decisive role: most of the cruel actions against the *plebs* are initiated by younger aristocrats, whereas the older senators tend to be less headstrong and more sympathetic to the people (cf. Schultze 2012, 126). Obviously, Dionysius wants to emblematize the importance of a veneration of the *mos maiorum* for social stability. On the other hand, within the same story, as told by Livy, the senatorial ambassador Menenius Agrippa is also valued as 'old' (Livy 2.32.8): 'he is said ... to have related ... in the quaint and uncouth style of that age' (*prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo ... narrasse fertur*)—but Livy's evaluation of the old way of speaking is clearly negative. In fact, criticizing the aesthetics of the past is much more common than criticizing its morals. For a conceptual overlapping of antiquity and simple style in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see Kim in this volume (ch. 14, 365–368).

25 Similarly, Ripoll 2003, 674 interprets the importance of old men in Flavian epic as a reaffirmation of the *auctoritas patrum*.

26 See, however, in this volume the chapters by Grethlein (ch. 13) and Nethercut (ch. 17) for a relativization of this claim; in fact, in certain circumstances or in specific literary genres, the immediate past could be preferred to the remote past. Among the Roman authors, it is especially Tacitus who demonstrates the difficulty of reading the past or of using it for political propaganda, as Kraus (ch. 9) and Gillespie (ch. 11) show.

Even when an author exalts the past as a superior alternative to the present, if the present meant nothing to him the past would also glide away and lose its impact. Yet these words of Cicero also gesture in another direction: it is not only the content of the past ('the past itself') that counts. Of equal importance is the form in which it is remembered.[27] If the act of commemorating is conducted well through art, literature or ritual, it grants aesthetic pleasure both to its author and to his public. In fact, a great deal of the fascination with the past lies in the fact that it can be molded not only according to the political and social norms of those who live later, but also to meet their tastes.

One may even go a step further and ask: Would an unmediated, 'authentical' past be appealing at all? Would that not be an unsettling prospect, as compared with the pleasurable and no-risk option of evaluating the past from the safe vantage permitted by artistic transformation?[28] Hartmann von Aue († ca. 1210/1220 CE), author of some of the earliest Middle High German Arthurian romances, gives the following answer in his *Iwein*: 'I am deeply sad—and if it would help, I would complain about it—that now, in our times, such pleasures as people enjoyed in the past do not exist any longer. But today, too, we can find comfort. I don't want to have lived in the past and, by consequence, not live today. Now, we are fully delighted by the stories about the people in the past; then, they were delighted (only) by their deeds.'[29] It is exactly this attitude of praising, even desiring, the past without wanting to give up life in the present that makes 'the past' such an energetic and powerful argumentative tool over cultures and times.[30]

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27 A similar coincidence of form and content can be found in the notion of ancient classicism which connects literary criticism and political ideologies, as Citroni 2003, 34 argues with reference to the canonization of Augustan literature, a process which overlaps with the idealization of Augustus' political *exemplum*. See also Wiater 2011 on Dionysius' ideological aesthetics.

28 This tension between the desire to access the past and the pleasure to do so in the safe environment of mediating literature is encapsulated beautifully by Porter 2006b, 319 who speaks of the 'desire to relive the authentic past through letters'.

29 Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein* 48–58 (ed. G.F. Benecke, K. Lachmann, L. Wolff and T. Cramer, Berlin and New York 1981^3): 'mich jâmert wærlîchen, / und hulfez iht, ich woldez clagen, / daz nû bî unseren tagen / selch vreude niemer werden mac / der man ze den zîten pflac. / doch müezen wir ouch nû genesen. / ichn wolde dô niht sîn gewesen, / daz ich nû niht enwære, / dâ uns noch mit ir mære / sô rehte wol wesen sol: / dâ tâten in diu werc vil wol.'

30 See Pavlou 2012, esp. 101–105 for a similar tension between past and present in Pindar: '[T]he present does not just passively find itself being glorified with the glamour of the past, but contributes to empower and increase this glamour through its own lustre and light' (105).

To make this tension between the past as such and its mediation even more obvious, here is one further example which elucidates the impossibility of accessing the past without the interference of (several) mediators.[31] In a famous fragment of his *Annals*, Ennius has a certain Geminius Servilius (most probably Gnaeus, the consul of 217 BCE) call his advisor who is described as the ideal counselor of any politician. Among his many good characteristics are the following (Enn. *Ann.* 8.282–284 Sk.):

> … (he) knew about many old things which have been buried under their old age, and he knew about old and recent customs and the laws of many old gods and men.
>
> *… multa tenens antiqua, sepulta vetustas*
> *quae facit, et mores veteresque novosque †tenentem*[32]
> *multorum veterum leges divomque hominumque.*

It is obvious that—as we already saw in Quintilian—knowledge of the past qualifies the unnamed counsellor as being trustworthy and morally outstanding.[33] If we accept the information of Gellius *N.A.* 12.4.5 (drawing on Aelius Stilo)[34] that Ennius draws an ideal self-portrait, the auto-recommendation works on two levels, as Enrica Sciarrino has pointed out:[35] on the one hand, through his *Annals*, Ennius wants to be seen as the 'reincarnated Homer' bringing the old and honorable Greek epic tradition to contemporary Rome; on the other, in this specific passage he transforms himself into 'a "body that matters" by containing knowledge from which the powerful can draw'[36]—in other words, Ennius is the mediator of a multiple past for both his patron and his readers. It is important to note that his knowledge is not purely restricted to the past, but also contains items of the present (*mores veteresque <u>novosque</u>*), and surely we may assume that both, old and new, are relevant for the present (even if we do not know more about the conversation that must have followed).

31 For the notion of 'mediation of the past' see Howley (ch. 18).

32 Skutsch's tentative conjecture *tenens et* (which, however, he does not print in the main text) seems the best solution offered so far to repair the verse.

33 Skutsch 1985, 460 ad loc. compares it to Hom. *Od.* 2.188, which indicates the highly traditional feature of the verses.

34 See Elliot 2013, 229–230 on the dubious trustworthiness of Aelius Stilo as a witness. Nevertheless, she considers the identification of the counsellor as Ennius as 'not implausible'.

35 Cf. Sciarrino 2011, 95–99.

36 Sciarrino 2011, 98.

But this is not all that can be said about the value of antiquity in the passage. Gellius transmits it because according to him the relationship between politician and counsellor as Ennius describes it has an intrinsic value as it represents a glorious past that is far away (*N.A.* 12.4.3): 'there is such a venerable flavor of antiquity in these verses … that in my opinion they ought to be observed, remembered and cherished as old and sacred laws of friendship' (*color quidam vetustatis in his versibus tam reverendus est … ut mea quidem sententia pro antiquis sacratisque amicitiae legibus observandi tenendi colendique sint*). So for us modern readers, Ennius' multiple evaluation of the past is looked at through two mirrors: (1) without Gellius' evaluating mediation, we would not be able to access the Ennian verses and their evaluation of the past any longer; (2) Gellius himself would perhaps not have been able (or at least not willing) to transmit it if he had not relied on intermediate sources, namely, Aelius Stilo and most probably Coelius Antipater.[37] Schematically, one could put it this way: we read [Gellius who quotes (Aelius Stilo who talks about {Ennius arguing about the value of antiquity})]. The passage is therefore an excellent example of what James Porter has called 'mediated classicism'[38] and what we might slightly rephrase as 'mediated antiquity'. All evaluation of antiquity is the result of multiple processes of mediation which turns the past into something like a magnetic chain in which its previous evaluations are visible much more clearly than antiquity itself.

It would be misleading, of course, to suggest that Greeks and Romans always evaluated antiquity as something positive or that they always agreed with prior evaluations of the past. One Roman author especially versatile in adopting multiple perspectives on antiquity and its valuation is Seneca the Younger. At times, Seneca seems most concerned to debunk the idea that any relevant distinctions can be made between different times or that particular periods of history can be privileged: 'I recognized that our generation is struggling with vices that are not new but inherited from long ago … Those ancestors of ours whom we are constantly praising, whom we complain that we so little resemble, were led on by their hopes to hack into mountains, and stood on top of their gain, beneath their ruin' (*intellexi … saeculum nostrum non novis vitiis sed iam inde antiquitus traditis laborare … illi maiores nostri quos celebramus laudibus, quibus dissimiles esse nos querimur, spe ducti montes ceciderunt et supra lucrum sub ruina steterunt*, *Q Nat.* 5.15.2; trans. Hine).[39] This corresponds to a broader

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37 On Antipater as Gellius' most plausible source, see Skutsch 1985, 450.

38 Porter 2006a, 57–60.

39 On this and similar passages, see the chapter 'Maiores in Seneca' in Maso 1999, 43–81 (esp. pp. 51–52).

emphasis on the *mores* of individuals as the cause and criterion of goodness or badness (*hominum sunt ista, non temporum*, *Ep*. 97.1), since human morals 'stand in the same place' (*eodem stant loco*) and with the passage of time they only ebb slightly in either direction (*Ben*. 1.10.1). This, in turn, is the basis of Seneca's various critiques of what he regards as the trivial or even harmful interest that certain people take in the deep past, such as historians, antiquarians and philologists (e.g., *Dial*. 10.13). Elsewhere we find him portraying the tragic Hippolytus as clinging to a severe golden-age purity with a tenacity that ensures his demise (*Pha*. 483–558); disputing the claim of Posidonius that golden-age society had included wise men in the strict philosophical sense (*Ep*. 90.44); or—closer to home—distancing himself from the *antiquus rigor* of his father, Seneca the Elder, who had not allowed his mother, Helvia, to acquire more than a passing familiarity with philosophy (*Dial*. 12.17.3).[40] Seneca's critiques of antiquarianism sometimes give him the forward-looking profile of a modernist or, more cynically, of the narcissistic presentist, the image promoted by the anecdote that 'Seneca kept him [*sc*. Nero] from reading the early orators, to make his admiration for his teacher endure the longer' (*a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor [sc. Neronem avertit], quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret*, Suet. *Ner*. 52.1; cf. Quint. 10.1.126). At the other extreme, Seneca himself openly exploits traditional associations of antiquity when they are in line with a specific moral point. Hence the various histories of culture in which he contrasts the moral simplicity of an earlier time with the technological developments that facilitate luxury, greed and other vices, such as his comparison between the bathing practices of Scipio Africanus and 'ours' (*Ep*. 86.5); the *convicium saeculi* contrasting modern technologies of mirrors with ancient, naturally occurring methods of self-perception such as reflections casually observed in water (*Q Nat*. 1.17.4–10); and the shift from a naturally segregated world-order to the violation of geographic boundaries that ensued from the invention of sailing, a harbinger of Roman imperial conquest (*Med*. 301–379).[41]

A more ambivalent case is Seneca's comment that Vergil used Ennianisms in his poetry 'for no other reason than so that the Ennian crowd would recognize something antique in his new poem' (*non ex alia causa … quam ut Ennianus populus adgnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis*, ap. Gell. 12.2.10)—where Vergil is evidently pardoned even as the archaic tastes of the *Ennianus populus* are themselves disdained. Yet Seneca's own approach to '*Virgilius noster*' throughout his prose writings itself belongs to the Julio-Claudian classiciz-

40 On Hippolytus see esp. Segal 1986, 77–105; on *Ep*. 90, Feeney 2007, 127–131.

41 On these passages see Ker 2009, 350–353; Williams 2012, 80–81; Benton 2003, 281–284.

ing turn of which Seneca was a chief instigator, edging out the canon of Hellenic culture and converting Augustan culture (including *divus Augustus* himself) into a new canon.[42] This turn is accompanied also by a waning, in the Neronian period, of Seneca's use of *exempla* from the days of the Roman republic.[43] Such strategic mutability in the deployment of antiquity is the name of the game, not merely in Seneca but throughout ancient culture.

4 In This Volume …

We have grouped the chapters under six main discursive practices through which we find value being ascribed to (or through) a distantiated past. Part One concerns how the past, whether real or invented, could be located in specific peoples or places. In his chapter 'Pelasgians and Leleges: Using the Past to Understand the Present', Jeremy McInerney revisits the question of the ancient Pelasgians and Leleges as Greek ancestral peoples. Rather than attempt to reconcile contradictory historical and archaeological traces of who the Pelasgians and Leleges really were, McInerney focuses on their function as mythical communities that allowed the Greeks to give narrative shape to their deep past. Maaike Leemreize looks at the function that a more explicitly foreign culture's past could serve for purposes of collective self-definition, in her chapter 'The Egyptian Past in the Roman Present'. Focusing on Romans' 'admiration', 'emulation' and 'incorporation' of Egyptian monuments and cultural elements during the Augustan and early imperial period, Leemreize emphasizes the selectional criteria at work in these appropriations. Joseph Farrell's chapter, 'The Roman *Suburbium* and the Roman Past', examines another locus of Roman conceptions of antiquity: the region outside of the city whose various towns and traditions not only served as reminders of Roman origins but remained as 'a zone of virtual antiquity' (105) that could be revisited through short-distance travel or literary journeys. Farrell does not claim to resolve the question of whether this function of the *suburbium* was more a matter of thought than of actuality, but his discussion assembles rich, particularist dossiers that allow us to understand better the salient features of selected suburban locales.

Part Two concerns ways in which material objects might facilitate encounters with past times. In her chapter 'Burnt Temples and the Landscape of the

42 On Neronian classicism see Mayer 1982, esp. 317; on Seneca and Augustan culture, Ker forthcoming.

43 On Seneca's use of historical *exempla* see Mayer 1991; his shifting usage of examples from the Roman republic is traced by Gowing 2005, 76–81.

Past', Margaret Miles examines how remains from a number of Greek temples destroyed during the Persian Wars were deliberately preserved by the Greeks to serve as memorials. Archaeological and literary evidence reveals how these memorials sometimes served as rallying points for collective identity-formation, a phenomenon that contrasts with the later, Roman conception of ruins as a focus for nostalgia or narratives of decline. Amanda Reiterman, in '*Keimêlia* in Context: Toward an Understanding of the Value of Antiquities in the Past', keeps the focus on curated relics, only now they are personal items found in burials or other deposits, and their resonances are private or domestic. Such objects can be used to offer unique insights on how the past was rendered 'portable' and 'ownable'. Karen Bassi's chapter, 'Croesus' Offerings and the Value of the Past in Herodotus' Histories', examines how an object-mediated encounter with the past is a crucial component of Herodotus' *Histories*. Bassi argues that the value of the historical past is embedded in objects that are said to survive 'up to [the historian's] own time' (192). Such objects complicate Frank Ankersmit's distinction between 'looking at' and 'looking through' the historical text and, in the process, question the extent to which the reality of the past is a measure of its value.

The chapters in Part Three all deal with specific prominent individuals who would seem to embody an ancient or archaic ethos. Sheila Murnaghan's chapter, 'The Creation of Anachronism: Assessing Ancient Valor in Sophocles' *Ajax*', revisits the widespread scholarly perception that the tragic Ajax is an inherently archaic figure. Murnaghan argues that Ajax is rather *made* to look archaic as the consequence of a strategy in civic discourse in which it is useful to portray certain qualities as obsolete precursors to civic culture, though the technique can be paralleled to some extent also in earlier literary portrayals of Ajax. The following chapter, Christina Kraus' 'Long Ago and Far Away ... The Uses of the Past in Tacitus' *Minora*', centers on Tacitus' portrayal of Agricola as a figure both archaic and contemporary. Kraus frames this representation of the biographic subject within a complicated nexus of past—present—future that can be traced also in Tacitus' exercises in dialogue and ethnography. Eleanor Winsor Leach's chapter, 'M. Atilius Regulus—Making Defeat into Victory: Diverse Values in an Ambivalent Story', demonstrates the flexibility of Roman exemplary figures, who could be adjusted to almost any circumstances. Leach shows in particular how successive additions to the narrative of Regulus, extending to his portrayal by Silius Italicus, were important for his reshaping as a hero embodying specific republican values.

Our next discursive practice in Part Four makes for a shift from Leach's Regulus: it concerns the use of examples from the past, not as models to emulate but as foils that enable a clearer differentiation between the past

and more recent times. Thus, in her chapter 'Agrippina the Younger: Tacitus' *Unicum Exemplum*', Caitlin Gillespie compares the public image of Agrippina the Younger in material culture with her portrait in Tacitus' *Annals*. Whereas visual culture of the Julio-Claudian period suggests an attempt to present Agrippina following in the footsteps of successful imperial and republican women, Tacitus portrays an Agrippina whose attempts to use the past to shape her public figure are undermined by her own excessive ambitions, thereby distancing her from the women of prior tradition. Lisa Cordes, in her chapter '*Si te nostra tulissent saecula*: Comparison with the Past as a Means of Glorifying the Present in Domitianic Panegyric', analyzes how exemplary figures of the past are adapted to the present to fit the praise of Domitian. Cordes shows that amid the frequent appropriations of the past in panegyrical literature, exemplary figures from the republican past that would ordinarily be regarded as superior are often portrayed deferring to the emperor. Jonas Grethlein's 'The Value of the Past Challenged: Myth and Ancient History in the Attic Orators' argues that orators of the fourth century BCE gave conspicuously preferential treatment to examples from contemporary history, treating those of mythical times or even of the fifth century as too remote to offer guidance in present deliberation. Although this exception to broader ancient tendencies is striking, Grethlein also warns against assimilating the perspective of the fourth-century orators to the modern sense of radical historical specificity that treats the past and present as incommensurate: in antiquity, he argues, the sense of distance that privileges more recent over more remote examples is primarily quantitative, whereas the modern sense of rupture is qualitative—a difference he articulates in his final section, offering a welcome broader perspective on the overall project of our volume.

Part Five concerns the past as it is given value within the more specialized sphere of literary history and classical canonization.[44] Lawrence Kim, in his contribution 'Archaizing and Classicism in the Literary Historical Thinking of Dionysius of Halicarnassus', addresses the question of how Greek literary theory in Imperial times defined the boundaries of the period of 'archaic' literature. Kim thus analyses Dionysius' varied applications of the term ἀρχαῖος, showing that he locates archaic literary properties not in a separate archaic era, but within classical literature itself, and sees them as a necessary part of a truly classical aesthetics. Casper de Jonge's 'The Attic Muse and the Asian Harlot:

44 In addition to the chapters included here, a paper by Ralph Rosen delivered at the conference in Leiden addressed 'Galen on the Testimony of the Classical Poets'; its results have been published as Rosen 2013.

Classicizing Allegories in Dionysius and Longinus' reads the same Dionysius' metaphorical narrative of the decline of literature alongside Longinus' comparable imagery in his *On the Sublime*. De Jonge argues that both texts not only share the same interest in classicism but also aim at the same moral and political renewal of the past in the present. A difference can however be seen in their appreciation of the role played by present-day Rome. The chapter by Mieke de Vos, 'From Lesbos She Took Her Honeycomb: Sappho and the "Female Tradition" in Hellenistic Poetry', adds a focus on gender to our inquiry into archaism and literary history. She analyses how Sappho in Hellenistic poetry was viewed both as a model for archaic poetry and as a prototype of female authorship. The transformation of Sappho into a muse-like figure relocates her, pushing her from a clearly defined historical past into a deep mythical past. Jason Nethercut, in his 'Ennius and the Revaluation of Traditional Historiography in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*', explicitly links the discussion of antiquity to generic questions. He argues that Lucretius' intertextual engagement with Ennius serves as a way for him to question the Ennian concept of poetic historiography as well as the value which Ennius ascribes to the past in general. On Nethercut's reading, Lucretius' manifold historical *exempla* paradoxically call into question any uncritical admiration of the past.

Our final rubric, 'Antiquarian Discourses' (Part Six), might easily have been used to subsume all the topics in the volume, and especially those dealing with the discourses of exemplarity and canonization above, but we use it here to spotlight two more explicit and self-conscious ways of explicating the past's meanings. Joseph Howley, in his chapter 'Valuing the Mediators of Antiquity in the *Noctes Atticae*', begins from the observation that antiquity is typically mediated by individuals. Howley draws attention to the way in which Aulus Gellius constantly reminds his readers of these mediators and thus invites them to develop a critical attitude toward antiquity. The ideal recipient of the *Noctes Atticae* is found to be not a lover of the past in its own right but a researcher who himself will take Gellius' text as the starting point of his own investigations into the past. Finally, Ilaria Ramelli's 'Valuing Antiquity in Antiquity by Means of Allegoresis' follows the history of self-consciously allegorical interpretation from Middle Stoicism through to Middle- and Neoplatonism and thus gives this volume a glimpse of the otherwise absent Late Antiquity. Ramelli shows how important allegoresis was as a means of valuing antiquity in all these philosophical schools: it could reveal the wisdom of a remote past otherwise no longer accessible to the present, thereby showing the past to be of special heuristic value.

These six categories of discursive practice are not the only rationale by which the chapters might have been arranged, nor will we attempt here to

highlight further threads that could be followed through the volume. Instead, we conclude by simply sketching a few of the principal questions to which we believe an exciting range of answers is offered by the chapters:

Defining antiquity:
Whose past is antiquity?
What differentiates or divides antiquity from the present?
How remote is antiquity?

Accessing antiquity:
Where can antiquity be found?
Is it always there for everyone, or who can approach or see it?
How can antiquity be accessed?

Valuing antiquity:
What makes antiquity valuable?
In literary history, does antiquity matter as 'the past' or as 'literary tradition'? (And can these two be separated, anyway?)
What ensues from valuing (or disvaluing) antiquity?
How do individuals or groups respond to specific values or valuations of the past?

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45 Thanks to Ineke Sluiter for having read this introduction and for having shared her thoughtful and stimulating comments with us.

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PART 1

Locating the Past in Peoples or Places

CHAPTER 2

Pelasgians and Leleges: Using the Past to Understand the Present

Jeremy McInerney

1 Introduction: Finding the Pelasgians

The question of who the Pelasgians and Leleges were has troubled scholarship for well over one hundred and fifty years.[1] Throughout the nineteenth century there was a general consensus that the Pelasgians were the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece, their tombs marking their physical presence, the language identifiable with the vestigial stratum of pre-Greek found in words like *terebinthos* and *kissos* or place names like Tiryns. Since then the Pelasgian edifice has been assaulted on various fronts. Linguistically, even the most ardent believers have had to concede, as Fritz Gschnitzer succinctly puts it, that 'Ein Zusammenhang der Pelasgisch (Vorgriechische Sprachen) genannten Substratsprache mit den histor. P. läßt sich nicht nachweisen.'[2] Similarly, since Greece has been marked by an assortment of cultures from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages and earlier, distinguishing a single, distinct ethnic group, an *Urvolk* as it were, has come to resemble a search for the chimaera. In archaeological terms, the designation 'Pelasgian' is even less accurate than terms like Beaker Culture or Globular Amphora Culture. These terms at least point to distinctive material cultures, even if the equation of cultural practices with ethnic identity is problematic. But one cannot even point to a single 'Pelasgian' culture, and so it serves as little more than a portmanteau label, a catch-all term for everything prehistoric yet not identifiably Mycenaean.

Dissatisfied with the circularity of the argument that the Pelasgians were the precursors of the Greeks, Sir John Myres wrote an article in 1907 concentrating on the literary sources, an article which in certain respects was unusually prescient. Myres attempted to establish sound methodological principles for determing, if not who the Pelasgians were, then at least who the Greeks thought

1 For treatments prior to the most recent discussions see Lochner-Hüttenbach 1960 and Briquel 1984.

2 Gschnitzer 2000.

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they were. Proceeding from a position of historical positivism, namely the assumption that the primary sources, properly put in context, could be read as reliable indicators of historical conditions, Myres reached conclusions that were forward-thinking and deserve to be repeated. In the case of both the Pelasgians and the Leleges, he concluded,

> there is an early period, beginning with a time when there seems to have been a real but evanescent tribe, of limited geographical range, and some peculiarities of culture; and ending, between the sixth and fifth centuries, with a vague cycle of memories, and a connotative usage of the name. To this, in each case, succeeds a fifth-century phase in which, while ingenious theory flourishes, real search for 'survivals' of backward folk is perceptible. Then comes the fourth century, regardless of research, reckless of accuracy or scholarship, infatuated with headstrong theory, to which the evidence (such as it is) must conform or be ignored …[3]

It is remarkable how Myres intelligently distinguished between earlier and later phases in the tradition and recognized how the search for the 'Pelasgians' is conditioned by the needs of later periods to identify, clarify and understand their antecedents. When Myres speaks of a 'connotative usage of the name' he is referring to the way in which authors of the classical period associated Pelasgian with all that was pre-Greek and uncivilized, in direct opposition to the identification of 'Greek' with civilization. In other words he recognized that whatever the historical reality attached to the Pelasgians, they served an important function in allowing the Greeks to give the past meaning, according to which the rise of the Greeks was coterminous with the ascent of civilization. In short, Myres read the Pelasgians as part of a kind of Greek version, *avant la lettre*, of Whig history, the view that humankind was and is on an ever upward trajectory.[4]

If we bring the Pelasgian question forward one hundred years we may contrast Myres' subtle and flexible analysis with the most recent definition of the Pelasgians, in *Der Neue Pauly*:

> Frühgesch. Volk in Griechenland und vielleicht im nordwestl. Kleinasien, sicher bezeugt für Kreta (Hom. Od. 19,177), Thessalia (durch den Namen

3 Myres 1907, 222

4 Despite his accomplishment, Myres' interpretation of Herodotus' Greek is not without its problems. Cf. Laird 1933.

> der thessal. Pelasgiotis und die Wendung τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος/*to Pelasgikon Argos*, Hom. Il. 2,681) und Epeiros ... Die P., die in der *Ilias* (Hom. Il. 2,840 ff.; 10,429; 17,288 ff.) den Troes Hilfe leisten, sind nicht sicher zu lokalisieren; ihr Hauptort Larisa könnte das pelasgiotische Larisa sein ..., doch ist der Name Larisa weit verbreitet und begegnet mehrfach auch in Kleinasien.
>
> *Immerhin zeigt der Platz der P. an der Seite der Troes, dass sie keine Griechen waren.* (emphasis added) Das heißt aber nicht, dass sie als ein vorgriech. Volk anzusehen sind; dagegen sprechen schon ihre Wohnsitze im Norden Griechenlands, aber auch die Tatsache, daß man sich ihrer noch im 8. Jh. v. Chr. erinnerte. Ihre Einwanderung fällt wohl erst in die Zeit der letzten großen Wanderungen um die Wende des 2./1. Jt., die auch andere nichtgriech. Völker nach Griechenland verschlagen haben. Auf eine Herkunft aus dem westl. Balkan weist der Zusammenhang ihres Namens (aus **Pelag-skoi*) mit dem *Pelag-ones* in NW-Makedonia.[5]

What the *Neue Pauly* definition does, quite simply, is to jam all the early data together, on the dubious assumption that the explanation consistent with the greatest number of data will be the most plausible explanation of who the Pelasgians were. When, however, we separate the tangled skeins, some fairly broad differences emerge. For Homer 'Pelasgian' has a clear association with Argos in Thessaly (Hom. *Il.* 2.681–686), and the connection to Dodona is already established (Hom. *Il.* 16.233–236) in Achilles' invocation of 'Dodonaean, Pelasgian Zeus who dwells far away' (Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων). Yet at the same time, the Trojan catalogue (*Il.* 2.819–822) lists the Pelasgians as allies of the Trojans and places their homeland in Thrace. Their leader, Hippothous, dies at the hands of Ajax in the battle over the body of Patroclus (*Il.* 17.288–291). Pelasgians also figure among the people Odysseus tells Penelope he encountered on Crete (*Od.* 19.175). So in Homer Pelasgian can be applied to a part of Thessalian territory broadly under the control of Achilles, or it can refer to the portion of Thracian territory broadly allied to Hector. Apparently it can be Balkan and it can be Cretan.

Hesiod's references to the Pelasgians also show just how catholic the term was even in the earliest literature. In the *Aigimios* he refers to the Pelasgians as one of the Hellenic people who occupied and divided Crete (*Etymol. gen.* s.v. τριχάϊκες = Hes. frg. 233 M-W, trans. H.G. Evelyn-White):

5 Gschnitzer 2000.

> Hesiod (says they were so called) because they settled in three groups: 'And they all were called the Three-fold People, because they divided in three the land far from their country.' For (he says) that three Hellenic tribes settled in Crete, the Pelasgi, Achaeans and Dorians. And these have been called Three-fold People.
>
> Ἡσίοδος δὲ διὰ τὸ τριχῇ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι,
> πάντες δὲ τριχάϊκες καλέονται,
> οὕνεκα τρισσὴν γαῖαν ἑκὰς πάτρης ἐδάσαντο.
> τρία γὰρ Ἑλληνικὰ ἔθνη τῆς Κρήτης ἐποικῆσαι, Πελασγούς, Ἀχαιούς, Δωριεῖς. οὓς τριχάϊκας κεκλήκασι.

According to Strabo, Hesiod also identified Dodona as 'the dwelling place of the Pelasgians', while fragments of the *Ehoiai* locate the Pelasgians either in central Greece in Thessaly, or in Arcadia, where Pelasgos was remembered as the father of Lycaeon.[6]

2 Multivocality

Faced with the geographic spread of the Pelasgians from one end of Greece to the other, in the literature of just the seventh and sixth centuries—even before one comes to the historians, tragedians or mythographers of later centuries—we can either take these traditions positivistically as evidence for an extremely widely dispersed population, or, putting empiricism aside for the moment, we can ask what the tradition, in all its complexity, tells us about Greek attitudes towards the peopling of the past. The Pelasgians were a touchstone that the Greeks came back to time and again as they sought to define, disentangle and clarify their past.[7] The urgency and difficulty of this task has recently been emphasized by both Katherine Clarke and Guido Schepens, who note that historians such as Herodotus, Thucydides and Ephorus faced the difficulty of writing about a distant past that had left no written records. The *spatium historicum* of time and place connected to living memory and recent events that left tangible marks in the landscape is qualitatively very different from *spatium*

6 For a more detailed treatment of the literary tradition regarding the Pelasgians see Sourvinou-Inwood 2003.

7 For a valuable treatment of attitudes to the distant past see Grethlein (ch. 13) in this volume. As Grethlein shows, the past was not always held in high esteem.

mythicum, the landscape of the deep past, evoked by stories but poorly documented, yet the Pelasgians supply a kind of bridge between the two.[8]

Before examining this in more detail we should note that a similar process is at work in the equally scattered references to the Leleges, another mysterious *Urvolk* who turn up all over the map. In most accounts they are presented as the indigenous people of Caria. Some investigators, unable to explain the difference between Leleges and Carians, lumped them together, but the existence of two ethnic identifiers allowed for a distinction between the Carians of *spatium historicum* and the Leleges of *spatium mythicum*. The Carians in historical times were an attestable ethnic group, but in their territory were ruins, forts and tombs that were identified as Lelegian. According to Strabo 7.7.2 (trans. Hamilton and Falconer),

> … in the territory of Miletus, certain settlements are called settlements of the Leleges, and … in many places in Caria, tombs of the Leleges and deserted forts, known as 'Lelegian forts', are so called …

> … ἐν τῇ Μιλησίᾳ, Λελέγων κατοικίας λέγεσθαί τινας, πολλαχοῦ δὲ τῆς Καρίας τάφους Λελέγων καὶ ἐρύματα ἔρημα Λελέγεια καλούμενα.

As with the array of Pelasgian stories, researches conducted in the fifth and fourth centuries threw up a mass of material about the Leleges that was hard to reconcile if taken as concrete evidence of real population movements but which makes sense when seen as evidence of the concern with wandering versus autochthony.[9] When Aristotle's graduate students collected information on the constitutions of well over one hundred Greek states they found evidence of the Leleges everywhere. Says Strabo 7.7.2 (trans. Hamilton and Falconer, modified):[10]

> And Aristotle, in his *Constitutions*, also clearly indicates that they led a wandering life, not only with the Carians, but also apart from them, and from earliest times; for instance, in the Constitution of the Acarnanians he says that the Curetes held a part of the country, whereas the Leleges,

8 Schepens 1977, 97 and 106–107; Clarke 2011, 98 and 140. For a discussion of the tension between past and present in tragedy see Murnaghan (chapter 8) in this volume, and especially her comments on Vernant's juxtaposition of the old days and the values of a democratic community (199–200).

9 On autochthony see Saxenhouse 1986, Loraux 1993, 37–71 and Gotteland 2001.

10 See also Strabo 8.6, 9.2, 9.5, 13.3.

> and then the Teleboae, held the westerly part; and in the Constitution of the Aetolians (and likewise in that of the Opuntii and the Megarians) he calls the Locri of today Leleges and says that they took possession of Boeotia too; again, in the Constitution of the Leucadians he names a certain indigenous Lelex, and also Teleboas, the son of a daughter of Lelex, and twenty-two sons of Teleboas, some of whom, he says, dwelt in Leucas.
>
> ὅτι δὲ πλάνητες καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων καὶ χωρὶς καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους πολιτεῖαι δηλοῦσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀκαρνάνων φησὶ τὸ μὲν ἔχειν αὐτῆς Κουρῆτας, τὸ δὲ προσεσπέριον Λέλεγας, εἶτα Τηλεβόας· ἐν δὲ τῇ Αἰτωλῶν τοὺς νῦν Λοκροὺς Λέλεγας καλεῖ, κατασχεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτούς φησιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀπουντίων καὶ Μεγαρέων· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λευκαδίων καὶ αὐτόχθονά τινα Λέλεγα ὀνομάζει, τούτου δὲ θυγατριδοῦν Τηλεβόαν, τοῦ δὲ παῖδας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι Τηλεβόας, ὧν τινας οἰκῆσαι τὴν Λευκάδα.

From Caria to Acarnania, from Locri to Leucas, Leleges and their eponym Lelex make their appearance. Perhaps most notably, Lelex also turns up as the aboriginal autochthon of Sparta, according to Pausanias, who provides an account that perfectly blends genealogy, toponymy and autochthony (Paus. 3.1.1, trans. Jones and Omerod):

> According to the tradition of the Lacedaemonians themselves, Lelex, an aboriginal, was the first king in this land, after whom his subjects were named Leleges. Lelex had a son Myles, and a younger one, Polycaon … On the death of Myles, his son Eurotas succeeded to the throne … Having no male heir he left the kingdom to Lacedaemon, whose mother was Taygete, after whom the mountain was named, while according to a report his father was none other than Zeus. Lacedaemon was wedded to Sparta, a daughter of Eurotas. When he came to the throne, he first changed the names of the land and its inhabitants, calling them after himself, and next he founded and named after his wife a city, which even down to our own day has been called Sparta.
>
> ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λέλεξ αὐτόχθων ὢν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Λέλεγες ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. Λέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλης καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκάων. … Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν. … ἅτε δὲ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῷ παίδων ἀρρένων βασιλεύειν καταλείπει Λακεδαίμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταϋγέτης ὄντα, ἀφ᾽ ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὠνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φήμην· συνῴκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων Σπάρτῃ θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. τότε δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτα μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ

> καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετέθετο ἀφ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ᾤκισέ τε καὶ ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πόλιν, ἣ Σπάρτη καλεῖται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς.

So, like the equally ubiquitous Pelasgians, Leleges crop up just about everywhere, from Leucas, in the Ionian sea, all over central Greece and the Peloponnese, to the other side of the Aegean in Caria.[11] Nineteenth-century historians attempted to reconcile such disparate data into elaborate schemes of the 'triple peopling of Greece' ('eine dreifache Bevölkerung Griechenlands') pairing Pelasgians and Leleges with a Thracian-Phrygian 'Volksmasse', but in the case of each of these groups, their historical reality is hardly to be believed.[12] That scarcely diminishes their significance. Like the Pelasgians the Leleges supply a bridge to the deep past. If history is a mirror in which communities see themselves, Pelasgians and Leleges are the reverse. This explains their ubiquity, vividly captured by the omnibus chapter dedicated to the Pelasgian question by Strabo. Read in its entirety the chapter powerfully evokes what Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (2003, 143) referred to as the multivocality of these traditions (Str. 5.2.4, trans. Hamilton and Falconer):

> Almost every one is agreed that the Pelasgi were an ancient race spread throughout the whole of Greece, but especially in the country of the Aeolians near to Thessaly. Ephorus, however, says that he considers they were originally Arcadians, who had taken up a warlike mode of life; and having persuaded many others to the same course, imparted their own name to the whole, and became famous both among the Greeks, and in every other country where they chanced to come. Homer informs us that there were colonies of them in Crete, for he makes Odysseus say to Penelope: 'Diverse their language is; Achaians some, and some indigenous are; Cydonians there, crest-shaking Dorians and Pelasgians dwell' [Hom. *Od.* 19.175–177]. And that portion of Thessaly between the outlets of the Peneius and the Thermopylae, as far as the mountains of Pindus, is named Pelasgic Argos, the district having formerly belonged to the Pelasgi. The poet himself also gives to Dodonan Zeus, the epithet of Pelasgian: 'Pelasgian, Dodonan Zeus supreme' [Hom. *Il.* 16.233]. Many

11 For recent discussion of the Leleges see Hornblower 2003, 38 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 144 n. 164. The latter notes that the Leleges are never 'said to be Greek', but their exact ethnicity appears to fluctuate, in much the same way that the Pelasgians appear all over the map. That very indeterminacy seems to be part of their function, allowing Hellenic identity to come more clearly into focus.

12 Deimling 1862, 106.

have likewise asserted that the nations of the Epirus are Pelasgic, because the dominions of the Pelasgi extended so far. And, as many of the heroes have been named Pelasgi, later writers have applied the same name to the nations over which they were the chiefs. Thus Lesbos has been called Pelasgic, and Homer has called the people bordering on the Cilices in the Troad Pelasgic: 'Hippothous from Larissa, for her soilfar-famed, the spear-expert Pelasgians brought' [Hom. *Il.* 2.840–841]. Ephorus, when he supposes that they were a tribe of Arcadians, follows Hesiod, who says: 'The sons born of the divine Lycaon, whom formerly Pelasgus begot' [Hes. frg. 161]. Likewise Aeschylus in his *Suppliants*, or *Danaids*, makes their race to be of Argos near Mycenae. Ephorus likewise says that Peloponnesus was named Pelasgia; and Euripides, in the *Archelaus*, says: 'Danaus, who was the father of fifty daughters, … having arrived in Argos inhabited the city of Inachus, and made a law that those who had before borne the name of Pelasgiotae throughout Greece should be called Danai' [Eurip. frg. 228]. Anticlides says, that they first colonized about Lemnos and Imbros, and that some of their number passed into Italy with Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys. And the writers on the Athenian Antiquities, relate of the Pelasgi, that some of them came to Athens, where, on account of their wanderings, and their settling like birds in any place where they chanced to come, they were called by the Athenians *Pelargi*.

τοὺς δὲ Πελασγούς, ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαῖόν τι φῦλον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπιπολάσαν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κατὰ Θετταλίαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἅπαντες σχεδόν τι. νομίζειν δέ φησιν Ἔφορος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Ἀρκάδας ὄντας ἑλέσθαι στρατιωτικὸν βίον, εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν προτρέποντας πολλοὺς ἅπασι τοῦ ὀνόματος μεταδοῦναι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κτήσασθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρ᾽ ὅσους ποτὲ ἀφιγμένοι τετυχήκασι. καὶ γὰρ τῆς Κρήτης ἔποικοι γεγόνασιν, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος· λέγει γοῦν Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς Πηνελόπην·

> ἄλλη δ᾽ ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη: ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
> ἐν δ᾽ Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
> Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.

καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἡ Θετταλία λέγεται, τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἕως τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδον, διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων τοὺς Πελασγούς. τόν τε Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς ὀνομάζει Πελασγικόν·

> Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ.

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη Πελασγικὰ εἰρήκασιν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο ἐπαρξάντων· Πελασγούς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡρώων ὄνομα καλέσαντες, οἱ ὕστερον ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπώνυμα πεποιήκασι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Λέσβον Πελασγίαν εἰρήκασι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι Κίλιξιν Ὅμηρος εἴρηκε τοὺς ὁμόρους Πελασγούς·

Ἱππόθοος δ᾽ ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμώρων,
τῶν οἳ Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάασκον.

τῷ δ᾽ Ἐφόρῳ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας εἶναι τὸ φῦλον τοῦτο ἦρξεν Ἡσίοδος. φησὶ γάρ·

υἱεῖς ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο,
ὅν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγός.

Αἰσχύλος δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Μυκήνας Ἄργους φησὶν ἐν Ἱκέτισι καὶ Δαναΐσι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν. καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φησὶν Ἔφορος κληθῆναι, καὶ Εὐριπίδης δ᾽ ἐν Ἀρχελάῳ φησὶν ὅτι

Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ
ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ᾤκισ᾽ Ἰνάχου πόλιν,
Πελασγιώτας δ᾽ ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν
Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ᾽ ἀν᾽ Ἑλλάδα.

Ἀντικλείδης δὲ πρώτους φησὶν αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον κτίσαι, καὶ δὴ τούτων τινὰς καὶ μετὰ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνᾶραι. καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγράψαντες ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τῶν Πελασγῶν ὡς καὶ Ἀθήνησι γενομένων, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλανήτας εἶναι καὶ δίκην ὀρνέων ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἔτυχε τόπους Πελαργοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν κληθῆναι.

Strabo's explanation is useful because it demonstrates that the term Pelasgian was contested, and applied to a variety of places and times. The risk of an explanation such as Strabo's is that, like the modern definitions with which we began, it may create the false impression that a coherent narrative can be inferred by reconciling all these details, when in fact the only consistent element lies not in a linear and reliable connection between past events and present narration, but in the ubiquity of the myth of the previous inhabitant. What was significant for ancient writers, and the communities in which their works circulated, was the creation of what Jonas Grethlein and Christopher Krebs have dubbed a 'plupast', the period that lay before the period currently being narrated. It could consist of episodes from Homer, heroic encounters,

objects or even the stories associated with genealogy or place, but what we find in the stories of the Pelasgians and Leleges is a consistent appeal to a deep past of early historical events, the narration of which articulates current tensions, claims and grievances in an historically grounded dimension.[13] This emerges from even the most casual references to the Pelasgians. Jan Paul Crielaard, for example, in a discussion of Ionian ethnogenesis, plausibly postulates that 'stories of wandering heroes were extrapolated to migratory stories that served as "ancestor myths" for a large part of the polis population', and shows that among the Ionians, where there existed a 'staggering' number of ethnic groups, Greek and non-Greek, with a concomitant array of local foundation stories, one of the unifying features of the tradition of their origins was that, prior to their arrival in Ionia, they had formerly been (Grethlein's and Krebs' plupast again) 'Aigialian Pelasgians'.[14] Any attempt, then, to locate with accuracy the historical Pelasgians is not only unlikely to succeed but is mistaken in even assuming that there was such a thing as the historical Pelasgians. One would search in vain.

3 Pelasgians in Athens and Beyond

It should be clear from the mass of contradictory traditions around figures such as the Pelasgians and Leleges that in the search for the existence of historical Pelasgians, rather as in the search for the Amazons, we risk missing the wood for the trees. Like the Amazons, the Pelasgians and the Leleges did cultural work for the Greeks.[15] The question is not, Who were they, but rather, What were their functions? I have suggested that they supply a link to the deep past, giving the shadowy traditions and mute signs of earlier cultures a group identity against which present groups could read themselves. They make the past orderly, a process focused on bringing the past and the physical indications of the past into a meaningful relationship with the present. This was the case in Argos, where a tomb of Pelasgos allowed the Argives to claim an autochthonous ancestor, and it was especially significant in Athens. In the fifth century the

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13 Grethlein and Krebs 2012. The literature on how the past is constructed and employed as a part of a culture's collective memory is a rich one, with major contributions by Maurice Halbwachs and Aby Warburg. The contributions of Jan Assmann have been especially critical in establishing the notion of a deep past much less contested in narrative than events of the middle past. See Assmann 1992 and Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, as well as Kraus (ch. 9) in this volume. On the dynamics of memory see most recently Shear 2013.

14 Crielaard 2009, 52.

15 Sourvinou-Inwood 2003; Gruen 2011, 236–243.

erection of magnificent buildings on the Acropolis occurred directly on top of the walls of earlier times. Such Bronze Age walls were elsewhere called Cyclopaean, but in Athens they were identified as the work of the Pelsasgians.[16] Their wall was and is still visible beneath the Cimonian wall at the western edge of the Acropolis. This area could not be ignored, or as R.J. Hopper put it rather more nicely, 'It need not be an objection that the Acropolis was thus for a considerable period fronted by a ruined and derelict area.'[17] There was and there remains a debate about the exact location of the circuit enclosed by this wall, but its significance is not in doubt since the wall delineated a sacred precinct: the Pelargicon. An inscription preserves details of the regulations governing the use of the area enclosed by the wall in normal times (*IG* I³ 78, 54–57):

> … The Basileus is to set the boundries of the sanctuaries in the Pelargicon, and in future, let no one build altars in the Pelargicon except by order of the Council and the People; nor is stone to be cut from the Pelargicon, nor is soil or stone to be removed from it.

> … τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα *h*ορίσαι τὰ *h*ιερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[õ]-
> ι Πελαργικõι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὲ ἐν*h*ιδρύεσθαι βομὸς ἐν τõι Πελα-
> ργικõι ἄνευ τε̃ς βολε̃ς καὶ τõ δέμο, μεδὲ τὸς λίθος τέμνεν ἐκ τõ [Π]-ελαργικõ,
> μεδὲ γε̃ν ἐχσάγεν μεδὲ λίθος.

Thucydides explains that after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war squatters occupied the area contained within the wall (Thuc. 2.17.1, trans. Hopper):

> … and the area called the Pelargicon, below the Acropolis, which was under a curse against occupation, and the final part of some oracle from Delphi likewise banned this by saying, 'The Pelargicon is better left unused', was occupied nevertheless under the pressure of the emergency.

> … τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς 'τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον', ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκήθη.

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16 Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 frg. 4; Hdt. 6.137; Thuc. 2.17.2; Cleidemus *FGrH* 323 frg. 6.

17 Hopper 1963, 10. The bibliography on the Pelargicon is full. See Travlos 1971, 52–65; Burkert 1996, 29; Papazarkadas 2011, 33.

The Pelargicon was probably located on the southwestern slope of the Acropolis, although the Atthidographer Cleidemus seems to have equated it with the earliest wall running around the Acropolis.[18] The so-called Telemachus monument, commemorating Telemachus' role in bringing Asclepius to Athens in 420 BCE, comes from the adjacent Asclepieion and the stork depicted in a tree by a doorway is usually taken as a visual reference to the entrance to the Pelargicon.[19] The wall that marked out the Pelargicon was originally, in all likelihood, the work of the Mycenaean inhabitants of Athens, but without the benefit of archaeology the Athenians supplied the wall with its own *aition*, so to speak. Here we encounter the Pelasgians as part of the deep past of the Athenians, a plupast, which we shall see had important implications for the present in which the events were narrated. Herodotus tells the story thus (Hdt. 6.137.2, trans. Godley):[20]

> … when the Athenians saw the land under Hymettus, formerly theirs, which they had given to the Pelasgians as a dwelling-place in reward for the wall that had once been built around the acropolis—when the Athenians saw how well this place was tilled which previously had been bad and worthless, they were envious and coveted the land, and so drove the Pelasgians out on this and no other pretext.

> ἐπείτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολίν κοτε ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακήν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἵμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

So, in this version, the wall was a testimonial to the relations formally good, now bad, between the Athenians and the Pelasgians. The wall is static, but a vivid reminder of an important past. The story attached to it creates a plupast. More than an *aition*, this is a living tradition that continues to develop the

18 Cleidemus *FGrH* 323 frg. 16. For the most recent discussion see Papazarkadas 2011, 187–188.

19 For the inscription on the Telemachus monument see *IG* II^2 4961 and 4960. For the relief showing the stork see Beschi 1967–1968, 386–397; Hurwitt 1999, 78; Robertson 1998, 294–295, Anderson and Dix 2007, 325 n. 22; Wickkiser 2008, 75.

20 For a valuable discussion of Herodotus on the Pelasgians see Baragwanath 2008, 136–142. For the land under Hymettos see Papazarkadas 2011, 224–225.

link between deep past and present. The Pelasgians had built the wall; the Athenians had rewarded them, and then out of jealousy, had expelled them. But the rivalry is unusual; it does not involve gods, monsters or even foreigners. Instead it involves rival claimants to Attica, people who had tilled the land of Hymettos, and had done so with such success as to pose a challenge to the Athenians in their own land. The Pelasgians, furthermore, are presented as teachers of the earliest Athenians. According to Herodotus 2.51.1, it was the Pelasgians who taught the Athenians to make ithyphallic stautes of Hermes, a practice which then passed to the rest of the Greeks.

Having established their rivalry, Herodotus then proceeds to explain why the Athenian expulsion of the Pelasgians was justified (Hdt. 6.137.3–4, trans. Godley):

> The Pelasgians set out from their settlement at the foot of Hymettus and wronged the Athenians in this way. Neither the Athenians nor any other Hellenes had servants yet at that time, and their sons and daughters used to go to the Nine Wells for water; and whenever they came, the Pelasgians maltreated them out of mere arrogance and pride. And this was not enough for them; finally they were caught in the act of planning to attack Athens. The Athenians were much better men than the Pelasgians, since when they could have killed them, caught plotting as they were, they would not so do, but ordered them out of the country. The Pelasgians departed and took possession of Lemnos, besides other places. This is the Athenian story; the other is told by Hecataeus.

> κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμωμένους ἀδικέειν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ᾽ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὗται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιᾶσθαι σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιέειν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ. ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ, παρεὸν ἑωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς, ἐπεί σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλά σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.

The details setting this in an earlier age, when neither Athenians nor any other Greeks had servants, is telling. Kathryn Topper has recently drawn attention to depictions of symposiastic scenes on fifth-century vases that seem to imagine

a world without slaves, in which attendants at the symposium are well-born, a motif comparable to Herodotus' story of the high-born Athenians mistreated by the Pelasgians. Topper argues that the point of this idyllic view of the archaic symposium is to highlight the contrast with contemporary practice, in which symposiast attendants were anything but highborn. She argues that this is a construction of an earlier time that 'expresses an anxiety about protecting the youngest members of society from the world beyond the polis'.[21] The Pelasgians, according to this view, would be part of a more widespread phenomenon of the fifth century, namely thinking about the present through the filter of the (imagined) past.

In Hecataeus and Herodotus, then, there are traces of an Athenocentric version of the Pelasgian tradition, according to which the Pelasgians had been occupants of the land who were legitimately expelled by the Athenians. It need hardly be said that there is scarcely a trace of the Homeric and Hesiodic traditions here, suggesting not only the Protean nature of the Pelasgian story but also how far it had evolved in a very short time. For the Athenians the Pelasgians were a rival group, with whom relations had gone from good to bad to worse.

The theme of alterity on which the story unfolds was clearly attractive. The expulsion of the Pelasgians initiated a feud with them, and Herodotus' account of how this played out involves two popular Herodotean motifs: the abduction of Greek women by foreigners and the impious killing of the women and children, in this case by these Pelasgians. Similar motifs of rape and killing were used to explain how the Ionians got their Carian brides. It is also worth keeping in mind that Herodotus composed his work in the generation following the passage of Pericles' citizenship law. This can hardly be a coincidence. Clearly there were anxieties in the mid-fifth century regarding legitimacy and the threat posed by foreigners, the very same seething brew of fears that would find dramatic expression in Euripides' *Medea*. Fear of the foreigner now has a name: Pelasgian. In Herodotus' account of how this played out we see how easily one set of oppositions could evolve into another, from 'us' versus 'them' to 'native' versus 'foreign' and finally to 'civilized' versus 'savage'. Herodotus continues (Hdt. 6.138.1–4, trans. Godley):

> These Pelasgians dwelt at that time in Lemnos and desired vengeance on the Athenians. Since they well knew the time of the Athenian festivals, they acquired fifty-oared ships and set an ambush for the Athe-

21 Topper 2013, 72. I owe this reference to Anne Steiner.

> nian women celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron. They seized many of the women, then sailed away with them and brought them to Lemnos to be their concubines. These women bore more and more children, and they taught their sons the speech of Attica and Athenian manners. These boys would not mix with the sons of the Pelasgian women; if one of them was beaten by one of the others, they would all run to his aid and help each other; these boys even claimed to rule the others, and were much stronger. When the Pelasgians perceived this, they took counsel together; it troubled them much in their deliberations to think what the boys would do when they grew to manhood, if they were resolved to help each other against the sons of the lawful wives and attempted to rule them already. Thereupon the Pelasgians resolved to kill the sons of the Attic women; they did this, and then killed the boys' mothers also. From this deed and the earlier one which was done by the women when they killed their own husbands who were Thoas' companions, a 'Lemnian crime' has been a proverb in Hellas for any deed of cruelty.

> οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὁρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὁρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἁρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἴχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καί σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἳ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό τις αὐτῶν τινός, ἐβοήθεόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίευν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτεον. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἑωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καί σφι βουλευομένοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρῴατο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι. ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξέ σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δέ σφεων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι.

The specifically Lemnian setting of the story offers a hint as to the Athenian interest in identifying Lemnos with the Pelasgians. In fact, the debate about the Athenian/Pelasgian relationship looks very much like a displaced debate over

Athenian power and especially the role of cleruchies.[22] Herodotus' account is situated within a larger report of the Athenian seizure of Lemnos (Hdt. 6.137.1, trans. Godley):

> Miltiades son of Cimon took possession of Lemnos in this way: When the Pelasgians were driven out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly I cannot say, beyond what is told; namely, that Hecataeus the son of Hegesandrus declares in his history that the act was unjust ...
>
> Λῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὧδε ἔσχε· Πελασγοὶ ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὦν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως ...

This is followed by the account read above, explaining how the Pelasgians and Athenians fell out, followed by the diplomatic observation of Herodotus: 'But the Athenians themselves say that their reason for expelling the Pelasgians was just' (Hdt. 6.137.2).

As Herodotus reports at the beginning of his discussion of the Pelasgians, Miltiades captured Lemnos and brought the island under Athenian control, probably shortly before 493 BCE.[23] The capture of the island gained legitimacy if it could be presented as the final chapter of a deep-seated hostility between Athenians and Lemnians going back deep into myth-history. Further evidence of how the Athenians may have packaged the campaign against Lemnos is to be seen on a helmet dedicated at Rhamnous c. 475 BCE, which contains the following inscription: 'The Rhamnousians on Lemnos dedicated this to Nemesis' (Ῥαμνόσιοι *h*οι ἐν Λέμνọ[ι ἀ]νέ[θεσαν Νεμ]έσει).[24] The theme of vengeance, so powerful in Herodotus' account of the Pelasgian/Athenian relationship, may reflect the general Athenian attitude towards the Lemnians/Pelasgians (and may, coincidentally, help to explain the building of the temple to Nemesis at Rhamnous, an otherwise unique cult). John Graham has observed that discussions of the Athenian presence on the island have sometimes questioned the existence of an Athenian cleruchy on Lemnos in the fifth century, but that an

22 Harding 2008, 25–26; Robertson 2009, 332.

23 Evans 1963. An astute reader has pointed out that the use of earlier mythical episodes to justify current policy seems to have been a specialty of the family of Miltiades. His son, Cimon, was repsonsible for bringing the bones of Theseus back from Skyros.

24 *IG* I^3 522 *bis*.

inscription first published by Segre in 1932 contains the name and demotic of an Athenian, Euainetos Erchieus, who owned property on the island. Graham notes, cautiously, that the inscriptional evidence does not prove the existence of a cleruchy, and certainly not one in the early fifth century as Segre believed, but asserts that the evidence 'makes untenable the thesis that there was no cleruchy on Lemnos at any time in the 5th century'.[25]

The suggestion that the Pelasgians serve as a way of framing within a mythical narrative an account of recent events, namely the establishment of an Athenian cleruchy on Lemnos, may gain some support from an unexpected source: the friezes of the east end of the Hephaestion on Colonus Hill, above the Agora.[26] The frieze depicts a battle scene, but there is no consensus as to the correct identification of the scene. Three gods, usually identified as Athena, Hera and Zeus, are seated on rocks and watch the battle unfold without playing any part. Nor do the three gods watching the battle from the other side. If Dörig's identification is correct, the third god, whose position matches Athena on the far side, is Hephaestus.[27] The combatants, however, all appear to be Greek, who are using rocks to beat each other into submission. Evidently this is not a Gigantomachy. It has been suggested that it is a Homeric battle scene, in which Hephaestus intervenes to help Achilles against the Skamander, but there are no iconographic parallels for Hephaestus as a combatant. Another proposed identification is that the scene depicts Theseus' victory over the Pallantidae in the battle for Attica, a mythical episode for which there are no comparanda in the iconography. Recently Judith Barringer has suggested that the reliefs depict the battle between the Athenians and the Atlantians, but the earliest known account of this is in Plato's *Timaeus*, composed a generation later than the building of the Hephaestion, which is usually dated to the 440's.[28] If the construction of the temple coincides with the establishment of a cleruchy on Lemnos in the middle of the fifth century, then the east relief may represent the battle between the Athenians and the Pelasgians. It would be appropriate to show such a scene on a temple to Hephaestus since Lemnos was the island to which the god fell when he was thrown out of heaven, and it is one of the few

25 Graham 1963. For the Euainetos inscription see Segre 1932.

26 For a description of the friezes with good photographs see Morgan 1962.

27 Dörig 1985.

28 On the date of the Hephaestion see Wyatt and Edmonson 1984. Barringer 2008 provides a detailed review of the proposed identifications of the scene. For another discussion of a mid-century date for the Hephaestion and contemporary events see West 1979, who suggests that the Prometheus Trilogy (of which we possess only the PV) dates to c. 440, and represents a connecting of Hephaestus and Prometheus.

places in the Greek world where his cult was practiced.[29] Noel Robertson has drawn attention to the myths that frame the Arrephoria, according to which Hephaestus attempted to rape Athena and ejaculated on her leg, from which Erichthonius was born. As Robertson notes, '[Hephaestus] is a doublet of the primordial Pelasgians who attacked Athenian maidens in the same area.'[30]

The Athenian decision to give him a beautiful new temple above the Agora was surely a way of winning the god's approval for having absorped his island into their *archê*, a sign that the ancient feud between Athena and Hephaestus had been resolved. Thus, Pausanias 1.14.6 noted that a statue of Athena stood by Hephaestus in this spot. The relief would thus depict the Athenian victory over their rivals, the Pelasgians, who, upon being expelled became the Lemnians but continued to serve as ancestral villains in the Athenian imagination. The presence of a bound figure, a captive, also recalls the detail noted by Herodotus 6.137.4, that 'the Athenians were much better men than the Pelasgians, since when they could have killed them, caught plotting as they were, they would not so do, but ordered them out of the country' (ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ, παρεὸν ἑωυτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς, ἐπεί σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλά σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι).

In fact, so useful was this simple set of polarities that it crops up just about wherever the Pelasgians appear. In Proclus' account of the origins of the Daphnephoria, for example, a festival that almost certainly was designed to signal the bringing into alignment of the solar and lunar calendars, the tradition is said to have been founded by a Boeotian leader, Polematas, after he had a dream pointing the way to victory over the Pelasgians. Once again, the account is structured around simple oppositions: the Pelasgians are said to already occupy Thebes, while the Boeotians are the exogenous population, newly arrived from Arne.[31] The Boeotian version of the Pelasgian story figures in Ephorus' account of how Dodona came to receive an annual tribute of a tripod from the Boeotians, an episode thought to lie behind Pindar's fragment 59. According to Ephorus, similarly, the Pelasgians function as an 'always other' in stories by various writers and chroniclers trying to explain the relations between the nodes in the network of Greek and Italic communities. The Pelasgians were dispersed across so broad a geography that commentators were struck by their ubiquity. Servius, like Strabo, was aware of the many opinions about the Pelasgians (Serv. *in Aen.* 8.600):

29 Hephaestus landing on Lemnos: Hom. *Il.* 1.590–593.

30 Robertson 1983, 288.

31 Procl. *Chrest.* (Bekker 321a33–b32). See also Paus. 9.10.4 and Mathieson 1999, 86–87.

> 'The ancient Pelasgians dedicated': regarding them opinions vary, for some say they were originally from Athens, others from Sparta, while yet others say they had their origin in Thessaly, which is more likely, since it is generally agreed that there are many Pelasgian cities in Thessaly.

> Veteres sacrasse pelasgos: de his varia est opinio; nam alii eos ab Atheniensibus, alii a Laconibus, alii a Thessalis dicunt originem ducere, quod est propensius, nam multas in Thessalia Pelasgorum constat esse civitates.

That much is unremarkable, since by the first century there was a region of Thessaly that went by the formal name of Pelasgiotis. Official inscriptions of the Thessalian *koinon* attest to the title and a large number of Thessalian agonistic commemorations also contain Pelasgos as an ethnonym.[32] But what follows is remarkable. Some in the Roman world were evidently prepared to equate the Pelasgians with another ethnic group who figured large in the Romans' stories of their origins, the Etruscans (Serv. *in Aen.* 8.600):

> These were the first men to inhabit Italy. Philochorus further states that they were called 'Stork-Men', because they used to arrive, like birds, on the wing and in spring. Hyginus says the Pelasgians are the same as the Tyrrheni, a fact that Varro too records.

> hi primi Italiam tenuisse perhibentur. Philochorus ait ideo nominatos Pelasgos, quod velis et verno tempore advenire visi sunt, ut aves. Hyginus dicit Pelasgos esse qui Tyrrheni sunt: hoc etiam Varro commemorat.

Not only can we see the Pelasgian motif entering Roman mythography, but we can even trace the specific version of it transmitted by Philochorus. A scholion to Lucian's *Cataplous* 25, in which Lucian uses the term *tyrannos*, twice glosses it for us thus (Schol. in Lucian *Catapl.* 25):

> The word *tyrannos* is derived from the Tyrrhenians, who were originally violent pirates, as Philochorus says. For the Tyrrhenians, after living in Athens for a short time, were perceived as rising in revolt against the city.

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32 *SEG* XXXIV 558, 33–34 honors for Q. Caecilius Metellus *agoranomos*; *IG* IX^2 528, 17–18 winners at the Games of Zeus Eleutherios; *IG* IX^2 528, 534: Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδος.

> And, while many of them were killed by the Athenians, some got away and settled in Lemnos and Imbros. Some time later, since for the above reason they were inimically disposed towards the Athenians, they took to their ships and, after putting in at Brauron in Attika, carried off some maidens, who were serving the Brauronians as *arktoi* in the procession of the goddess, and made them their wives.[33]
>
> εἴρηται τύραννος ἀπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τῶν βιαίων καὶ λῃστῶν γενομένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος. Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ὀλίγοι τινὰ χρόνον οἰκήσαντες ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὤφθησαν ἐπανιστάμενοι τῇ πόλει. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκφυγόντες Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ᾤκησαν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας ἐχθρωδῶς διακείμενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὥρμησαν εἰς πλοῖα καὶ κατασχόντες Βραύρωνα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἥρπασαν παρθένους ἀρκτευομένας τῇ θεῷ τοῖς Βραυρωνίοις αἷς συνῴησαν.

So the Herodotean version casts the Pelasgians as the perfidious co-inhabitants, metics even, expelled by the stout sons of Attica. Their villainy legitimized Athenian actions in any land labelled Pelasgian, such as Lemnos. The Romans, once introduced to the story, employed it to mark their place in the myth-geography of the Mediterranean. The Pelasgians, ever wanderers, ended up in Italy, not exactly autochthons but certainly there before the Romans. The identification of Pelasgians with Tyrrhenians was already in place in the fifth century, when Thucydides, describing the languages spoken on the Acte peninsula, describes one this way: 'mostly Pelasgian, the language of those Tyrsenians who once occupied Lemnos and Athens' (τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λῆμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, Thuc. 4.109.4).[34]

It is precisely because of this highly contingent quality—traditions of ethnic origins can be manipulated infinitely—that local versions could be almost chaotically inconsistent in detail. This is what makes the cluster of the Pelasgian myths so useful. Accordingly, in one place the Pelasgians could serve as wanderers, outcasts and villains, while in another they were upright, indigenous and honorable. The former tradition took root in Athens. This is the version, in the Atthidographers and picked up by Varro and Servius, that emphasized the Pelasgians as pirates, the appearance of whose sails was an ill omen.

33 See also Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 frg. 101 (= Schol. BT ad Hom. *Il.* 1.594) explaining that the Sintians were Pelasgians whose name was derived from *sinesthai* (to plunder).

34 Cf. also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17–30. The famous Lemnian stele is sometime adduced as evidence of the plausibility of an Etruscan-Pelasgian equivalence.

This was the version that employed the *pelasgos*/pelican etymology, as we saw in Philochorus, a bit of folk etymology that was rooted in popular traditions. Aristophanes alludes to it in the *Birds*, the Telemachus monument confirms it, and Strabo's remark that according to the Atthidographers the Athenians called the Pelasgians *pelargi* because they settled 'like birds in any place where they chanced to come' is clearly supported by the extant fragments of Philochorus.[35]

4 Autochthonous Pelasgians

At the same time, however, there also existed the exact opposite of this tradition of wandering, according to which the Pelasgians were autochthonous. In the *Suppliant Women* Aeschylus has the King of Argos declare to the Danaids (*Supp.* 250–253, trans. Smyth):

> I am Pelasgus, offspring of Palaechthon, whom the earth brought forth, and lord of this land; and after me, their king, is rightly named the race of the Pelasgi, who harvest the land.[36]

> τοῦ γηγενοῦς γάρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Παλαίχθονος
> ἶνις Πελασγός, τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης.
> ἐμοῦ δ' ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον
> γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρποῦται χθόνα.

Curiously, Aeschylus goes on to specify the territory ruled by Pelasgos and his people and it is not Peloponnesian Argos at all, but the broad swathe of land in Thessaly extending to the Strymon on the border of Macedon—a tip of the hat, perhaps, to the persistent Thessalian claim to the Pelasgians, made less troubling to an Athenian audience by the twinning of Peloponnesian Argos with Pelasgian Argos, located in Thessaly. But there were more claims to autochthonous Pelasgians. Ephorus, who followed Hesiod, describes the

35 Cf. Ar. *Av.* 832, where Euelpides asks who will guard the City's *pelargikon*, to which Epops replies: a bird. Cf. also Str. 5.2.4; see Hopper 1963 for the whimsical suggestion that the ruins of the Pelargicon were characterized by the nests of storks, whence the name. Cf. Philochorus *FGrH* 328 frg. 99.

36 The scene in which the Danaids offer gifts to Pelasgos in exchange for his protection appears on an Attic hydria and he turns up on a handful of Apulian kraters depicting the Danaids, but neither he nor the Pelasgians figure otherwise in vase painting. See *LIMC* 7.1 and 2, s.v. 'Pelasgos'.

Arcadians, famously the most autochthonous of the Greeks by virtue of being older than the moon, as the children of Lycaeon, son of Pelasgos (Str. 5.2.4). And Herodotus, in an unusual passage, maintains that Croesus, upon looking into the origins of the Greeks, discovered this about the tribes of the Greeks (Hdt. 1.56.2, trans. Godley):

> These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second a Hellenic people. The Pelasgian race has never yet left its home; the Hellenic has wandered often and far.
>
> *ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα.*

So now the Pelasgians are distinctive for being the very opposite of wandering and it is the Hellenes who are the wanderers. Yet that doesn't mean that Herodotus sees them as living in an *Urheimat* in Thessaly. His explanation for the language of the Pelasgians has him seeing them everywhere. He says (Hdt. 1.57.1–3, trans. Godley):

> What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot say definitely. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who live above the Tyrrheni in the city of Creston—who were once neighbors of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian—and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to live among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name: if, as I said, one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If, then, all the Pelasgian stock spoke so, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbors; and it is plain that they still preserve the manner of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they live.
>
> *ἥντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην) καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο*

> Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι, δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

So, in the space of two chapters, Herodotus has gone from claiming that the Pelasgians have never left their home, to describing the various linguistic changes that have occurred as a result of their migrations. Again, one wonders what his Athenian audience made of an account, according to which the Athenians were *originally* Pelasgians who had adopted Greek when they were hellenized.[37] Herodotus' account is virtually the diametric opposite of Plato's well-known view, expressed in the *Menexenus* 245c–d, where the Athenians assert the autochthony of their ancestors, who are Greeks by nature (φύσει), in contrast to their neighbors, the Peloponnesians and Thebans who were only nominally (νόμῳ) Greek, but were actually descended from barbarians such as Cadmus, Aegyptus and Danaus.

Herodotus' apparently contradictory treatment of the Pelasgians—Emily Bagarwanath terms it the 'home and away' character of the Pelasgians—reflects a distinctive quality of the Pelasgian tradition, in which, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood pointed out, ethnic discourse could be employed to explore the barbarian 'as both other and significantly comparable to the self'.[38] Could this be a case, in fact, of Herodotus both recounting the Athenian tradition of the Pelasgians as the Other and suggesting that in actuality the Athenians had it wrong: they were the Other?

If the Athenians wanted to demonize the Pelasgians (or Pelasgianize their demons), the Argives hewed closely to the autochthony version. According to Pausanias, the Argives claimed that Pelasgos had received Demeter into his home in Argos and his tomb was located near the temple of Pelasgian Demeter in the city.[39] The Argive identification with the Pelasgians went back as far as Acusilaus, who gave Argus and Pelasgos as the two sons of Zeus by Niobe.[40] The Argive association was picked up in Athens, despite the fact that it bore

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37 Thomas 2000, 216; and 2001, 224

38 Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 144.

39 Paus. 1.14.2 and 2.22

40 Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1

no relation to the prevailing Athenian tradition. Aeschylus used the Pelasgian claim of the Argives as a focal point for the *Supplices*, and Euripides and Plato both repeat the claim.[41] We have seen that the Argive king is none other than the eponymous Pelasgos, but as commentators have long noted, the Pelasgian Argives collectively behave very much like the Athenian assembly. Faced with the suppliant women their decision is described thus (Aesch. *Supp.* 605–624, trans. Smyth):

> It was decided by the Argives, not by any doubtful vote but in such a way as to make my aged heart renew its youth. For the air bristled with right hands held aloft as, in full vote, they ratified this resolution into law: 'That we are settlers in this land, and are free, subject to no seizure, and secure from robbery of man; that no one, native or alien, lead us captive; but, if they turn to violence, any landholder who refuses to rescue us, should both forfeit his rights and suffer public banishment.' Such was the persuasive speech that the king of the Pelasgians delivered on our behalf, uttering the solemn warning that never in the future should the city feed the great wrath of Zeus, protector of the suppliant; and declaring that, should a twofold defilement—from strangers and from natives at once—arise before the city, it would become fodder for distress past all relief. Hearing these words, the Argive people, waiting for no proclamation of crier, voted by uplifted hand that this should be so. It was the Pelasgian people, won readily to assent, who heard the subtle windings of his speech; but it was Zeus who brought the end to pass.

> ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν οὐ διχορρόπως,
> ἀλλ᾽ ὥστ᾽ ἀνηβῆσαί με γηραιᾷ φρενί—
> πανδημίᾳ γὰρ χερσὶ δεξιωνύμοις
> ἔφριξεν αἰθὴρ τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον—
> ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους
> κἀρρυσιάστους ξύν τ᾽ ἀσυλίᾳ βροτῶν·
> καὶ μήτ᾽ ἐνοίκων μήτ᾽ ἐπηλύδων τινὰ
> ἄγειν· ἐὰν δὲ προστιθῇ τὸ καρτερόν,
> τὸν μὴ βοηθήσαντα τῶνδε γαμόρων
> ἄτιμον εἶναι ξὺν φυγῇ δημηλάτῳ.
> τοιάνδ᾽ ἔπειθεν ῥῆσιν ἀμφ᾽ ἡμῶν λέγων
> ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, ἱκεσίου Ζηνὸς κότον

41 Eur. *Or.* 682; Pl. *Hp. mai.* 288b.

μέγαν προφωνῶν μήποτ᾽ εἰσόπιν χρόνου
πόλιν παχῦναι, ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ᾽ ἅμα
λέγων διπλοῦν μίασμα πρὸ πόλεως φανὲν
ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς πέλειν.
τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀκούων χερσὶν Ἀργεῖος λεὼς
ἔκραν᾽ ἄνευ κλητῆρος ὡς εἶναι τάδε.
δημηγόρους δ᾽ ἤκουσεν εὐπιθὴς στροφὰς
δῆμος Πελασγῶν· Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἐπέκρανεν τέλος.

Geoffrey Bakewell has made the point that unlike Thebes, the anti-Athens on the stage, Argos is something of a blank page on which the tragedian can paint anything, in this case a heroic version of the Athenian democracy. But it is curious, surely, that Aeschylus' Argos should be so emphatically Pelasgian when this is at odds with relatively contemporary Athenian ideas about the Pelasgians. Bakewell argues that the plight of the *Suppliant Women* suggest the vulnerability of metics, those whose outsider status demanded special consideration since they lacked the standing of Athenians when it came to the protection of law.[42] In fact a Pelasgian reference seems to turn up in Athenian culture whenever outsiders are under consideration, whether metics, in Aeschylus, or cleruchs, in Herodotus.

5 The Discourse of Exclusion

There is, of course, another outsider group that impressed itself on the consciousness of Athenians and many other legitimate Greeks: slaves. To understand the attraction of the Pelasgian myth we have to examine the intersection of two vectors of discourse that are normally kept separate: ethnicity and servitude. With regard to ethnicity, the prevailing view, articulated by Jonathan Hall twenty years ago and now widely accepted, is that ethnogenesis in the Greek world proceeded aggregatively, that is, without the systematic exclusion of outgroups, as is normally the case in the formation of ethnic groups, when inferiors or negative types are identified, against whom an evolving ethnos maps itself.[43] But there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that that the well-known social tensions within the Greek states of the archaic period expressed themselves, in some places at least, as ethnic distinctions. It is often noted that the foundation

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42 Bakewell 1997, 211–216. Cf. also Mitchell 2006.

43 On outgroups see Hall 2002, 99.

myths of many Greek states were mapped onto a pattern of autochthony versus exogenous origins. The Spartiate aristocracy of Sparta, for example, could point to the return of the Heraclidae to blend both autochthony and exogeny. The Pelasgian motif clearly fits into this broader pattern of binary origins. But as a corollary to this, in many Greek states there was also a distinction between the origins of the elite and of the origins of the masses, especially in rural societies in which many workers were tied to the land.

Behind these traditions concerning unfree labor, sometimes called serfs, sometimes called slaves, often lie two constructs: the first was the notion that these were happy slaves, in fact free men who had willingly surrendered their freedom for pay, and often related to this was a second construct, namely that the servile group, unlike the elite, was an indigenous population.[44] There were many such servile groups, and traditions regarding the unfree recur in a variety of sources. A Byzantine lexicon, the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, is especially helpful in offering the names of a number of enslaved populations which are classified among those whose status is equivalent to that of the Spartan helots. In its gloss of the term, 'Helots', the lexicon records these details (*Etym. Gud.*, ed. Sturz, 165.53 s.v. εἵλωτες):

> 'Helots': Lacedaemonians and slaves, according to the Athenians … It should be known that men are called 'Helots' who were free men who served as slaves for pay; such men are called Thetes among the Athenians, Gymnetes among the Argives, Penestae among the Thessalians, Pelatae among the Cretans, Coryphaniri among the Sicyonians and Callicari among the Syracusans.[45]
>
> Εἵλωτες· οἱ Λακεδαίμονες καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις. … ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι εἵλωτες λέγονται οἱ μισθῷ δουλεύοντες ἐλεύθεροι, οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις θῆτες λέγονται, παρὰ Ἀργείοις γυμνῆτες, παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς πενέ⟨σ⟩ται, παρὰ Κρησὶ πελάται, παρὰ Σικορονίοις κορυφανίροι, παρὰ δὲ Συρακοσίοις καλλικάροι.

The Byzantine encyclopedia that collected these references by no means exhausted the variety of indentured populations designated in such a way as to distinguish them from elites. The Coniopodes at Epidauros were known for

44 For a full discussion of the various groups listed in this section see Ducat 1990, 31–44.

45 'Coryphaniri' is probably to be corrected to Corynephoroi; the Callicari appear elsewhere as Callicurii, Cillicurii and Cillyrii. For full references see De Stefani's edition of the *Etymologicum Gudianum*.

their dusty feet and consisted of the majority of the population who worked the fields, as opposed to the 180 men who possessed the *politeuma*.[46] Pelatai, in addition to being the name of the enslaved Cretans, was also the name given to the Hectemori at Athens, according to the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*.[47] The Clarotae on Crete, according to Ephorus, were serfs tied to the soil, who were given festivals of their own: 'free people do not enter the city during them, and the slaves control everything and have the authority to whip free individuals.'[48]

All the cases cited appear to involve enslaved Greek populations within Greek territories. There were other such groups overseas, consisting of indigenous populations enslaved by colonial settlers. These included the Cillyrii at Syracuse, drawn from the indigenous Sicel population, the Pedieis of Priene, who were distinguished from the free citizens of Priene and the Gergithes, the opponents of the wealthy in a rancorous civil war in Miletos.[49] An especially revealing case is that of the Mariandyni at Heracleia Pontica, who, according to Posidonius, were too feeble to take care of themselves and so voluntarily accepted servitude to the Heracliots.[50] All of these are examples of the phenomenon of social closure, whereby a significant portion of the population marks itself off from the rest. It is characteristic of an emerging social order, but it was a short step to cast the difference between such social sets as ethnic differences as well.[51] Colonial experiences may, in fact, have provided the model. When the citizens of Heracleia Pontica pointed to their Greek origins, their slaves and the indigenous population, the Mariandyni, became one and the same thing: excluded.

This dialectic of origins, in which masters identified as one ethnic group, serfs and slaves as another, the one indigenous, the other exogenous, presented ruling elites with a valuable strategy for legitimizing their ascendancy. In the case of the Leleges, for example, the Carians could define themselves against the original and indigenous population. Comparing the Leleges' relationship to the Carians to the Helots and the Lacedaemonians and the Penestae to

46 Plut. *Mor.* 291e (= *Aet. Graec.* 1).

47 [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.2.

48 Ath. 6.263e, trans. Olson

49 Cillyrii: Hdt. 7.155.2; Pedieis: *IPriene* 1.10–13; Gergithes: Heraclides Ponticus 11.5 (*apud* Ath. 12.524a–b); *Suda* s.v. Gergithes. Also see Faraguna 1995; Dunbabin 1948, 111.

50 Posidonius' remarks regarding the weakness of the Mariandyni are in Eust. *Il.* 16.865; according to Callistratus *FGrH* 348 frg. 4, and Euphorion (Ath. 6.263c–d) the Mariandyni were called 'Gift-bearers' (*dôrophoroi*) to lessen the bitterness of their servitude.

51 Hagendoorn 1993.

the Thessalians, a local Carian historian, Philip of Theangela, wrote that 'The Carians also, both in former times, and down to the present day, use the Leleges as slaves' (Κᾶράς ... τοῖς Λέλεξιν ὡς οἰκέταις χρήσασθαι πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν, Ath. 6.271b). It was a dialectic certainly still current in the time of Mausolus, who appears to have encouraged a tension between hellenized Carian cities on the coast and an interior populated by indigenous Leleges. City versus country, interior versus coast, master versus slave: each could finally be subsumed by one ethnos versus another, provided there were stories that distinguished between those who were from a place and those who came from somewhere else, either nearby (πέλας) or further away (πέρα): Pelasgians. Theopompus expresses the same dynamic as follows (Theopompus *FGrH* 115 frg. 122):

> The Lacedaemonians and Thessalians demonstrate examples of places which have established their slave system from those Greeks who previously dwelled in the territories which they now inhabit, the Spartans employing Achaeans and the Thessalians employing Perrhaebaeans and Magnetes. Once enslaved these groups were known as Helots and Penestae.
>
> Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Θετταλοὶ φανήσονται κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν οἰκούντων πρότερον τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐκεῖνοι νῦν ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν, Θετταλοὶ δὲ Περραιβῶν καὶ Μαγνήτων, καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τοὺς καταδουλωθέντας οἱ μὲν εἵλωτας, οἱ δὲ πενέστας.[52]

If colonial Greeks could enslave native populations, then mainland Greeks could at least imagine that their slaves were ethnically distinct too.[53]

Discussions of 'the Pelasgian question' and the related phenomenon of the Leleges have tended to focus on positivistic issues, and are frequently based on the questionable assumption of historicity. In fact, the Pelasgians and Leleges were primarily useful as recurring but malleable elements within the stories told to give shape to ethnic identity. The stories fabricated around them served many purposes, and were, in Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's words, 'tools in these ethnicity discourses'.[54] The Pelasgians supplied the deep past with a concrete identity, allowing different communities to share that past, to stake a claim to the past even in ways that were frequently contradictory; but myth

52 Pl. *Leg.* 776 speaks of the Penestai as the *Penestikon ethnos*.

53 On colonial experiences and historical traditions see Giangiulio 2001.

54 Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 144.

systems are open and dynamic, so that such inconsistencies are frequently encountered. More ominous than the inconsistencies of the stories is their function: historicizing difference. It may be tempting to dismiss the Pelasgians as a fantasy, but the broader pattern of thinking that this fantasy reveals had dramatic and real consequences: imagining the Other as ethnically different rendered into narrative form an otherwise inchoate discourse of power, a narrative in which the value of others diminished in exact proportion to the exclusivity of the in-group.

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CHAPTER 3

The Egyptian Past in the Roman Present

Maaike Leemreize

1 Introduction

Modern studies of ancient Roman perceptions of Egypt have mostly emphasized the Roman use of (negative) cultural stereotypes, although in the last couple of years a tendency to look beyond stereotypes can be observed.[1] In Roman texts we find many examples in which Egyptians are said to be untrustworthy, superstitious, effeminate and insane. The stereotypes can easily be understood in relation to historical circumstances such as Pompey's murder, the behavior of the Ptolemies, in particular Cleopatra, and Rome's dependence on the corn-supply from Egypt.[2] However, apart from understanding the background

1 Manolaraki 2013, focusing on Roman literary imagining of the Nile, demonstrates that Egypt has many identities after the Augustan age. Gruen 2011, 107–114, in another important recent book on among other things Roman perceptions of Egypt, emphasizes overlaps and interdependencies between Egypt and Rome as expressed by Plutarch.

Note on translations: I use the Loeb translation (with some modifications) for the following texts: Cic. *Rep.*; Tac. *Ann.*; Mart. 8.36.1–4; Front. *Aq.* 1.16; Plin. *HN*. For Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.1–5 I use West 2002. Otherwise the translations are my own.

2 See, e.g., Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1955: 'Egypt must have had a great attraction for Rome also, as an object for artists and travellers and as the homeland of the goddess Isis and her entourage. But perhaps because of the extremely awkward circumstances under which contacts between Rome and Egypt started, because of the conduct of Cleopatra, the dependence on corn-supply from Egypt, the insubordination of a population that did not want to pay their taxes and because of the Roman aversion to an essentially foreign culture and religion, the strong Roman dislike of Egypt persisted until the time of Julian.' Smelik and Hemelrijk give an elaborate and useful overview of the Greek and Roman literary sources that deal with Egypt, focused in particular on animal worship. Other important studies on Roman attitudes towards Egypt include: Isaac 2004, 352–370, who discusses 'racism in antiquity', i.e., the hostility and stereotypes; Maehler 2003, who explores Roman poets (in particular from Horace to Juvenal) for their understanding of Egypt's culture and discusses the impact of Augustan propaganda on their poetry; Versluys 2002, 387–443, who interprets Roman perceptions of Egypt in terms of the Other; Berthelot 2000, who argues that Roman literary sources sharpened Greek stereotypes of the Egyptians; Sonnabend 1986, who focuses on the Roman perceptions of Egypt (and Parthia) in the late-republican and early imperial

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of negative stereotypes, it is also important to look at their *function* and their specific connection to the Roman discursive context. Stereotypes about Egyptians are usually a vehicle for messages about Romans.[3]

Apart from negative feelings, Egypt also evokes positive Roman reactions, first and foremost whenever Egypt's antiquity comes up in Roman texts. Therefore, modern scholars construct the Roman literary discourse on Egypt mainly as an ancient version of a 'classical tradition': the Romans privileged ancient over contemporary Egypt, in a way not dissimilar to their treatment of contemporary and ancient Greece.[4] However, while the relationship between the Roman present and the Greek past has received much scholarly attention, the use of the Egyptian past in the Roman present has so far largely been neglected.[5]

This chapter will be concerned with the uses of the Egyptian past in Roman imperial literature from the Augustan poets until Tacitus, which is to say that I will mainly deal with sources arising after the battle of Actium. I will distinguish three ways, for analytical purposes only, in which the Egyptian past functioned, which I will refer to as 'admiration', 'emulation' and 'incorporation'. First, and this will be my main argument, I will demonstrate by way of case-study how *admiration* of Egypt was used as a literary motif to support the general message of the larger (con)text in Tacitus' famous account of Germanicus' trip to Egypt. Then I will discuss two further Roman uses of the Egyptian past, *emulation* and *incorporation*, which I reckon to be consequences of admiration. I will show how Roman appreciation of Egypt's antiquities led to emulation, in contexts where comparisons with Egyptian monuments served to confirm Rome's own

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period and argues that these perceptions remained more or less the same despite increasing political contact; Reinhold 1980, who discusses the relationship between the political isolation of Egypt and stereotypes. For Cleopatra as a bad *exemplum* see also Gillespie (ch. 11, section 2) in this volume.

3 On 'othering' and 'self-definition' in relation to Greek and Roman sources see esp. Gruen 2011 (see n. 1); Hall 1989, who demonstrates the development of the concept of the barbarian in Athens in the fifth century BCE; Hartog 1988, who discusses the concept of the Other by focusing in particular on Herodotus' account of the Scythians. A recent study on Roman ethnographies is Woolf 2011. For the concept of the Other as a means to historicize present ethnical differences, see McInerney (ch. 2) in this volume.

4 See, e.g., Sonnabend 1986, 300: 'Das alte Ägypten und das aktuelle Ptolemäerreich waren für Rom zwei völlig verschiedene Bereiche. … Die Idee des alten Ägypten lebte zwar auch in der Gegenwart fort, doch bedurfte man ihrer nicht, um sich über die aktuelle, politisch relevante Einschätzung des Nillandes klarzuwerden.'

5 The most important example of Roman use of the Greek past is Rome's employment of the mythical past of the Greeks to construct an aristocratic Trojan ancestry; see Erskine 2001.

achievements. And, by using Pliny the Elder's account of the transportation of the obelisks, which basically is a story of incorporation, I will show how Romans inscribed the Egyptian past into their own historical record. Since all three ways of using the Egyptian past have admiration in common, I will begin with some general remarks on the Romans' fascination with Egypt.

2 Admiring Ancient Egypt: Some General Remarks

Many Romans had an urge to see Egypt with their own eyes: Julius Caesar went on a trip with Cleopatra, Augustus traveled around, notoriously refusing to visit Apis, and Cicero never went, but expressed his wish to do so: 'Yes, I wish and have wished for a long time now to visit Alexandria and the rest of Egypt' (*cupio equidem et iam pridem cupio Alexandriam reliquamque Aegyptum visere*).[6] Likewise, the signatures that Roman travelers inscribed on tourist sites, like the statue of Memnon, give evidence of the appeal of Egypt.[7] Like Greek literature, Roman literature praised Egypt especially for being ancient.[8] Cicero, for example, shows his respect for Egypt by recalling its antiquity when he notes: '… in that well-known particularly uncorrupted Egypt, which preserves written records of the events of countless ages …' (*in illa incorrupta maxime gente Aegyptiorum, quae plurimorum saeculorum et eventorum memoriam litteris continet*, Cic. *Rep.* 3.14). The Roman admiration for the monuments, the main tokens of ancient Egypt, was widespread in literature. Pliny the Elder, for

6 Cic. *Att.* 2.5.1. For Caesar's and Augustus' visit to Egypt: Suet. *Iul.* 52.1 and *Aug.* 93. Vespasian, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Diocletian visited Egypt too; see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1943: 'In descriptions of these visits to Egypt emphasis is always laid on the ancient monuments and the wisdom of Egypt as the motive for the undertaking.'

7 See Bernand 1960. The statue of Memnon is one of the two seated colossi of Amenhotep III (fourteenth century BCE) in the necropolis of Thebes. If the reconstruction of the inscription in Bernand 1960, no. 1 is correct, the oldest graffiti can be dated to 20 CE, otherwise the earliest datable signature is 65 CE: Bernand 1960, no. 2. For discussion of Bernand: Weingärtner 1969, 156 n. 155. See also n. 27. For general information about Roman tourism to Egypt, see Casson 1994, 257–261, 271–280; Foertmeyer 1989; Friedländer 1919, 421–444.

8 The distinction between Greek and Roman literature employed in this chapter is not based on the difference in language as such, but on the literary discourse. The works written in Greek show a level of interdependence between the Greek and Egyptian world that does not seem to exist to that extent in Latin works. Authors writing in Greek show the overlaps between Greek and Egypt (Gruen 2011, 76–114), while Latin authors express a clear Roman cultural dependence on Greece (Woolf 1994), not Egypt.

instance, considered the monuments of Egypt, along with several Greek constructions, to be miracles that could only be surpassed by those found in Rome.[9]

Roman admiration of Egypt is also manifest in Roman material culture. Rome was studded with Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts of which the obelisks were merely the tip of the iceberg.[10] The image of Egypt in Roman material culture, however, seems to differ from the one in literature; for example, specific Egyptian elements are sometimes appropriated differently in each. Within Roman material culture we find, for instance, Roman adaptations of Egyptian imagery referring to animal worship, a famous example being the statue of Anubis dressed like a Roman legionary.[11] In Roman literature, animal worship in general does not seem to have been received approvingly: literary references to animal worship seem to have functioned mainly to show the differences between Roman and Egyptian society.[12]

3 Admiring Ancient Egypt, a Case Study: Germanicus' Visit to Egypt (Tac. *Ann.* 2.59–61)

To analyze how Roman admiration for Egypt's antiquity may have functioned in Roman discursive contexts, I have selected as a case study Tacitus' account of Germanicus' trip to Egypt (*Ann.* 2.59–61). The opening lines of this account immediately underscore the great appeal of Egypt's antiquity to Romans: 'In the consulate of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus (19 CE), Germanicus set out for Egypt *to study antiquity*' (*M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur <u>cognoscendae antiquitatis</u>*, *Ann.* 2.59.1).[13] In two

9 Naas 2011, 61–65; 2002, 327–398; see also n. 61.

10 Catalogs of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects in Rome and Italy include: Arslan 1997; Roullet 1972; Malaise 1972; for an interpretation of these catalogs see Versluys 2002.

11 An example is currently on display in the Vatican Museums (inv. 22840). For an illustration see Malaise 1972, Pl. 1.

12 E.g., Prop. 3.11.41: 'she (Cleopatra) dared to set barking Anubis against our Jupiter' (*ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim*); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.698–700. For the generally negative Roman attitude towards animal worship see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984. However, Rosati 2009, 287 argues that Ovid's image of Anubis (*Met.* 9.690) deviates from the general Augustan picture: 'Octavian's *latrator Anubis* is not so frightening any more'. See also Manolaraki 2013, 200, who discusses the assimilation between Anubis and Cerberus in Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.112 and notes that 'the fearsome Cleopatran Anubis is only one side of his story'.

13 Tacitus' ambiguous portrayal of Germanicus has received much scholarly attention: see for an overview of diverse stances Williams 2009, 117–118, nn. 1–4. The following studies are of

chapters (*Ann.* 2.60–61) Tacitus outlines Germanicus' trip by enumerating the sites he visits. In describing ancient Egypt by means of its 'wonders',[14] Tacitus writes in the same tradition as Herodotus, whose description of ancient Egypt in the second book of the *Histories* is the best known example, and Greco-Roman and Roman writers such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Pliny the Elder. The works of these writers have a more open attitude towards Egypt than do Greek tragedy or Roman poetry, since ethnographical works in general show a less negative stance on foreign cultures. This is not to say that these works are devoid of negative aspects. In particular, the exploitation of the Egyptians by their kings has been noted.[15] Tacitus' representation of ancient Egypt shows many similarities to and overlap with stories that can be found in the works of the above-mentioned writers. Whether or not he actually knew the works of Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo and Pliny, Tacitus did not completely base his story of ancient Egypt on any of them specifically, but rather created his own version of Egypt, which we will now explore in somewhat greater depth in order to understand the general meaning of Germanicus' trip to Egypt in the larger context of the *Annals*. Below I will first discuss four ways in which Roman admiration for ancient Egypt finds expression in Tacitus' account (sections 3.1–3.4). Then I will explain how this approving image of Egypt contributes to the larger context of the *Annals* (3.5).

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particular relevance for this chapter: Weingärtner 1969 presents a comprehensive study on Germanicus' excursion to Egypt in general, and many of his observations regarding Tacitus' account in this were useful for my analysis; but he focuses on the historical reality, whereas I explain the episode in the larger literary context of the *Annals*. Pelling 1997, with his interpretation of Tacitus' Germanicus as belonging to the past, is crucial for my argument. Two recent studies that specifically deal with Germanicus' trip to Egypt read this passage differently: Kelly 2010 connects the Egyptian sites visited by Germanicus with 'royal failure' or tyranny and interprets this in a larger framework of principate versus republic (with reference to Pelling 1997) and 'cyclical political time'; Manolaraki and Augoustakis 2012 take Silius Italicus' Hannibal as a literary model for Tacitus' Germanicus and interpret *Ann.* 2.60–61 as foreshadowing Germanicus' doom. However, approaches other than the ones proposed in those two studies are possible, as I show in this chapter.

14 Tac. *Ann.* 2.61.1: 'But *other wonders*, too, arrested the attention of Germanicus' (*ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum*).

15 For a comparison between Greek and Roman attitudes towards Egypt see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984. See also Gruen 2011, 76–114. On the exploitations of the Egyptians by their kings see Vasunia 2001, 75–109.

3.1 *Linking Ancient Egypt with Contemporary Rome*

According to Tacitus, Germanicus starts his sightseeing tour through Egypt in Canopus, after having left Alexandria, and breaks it off when he reaches Syene and Elephantine, two Egyptian cities marking the border of the Roman empire.[16] Tacitus' account of Germanicus' journey is not geographically specified apart from its start and end. Most remarkable in this respect is Germanicus' visit to the 'mighty remains of ancient Thebes' (*veterum Thebarum magna vestigia*, 2.60.2) that follows directly after his visit to the Canopic and Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, hence with suppression of a ca. 850 km journey.[17] Germanicus' presence in Thebes is striking, not only because of its geographically odd treatment in regard to the beginning of the tour, but also because of the sheer space devoted to this account. The other sites visited by Germanicus—Canopus, Herakleia, the statue of Memnon, pyramids, Lake Moeris and the first cataract—are dealt with rather quickly. The importance of Germanicus' visit to the ruins of Thebes seems to revolve around the comparison Tacitus draws between ancient Egypt and contemporary Rome at the end of the passage in which an Egyptian priest explains what kind of information is contained in the hieroglyphs inscribed on the enormous monuments of Thebes (*Ann.* 2.60.3–4):

> [The priest] related that 'once the city contained seven hundred thousand men of military age, and with that army king Ramses, after conquering Libya and Ethiopia, the Medes and the Persians, the Bactrian and the Scyth and the lands where the Syrians and Armenians and neighboring Cappadocians dwell, had ruled over all that lies between the Bithynian Sea on the one hand and the Lycian on the other.' The tribute-lists of the subject nations were still legible: the weight of silver and gold, the number of weapons and horses, the temple-gifts of ivory and spices, together with the quantities of grain and other necessaries of life to be paid by the

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16 General studies on Germanicus' trip to Egypt include: Dils 1994; Hennig 1971; Weingärtner 1969; Koestermann 1958. For a discussion of *POxy.* 2435 and *P Berol.* in relation to Tacitus' account see also Goodyear 1981, *ad* 2.59.1.

17 The traveling distance between Alexandria (Canopus, Herakleia) and the border of the Roman empire (Syene [modern Aswan], Elephantine, first cataract) is ca. 1050 km. In geographical terms the first sites that Germanicus would have found on his way (traveling from north to south) are the pyramids and Lake Moeris around Memphis (modern Cairo, ca. 200 km from Alexandria). The next stop would have been Thebes and the statue of Memnon in the Theban necropolis (modern Luxor, ca. 850 km from Alexandria). See also Weingärtner 1969, 136–137; Kelly 2010, 221.

separate countries, *revenues no less imposing than those which are now exacted by the might of Parthia or by Roman power.*

referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur.

It is clear that the empire of Ramses never existed in the way that Tacitus describes it—the scope of the empire is very exaggerated—and no hieroglyphic text in Memphis has been found containing this information. The identity of Ramses probably got mixed up with that of the legendary pharaoh Sesostris, who was renowned for his conquests.[18] But more important than establishing what kind of information Tacitus or the priest based their story on, is the question of the function, purpose and effect of the comparison between ancient Egypt and contemporary Rome that was added by Tacitus himself.[19]

The image of a Roman general standing among the ruins of a power that was once as great as Rome is reminiscent of Scipio Aemilianus' worries about Rome's fortune after the sack of Carthage.[20] Interpreted this way, the comparison contains a warning to Rome about the mutability of fate and the consequences of empire. These kinds of 'philosophical' motifs are not alien to the character of Germanicus in Tacitus' *Annals*.[21] But in this particular case an

18 Goodyear 1981, ad loc.: 'The mention of Ramses gives merely a semblance of historicity to a rehash of legend, for what is actually said accords closely with what others tell us of Sesostris'; cf. Weingärtner 1969, 164–175. For a similar treatment of Thebes see Str. 17.1.46.

19 For the possibility that the comparison is not to be attributed to Tacitus but to the priest, see Weingärtner 1969, 174–176, who dismisses this possibility as less likely on linguistic grounds ('das indikativische "iubentur" enthält offenbar keinen obliquen Sinn') and on narrative grounds: Tacitus refers to the Roman contemporary situation again several lines later in *Ann.* 2.61.2.; see n. 22. In Tacitus' works the past and present are in general meaningfully associated; see Kraus (ch. 9) in this volume.

20 Polyb. 38.21–22. See for Scipio Aemilianus in the context of the 'sorrowful tradition of burning and destruction inside and outside the city' Miles (ch. 5) in this volume, p. 138.

21 According to Tacitus, Germanicus visited Troy for historical reasons, Tac. *Ann.* 2.54.2: 'So, after visiting Troy and those things there which are venerable *on account of the*

explanation in terms of 'mutability of fate' does not seem to work out as efficiently, because ancient Egypt is compared to Rome *and* Parthia in the above quoted passage. We might wonder why Parthia is included in this comparison if Tacitus wanted his Roman readers to think particularly about their own future. In his study of Germanicus' tour through Egypt, Weingärtner gives a convincing explanation for the appearance of Parthia in this passage. He connects Egypt, Rome and Parthia with power over the East. According to Weingärtner Tacitus refers to 'die "gegenwärtige" Position des imperium Romanum …, die durch das Nebeneinanderbestehen zweier "maxima imperia" diesseits und jenseits des Euphrats charakterisiert war'.[22] Hence, instead of evoking thoughts about the mutability of fate, the comparison is better understood in terms of concretizing the mighty territorial power that ancient Egypt once was by comparison to *the* two empires of Tacitus' day. Thus, the comparison between ancient Egypt on the one hand, and Rome and Parthia on the other, encourages the reader to interpret ancient Egypt in contemporary terms, leading to the reader's understanding and respect for Egypt's achievements. This is in line with Tacitus' entire account of Egypt, which gives an image of Egypt conducive to Roman appreciation and affiliation.

3.2 *Creating Intercultural Connectivity*

The first site visited by Germanicus is Canopus. Tacitus explains that it was named after Canopus, the steersman of Menelaus, who was buried there when the Spartans were driven off course by a storm on their return from Troy to Greece. This is not the first instance in Tacitus' *Annals* showing Germanicus'

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mutability of fortune and on account of being our origin …' (*igitur adito Ilio quaeque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda* …). For other Tacitean instances see Kelly 2010, 235. Kelly interprets the comparison as a warning 'about the transience of kingly achievement' (226). O'Gorman 2000, 113 argues that this comparison does not only point to the fleetingness of empires, but also to their continuity: 'Although the eventual fall of Rhamses' empire constitutes a warning to the Roman reader of the same fate in store for Rome, nevertheless the very construction of such a relationship presupposes a cyclical narrative of successive empires.'

22 Weingärtner 1969, 176 continues: 'Diese Feststellung des römisch-parthischen Dualismus im Bericht über die Begegnung des Germanicus mit den historischen Urkunden über die pharaonische Grossmacht wird allerdings kurz darauf korrigiert durch die—gleichfalls durch ein "nunc" hervorgehobene—Erwähnung der territorialen Ansprüche Roms auch im Osten: Germanicus erreichte an der Südgrenze Oberägyptens Syene und Elephantine "claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit" [*Ann.* 2.61.2]'. For a discussion on dating *nunc* in Tac. *Ann.* 2.60.4 and 2.61.2, i.e., on dating the *Annals*, see Goodyear 1981, *ad* 2.61.2.

interest in Trojan history. As we have seen already, in *Ann.* 2.54.2 Germanicus pays a visit to Troy as the place where the Romans' ancestors once lived.[23] For other writers Canopus had different connotations. In Strabo, besides being the burial place of Menelaus' steersman, it is also famous for its Serapeum, and it is notorious for vice; it was a well-known pleasure resort in Roman times.[24] The second site visited by Germanicus, the river mouth called after Hercules, is also linked to Greco-Roman mythology. Tacitus relates that there had been more than one Hercules and that the Hercules venerated in Egypt was the oldest one of that name, and that those with the same virtue who came into being in later times received that same name. Herodotus, too, claims that Hercules was an Egyptian god by origin and that the Greeks later created a hero with the same name.[25] By mentioning the origin of Hercules, Tacitus stresses Egypt's antiquity. Hence Tacitus not only shows that Egypt and Rome had the same cultural background, but also that Egypt had created ideas that were transferred to the Greco-Roman world. In regard to Herodotus' treatment of Hercules, Gruen argues against focusing too much on the established priority, and as a consequence superiority, of Egypt over Greece in this passage: 'A more significant point merits emphasis: that disputed claims couched themselves in terms of overlaps in the cultures. Whichever people first named or characterized the gods, their recognition by both affirmed that they were, in some sense, shared. The intersection takes precedence.'[26] Thus, by showing Germanicus' interest in Greek mythology, Tacitus evokes an Egypt that was culturally connected to Rome.

23 See n. 21.

24 Str. 17.1.17. For Canopus as burial place of Menelaus' steersman: Pompon. 2.103; Plin. *HN* 5.128; Amm. Marc. 22.16.14. For Canopus as pleasure resort: Juv. 6.82–84; Luc. 8.542–544; Prop. 3.11.39; Sen. *Ep.* 51.3.

25 Tac. *Ann.* 2.60.2: 'From [Canopus he visited] the next of the river-mouths, which is sacred to Hercules; the locals relate that he was born an Egyptian and is the oldest of that name: those later who were of equal virtue were adopted into his title' (*inde proximum amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque, qui postea pari virtute fuerint, in cognomentum eius adscitos*). Cf. Hdt. 2.43–44. See also Moyer 2011, 79–80. I am reluctant to use the term *interpretatio Graeca* or *interpretatio Romana* here, since it may not cover the complexity of Tacitus' unification of the Egyptian and Greco-Roman Hercules; see Gruen 2011, 82, who notes with regard to Herodotus' syncretism: 'If this is mere *interpretatio Graeca*, however, it is a particular form thereof.'

26 Gruen 2011, 84. His book 'aims to demonstrate that the conception of collective identity in terms of (rather than in contrast to) another culture forms a significant ingredient in the ancient outlook' (p. 5).

3.3 *Omitting Negative Associations*

After describing Germanicus' stay amid the remains of Thebes, Tacitus emphasizes the link between Rome and Egypt created by Greek mythology again by mentioning Germanicus' visit to the statue of Memnon, the ancient king of Ethiopia and ally of the Trojans. Tacitus reports the noise produced by the colossus when the beams of the sun strike it. In antiquity the statue was one of the greatest tourist sites of Egypt because of this miraculous feature.[27] Especially in the final chapter (*Ann.* 2.61) on ancient Egypt—in which this statue of Memnon, the pyramids, Lake Moeris, and the first cataract are touched upon—Tacitus evokes an image of Egypt as land of wonders by introducing the four above-mentioned sites as 'other miracles' (*aliis miraculis*).[28] The miracle of the pyramids is stressed by referring to their gigantic height, 'like mountains' (*instar montium*), and by referring to the skills necessary for constructing these buildings that 'were spread out in almost impassable sands' (*disiectasque inter et vix pervias arenas*).[29] Interestingly, Tacitus seems to restrain himself from any distinct valuation or judgment when he discusses the pyramids.[30] He only states that the pyramids were created 'out of the competition and wealth of kings' (*certamine et opibus regum*) without adding any negative remarks about Egyptian kingship. His report on pyramids seems to be an objec-

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27 See n. 7. Because the statue produced a sound at dawn, tourists to Egypt identified it with Memnon who was the son of Eos, the Dawn. This identification, however, might have originated even before the statue started to 'speak' at dawn, see Théodoridès 1989. Studies on the colossus of Memnon include Bowersock 1984 and Foertmeyer 1989, 23–25. Other royalties visiting the site include Septimius Severus (SHA, *Sev.* 17.4)—who was believed to have repaired the statue with the result that it was silenced, though see Bowersock 1984, who attributes the restoration to Zenobia of Palmyra—and Hadrian together with his wife Sabina. The latter's visit is commemorated in four poems—inscribed in Memnon's left leg—by Julia Balbilla who accompanied them; see Rosenmeyer 2008, Brennan 1998.

28 See n. 14.

29 Diod. Sic. 1.63.2–9 connects the immensity of the pyramids and the skills necessary for their construction with wonder and amazement. In this respect, the pyramids' sandy surroundings in particular underscore the competence that it took to erect these buildings. Plin. *HN* 36.81 also connects the building process of the pyramids with their sandy surroundings: 'No traces of building operations survive. All around far and wide is merely sand' (*vestigia aedificationum nulla exstant, harena late pura circa*). Roman appreciation of the buildings is not only based on their beauty, but also on the process of their creation; see Reitz 2012, who, focusing on Roman texts and images, argues that 'those aspects of construction which bolster the positive connotations of the monument (such as technical sophistication, coordination or hard work) are especially emphasized' (317).

30 Goodyear, 1981, ad loc.

tive summary of the works of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, in which the exploitation of the Egyptians by their kings in the process of building these constructions is expressed. Another Roman writer influenced by those works, Pliny the Elder, does include a value judgment in his discussion of pyramids. He qualifies pyramids as a 'superfluous and foolish display of royal wealth' (*regum pecuniae otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*, *HN* 36.75). Tacitus seems to follow the same pattern regarding the next Egyptian wonder visited by Germanicus: Lake Moeris. Although ancient sources predominantly connect the assumed artificial lake with extensive royal achievements and occasionally with royal revenues, Tacitus does not mention kingly involvement. He stresses its functionality in calling it a 'repository of the Nile's flooding' (*superfluentis Nili receptacula*).[31] The report of Diodorus Siculus (1.51.5–52.6) clearly shows that Lake Moeris was believed to have been used for irrigation. He explains how the lake intercepted the water of the Nile in order to ensure the availability of water when the flooding of the Nile fell short, and to take in water when the flooding was too abundant. In addition to omitting negative associations, Tacitus' reference to Lake Moeris' functionality ties in with positive Roman attitudes towards structures that were both gigantic *and* useful, such as the Cloaca Maxima and the aqueducts.[32] Thus Tacitus' Lake Moeris, his pyramids and his Canopus (as mentioned above, Tacitean Canopus is no pleasure resort) are devoid of anything that might lead to immediate Roman rejection. The Roman public may have had negative impressions of Canopus, Lake Moeris and the pyramids, but Tacitus at least does not encourage them to think in that vein.

When exploring what Tacitus does not include in his account of Egypt, I believe more clarity can be derived from a comparison of the subjects he touches upon with those found in other works. Three subjects may be conspicuous by their absence. In the first place, in contrast to Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, Tacitus does not refer to the worship of Isis, a popular Egyptian deity in Rome. Secondly, Tacitus' Egypt lacks Ptolemaic achievement, whereas Pliny

31 I read *receptacula* as a poetic plural, see Goodyear 1981, ad loc. Regarding the connection between Lake Moeris and royal involvement see Plin. *HN* 5.50; Diod. Sic. 1.51.5–52.6; Hdt 2.149, also on the connection between Lake Moeris and royal revenues. They all wrongly consider the lake to be man-made, but Strabo 17.1.35 presumes it to be natural. For *receptacula* and underworld associations, see Manolaraki and Augoustakis 2012, 396.

32 For admiration towards Rome's sewers: Liv. 1.56.2; Plin. *HN* 36.104–108; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.67.5. The Roman high esteem of aqueducts and their functionality will be discussed in my next section about emulation. On the Roman discourse on private aquatic constructions in relation to megalomania see Kelly 2010, 229, with references to other studies.

the Elder, for instance, praises the lighthouse on Pharos island (*HN* 36.83). Thirdly and perhaps most strikingly, Tacitus' account omits animal worship. This omission is glaring because according to Pliny the Elder and Ammianus Marcellinus, Germanicus did pay a visit to Apis, the bull venerated in Memphis. He even tried to feed the animal, but it refused to eat and according to both writers this was a portent of Germanicus' impending death (Plin. *HN* 8.185; Amm. Marc. 22.14.8).[33] As other studies have already shown, the absence of the Apis episode can be explained in terms of Tacitus' wish to avoid presenting Germanicus (too) unsympathetically.[34] In Roman eyes, venerating animals was believed to be something a true Roman should not do. Suetonius, for instance, explicitly mentions how Augustus refused to honor Apis (Suet. *Aug.* 93; see also Dio Cass. 51.16.5). Another non-Egyptian ruler over Egypt, Alexander the Great, did offer sacrifices to Apis (Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4), and it might have held some importance for the Egyptians that a new ruler would pay his respect to Apis. Hence, where ordinary tourists could feed the animal god without complications, the same action by Germanicus—as a member of the royal house—might have been interpreted as a devotion to Apis by a new ruler.[35] Although *argumentum e silentio* is tricky, I think it is worthwhile to speculate for a moment on the twofold effects of the exclusion of Isis, the Ptolemies

33 He did die shortly after in the same year on October the tenth in Syria: Tac. *Ann.* 2.69–73.

34 Weingärtner 1969, 146 relates Tacitus' omission of this episode to Tacitus' efforts to avoid an image of Germanicus of excessive adaptation to the Egyptian-Hellenistic world, as this might have led to strong assimilation to Marcus Antonius or 'empereurs-tyrans' (with reference to Leclant 1958, 83: 'Une tradition sénatoriale a fait des empereurs-tyrans des empereurs égyptophiles'; but *contra* Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1930–1931). For similar argumentation see Weingärtner on Tacitus' presentation of Canopus, 138–140, and on Germanicus' behavior in Alexandria, 99–108. In contrast to Weingärtner I do not connect Tacitus' manipulation of Germanicus' trip with bad *exempla* as such, but with Tacitus' efforts to avoid associations with contemporary politics. See also Goodyear, 1981, *ad.* 2.60.2, who expresses some caution in reaction to scholars according to whom the omission was significant: 'Still, since [Tacitus] devotes but three chapters to the Egyptian excursion, he must have omitted much else besides.' Goodyear is probably right in arguing that Tacitus' account probably left out many other Egyptian activities of Germanicus, but I believe that Tacitus' report is not a random selection.

35 Regarding Augustus' refusal to visit Apis, Weingärtner 1969, 144–145 argues: 'Augustus wurde noch während seines Aufenthalts in Ägypten aufgefordert, den Apis aufzusuchen … wobei diese "Begegnung" von denjenigen, die sie betrieben, zweifellos nicht als eine Besichtigung im touristischen Sinne gemeint war, sonders als Hinführung des neuen Landesherrn'. For Apis as tourist attraction: Str. 17.1.31. For an overview of Greek and Roman attitudes towards animal worship see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984.

and animal worship. On the one hand it avoids Roman disapproval, since the Ptolemies and animal worship were subjects of Roman negative stereotypes of the Egyptians, and Germanicus' grandfather Augustus had restricted the worship of Isis.[36] On the other hand, and perhaps more importantly, the omission prevents a distraction from the focus on Egypt's antiquity, effectively insulating the Tacitean Germanicus from undesirable links with contemporary politics.

3.4 *Recalling Roman Fascination for Wonders*

Tacitus frames Egypt as a land of wonders, as I have already noted above.[37] The first cataract, the last site visited by Germanicus before he reaches the border of the Roman empire, which is referred to by Tacitus as a place of 'narrow gorges and profound depth, impervious to the plummet of the explorer' (*angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis, Ann.* 2.61.1), is no exception. This description, however, has been understood as echoing the Roman topic of the search for the source of the Nile.[38] In Roman literature the quest for the source was associated with the unlimited imperial aspirations of rulers.[39] Here the connection is supposedly established by Tacitus' allusion to a story of Herodotus (Hdt. 2.28). Herodotus repeats a tale he heard which recounts that the source of the Nile was located at the first cataract and that king Psammetichus tried to reach the bottom of the source by letting down a rope that was many thousands of fathoms long. The allusion to Herodotus is obvious, but it is questionable whether it is meant to evoke the source of the Nile *per se* and not Herodotus' description of the first cataract as a place of natural wonder.[40] According to Herodotus the priest probably meant that the experiment of Psammetichus proved the existence of natural phenomena like whirlpools and alternating flows. The first cataract got the interest of Roman writers precisely because of its display of natural violence and as such was not presented as the source of the Nile. At the first cataract the sudden narrowing

36 On the meaning of the Augustan restrictions regarding the worship of Isis, see Orlin 2008.

37 See n. 14 and above p. 65.

38 E.g., by Kelly 2010, 230–231. I have cited the Loeb translation, but note that *nullis ... penetrabilis* seems to be corrupt; see Goodyear ad loc. for a restoration.

39 For a general discussion of this Roman topic see Romm 1992, 149–156.

40 See also Weingärtner 1969, 178: 'Die den Mythos des Ägypters real-geographisch mißverstehende Lokalisierung der noch in ptolemäischer und römischer Zeit kultisch verehrten Quellöcher ... kann hier umso eher außer acht bleiben, als Tacitus der auf Herodot zurückgehenden Tradition nur die unergründliche Tiefe des Strombetts, jedoch nicht die Vorstellung von den Nilquellen im Kataraktengebiet entnommen hat.'

of the Nile's pathway caused the river to 'riot'.[41] It was in Seneca's words a 'site famous for its extraordinary spectacle' (*nobilis insigni spectaculo locus, Q Nat.* 4a.2.4–5). Together with the flooding and the unknown source of the Nile the first cataract was one of the natural wonders of Egypt that fascinated Greeks and Romans alike. Considering all Tacitus' descriptions of the Egyptian sites visited by Germanicus, the Tacitean Egypt where Germanicus strolls around can be labeled as a theme park, an imaginary landscape far removed from political reality, where monumental and natural wonders are piled up to evoke that particular image of Egypt in accordance with Roman fascination.[42]

3.5 *The Tacitean Image of Egypt Contextualized*

Tacitus' representation of Egypt as a country likely to win Roman approval and understanding can be explained in the larger context of the *Annals* and especially in reference to the relationship between Germanicus and Tiberius, as Tacitus' account of Germanicus' sightseeing begins with a conflict between those two. Before describing Germanicus' trip to visit antiquities in Upper Egypt, Tacitus pays some attention to Germanicus' behavior in its capital, Alexandria. Tacitus relates how Germanicus lowered the prices of corn in Egypt by opening granaries in Alexandria (*Ann.* 2.59.1) and how Germanicus tried to identify himself with the Alexandrians by walking through the city without guards while wearing dress identical to that of the Greeks. These activities provoked Tiberius to some degree, but his presence in Alexandria to begin with led to severe disapproval (*Ann.* 2.59.2):

> Tiberius passed a leniently worded criticism on his dress and bearing, but rebuked him with extreme sharpness for overstepping the prescription of Augustus by entering Alexandria without the imperial consent. For Augustus, among the other secrets of absolutism, by prohibiting all senators or Roman knights of the higher rank from entering the country

41 For the violence of the Nile at the first cataract, see Plin. *HN* 5.54: 'where at its last [the northernmost, now the first] cataract owing to the enormous noise it seems not to run but to riot between the rocks that block its way' (*novissimo catarracte inter occursantis scopulos non fluere inmenso fragore creditur sed ruere*); see also Sen. *Q Nat.* 4a.2.4–5: 'violent and roaring through narrow channels' (*violentus et torrens per malignos transitus*); see also Diod. Sic. 1.32.7–11.

42 For the possibility that besides being the subject of antiquarian imagination (as Egypt is in Tacitus) a geographical location might actually also be maintained and developed as a 'zone of virtual antiquity', see in this volume Farrell (ch. 4, 104–105) on the Roman *suburbium*.

without permission, kept Egypt isolated; in order that Italy might not be subjected to starvation by anyone who contrived, with however slight a garrison against armies however formidable, to occupy the province and the key-positions by land and sea.

Tiberius cultu habituque eius lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alexandriam introisset. nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum ne fame urgeret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentis exercitus insedisset.

Egypt was important for Rome's corn supply and its strategic position made it easy to defend. Augustus, afraid that any Roman noble who had become influential in Egypt might become a serious threat to Rome and consequently to the position of the emperor, decided to turn Egypt into an imperial province managed by Roman knights after its annexation in 30 BCE.[43] Therefore, Tacitus implies that Tiberius interpreted Germanicus' presence in Egypt in contemporary political and economical terms. But after reading Tacitus' account of Germanicus' sightseeing tour through Egypt, we can see that Germanicus appears to be interested first and foremost in Egypt for its wonders of the past and not for its current political situation; Tacitus turns Germanicus into a visitor of the theme park Egypt that is distanced from the reality of the day, as I have argued above.[44] In this context Germanicus' tour through Egypt can be interpreted as an indirect defense against Tiberius' allegations.[45] The distinc-

43 See also Tac. *Hist.* 1.11.

44 According to Tacitus, Germanicus only *pretended* solicitude for the province: his actual reason for visiting Egypt was its antiquity (*M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. sed cura provinciae praetendebatur*, *Ann.* 2.59.1). This can be read as an excuse for Germanicus' illegal presence in Egypt; it was not politics that interested him, but Egyptian heritage. For this explanation see Devillers 2003, 235. According to my argument, Tacitus' entire account of Germanicus' sightseeing tour supports this reading. Suetonius, *Tib.* 52.2, takes a stance different from Tacitus when indicating famine as Germanicus' sole reason for visiting Egypt. On the legality of Germanicus' presence in Egypt, see Hennig 1972; Weingärtner 1969, 46–63; Koestermann 1958. Another reason for Germanicus to visit Egypt may have been *aemulatio Alexandri*; see recently Kelly 2010 (*contra*); Gissel 2001.

45 Weingärtner 1969, 122 also observes that Tacitus' account of Germanicus' sightseeing tour through Egypt is consistent with Germanicus' motive of visiting Egypt to study antiq-

tion between Tiberius' interest in present-day Egypt and Germanicus' focus on the past is also consistent with their general portrayal in the *Annals* when the two are put in juxtaposition.[46] Christopher Pelling relates Tacitus' characterization of Tiberius—summarized by Pelling as 'diplomatic, modern, unglamorous, but highly effective'—to Tacitus' general attitude towards the present principate: 'a regrettable necessity'; Germanicus, on the other hand, stood for Tacitus' conception of the republican past: 'good to write about; but out of keeping with the real needs of the modern world'.[47] Thus, the Egypt visited by Germanicus reflects the way in which he himself is characterized in the *Annals*; both inspire awe, but belong to a different age.

In the next two sections of this chapter the object of study will be not admiration for Egypt itself, but what I reckon to be two consequences of that admiration: 'emulation' and 'incorporation'.

4 Emulation

In Roman literature Egypt's antiquities, pyramids most prominently, could be used to enhance the status of Roman achievement when these two were juxtaposed. In this section I will discuss examples in which pyramids are used in comparisons as a means to praise Roman works. It is this kind of comparison that I have labeled 'emulation'. Probably the most famous example of Roman emulation of an Egyptian antiquity is Horace, *Ode* 3.30, lines 1–5:

> I have completed a monument more lasting than bronze
> and higher than the decaying pyramids of kings,
> which cannot be destroyed by gnawing rain

uity; see also ibid. 24–25. However, Weingärtner places this observation in the context of Tacitus' position in a historical Roman debate between Germanicus' supporters and opponents and not in the literary context of the relationship between Tiberius and Germanicus portrayed in the *Annals*.

46 For the 'meaningful interaction between past and present' embodied by Germanicus in Tacitus see O'Gorman 2000, 47: 'The Tacitean Germanicus demonstrates that the past cannot be seen on its own terms; on the one hand he becomes recognised as the embryonic and unfulfilled princeps only when his son becomes emperor, and on the other he represents a past which becomes "the republican past" only when it is viewed from the present of the principate.' See also Williams 2009, 119, who argues that the Tacitean Germanicus is characterized 'as the figure who personifies the future ruler of Rome.'

47 Pelling 1993, 77–78; also 72–74, on Germanicus' involvement with the past.

nor wild north wind, or by the unnumbered
procession of the years and flight of time.

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius
quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotens
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum.

Horace's poem will always be more eminent than pyramids, because it will—in contrast to pyramids that were thought of as extremely old—never be affected by weather and time.[48] In drawing a comparison between poetry and architecture, Horace was probably influenced by Greek literature, but there is no Greek parallel for the use of pyramids.[49] Horace's choice to take pyramids in particular as point of reference may be explained by recent developments between Rome and Egypt. Augustus had conquered Egypt and in the wake of the battle of Actium and the annexation of Egypt (31 BCE and 30 BCE respectively), Egypt and all its associations had become even more prominent and salient in Roman culture.[50] The eternity of poetry in comparison to pyramids is also a theme in the work of another Augustan poet, Propertius, who mentions besides pyramids two other Wonders of the World: the temple of Zeus in Olympia and the Mausoleum.[51]

Horace and Propertius used pyramids metaphorically to glorify their own poetic achievement, but pyramids could also be employed in more literal comparisons to proclaim the admirability of Roman buildings. For instance, Martial begins an epigram to celebrate Domitian's newly built palace with the following lines (Mart. 8.36.1–4):

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48 Pyramids were famous for their height: Prop. 3.2.19; Tac. *Ann.* 2.61.1; *Anth. Lat.* (ed. Shackleton Bailey) 415 and 416 = Breitenbach 2010, nos. 20 and 20a. For the translation of *situ* with 'decaying', see West 2002, 260–261. See also Nisbet and Rudd 2004, ad loc.

49 See especially Pind. *Pyth.* 6.10–14 and *PMG* 531.4f. For Greek influences, see Woodman 1974, 117–119; Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 364–367, also for a discussion on a possible 'indirect' influence of an Egyptian papyrus and for the general comparison between poetry and architecture in Roman literature.

50 For the prominence and wide range of Egyptian elements in Augustan material culture, see n. 10 and also Söldner 2000; Swetnam-Burland 2007; van Aerde 2013. In material culture, pyramids may have been on display as funerary monuments in Rome in Horace's lifetime; see West 2002, 262.

51 Prop. 3.2.19–26. Cf. the epigrams of Pseudo-Seneca, *Anth. Lat.* (ed. Shackleton-Bailey) 415–416. See also Suerbaum 1968, 326–327, on the 'Pyramidenmotiv'.

> Laugh, Caesar, at the royal wonders of the pyramids;
> now barbarous Memphis no longer talks of eastern work.
> How small a part of the Parrhasian palace is equaled by Mareotic toil!
> The day sees nothing more magnificent in all the world.
>
> *Regia pyramidum, Caesar, miracula ride*;
> *iam tacet Eoum barbara Memphis opus*:
> *pars quota Parrhasiae labor est Mareoticus aulae!*
> *Clarius in toto nil videt orbe dies*.

According to this poem, Memphis, the ancient royal citadel, now has no more reason to brag about pyramids, here framed as 'eastern work' (*Eoum opus*). The proverbial immense size of Domitian's palace is stressed when only a fragment of his palace equals the total volume of the pyramids, here referred to as 'Egyptian toil' (*Mareoticus labor*). Domitian's palace has surpassed the pyramids in size and consequently also emulated them in fame. Although the exaggeration in these lines is obvious, there is no need to argue for hidden irony in Martial, as Lisa Cordes shows.[52] Whether the encomium was interpreted positively or negatively is dependent on the recipient and on the time in which it is received. With the above-quoted lines of Martial in mind, pyramids may or may not have been regarded as suitable objects of emulation.[53] It is certainly true that the Roman admiration for pyramids had its limits, but this did not restrain Roman writers from using them to aggrandize Roman constructions, as Frontinus in his essay on Roman aqueducts shows (*Aq*. 1.16):

> With such an array of indispensable massive structures carrying so many waters, compare, if you will, the idle pyramids or the useless, though famous, works of the Greeks!
>
> *Tot aquarum tam multis necessariis molibus pyramidas videlicet otiosas compares aut cetera inertia sed fama celebrata opera Graecorum.*

This quotation of Frontinus shows an indirect admiration for the pyramids. Although the comparison with pyramids (and Greek monuments) clearly enhances the status of the indispensable (*necessariis*) Roman aqueducts, the qual-

52 Cordes (ch. 12) in this volume.

53 Note the ambivalence of particularly *barbarus*; see Schöffel 2002, ad loc. Gillespie (ch. 11) in this volume argues that the use of foreign *exempla* did not always lead to positive effects.

ification of pyramids as 'idle' (and of Greek works as 'useless') shows disrespect. Regarding the idleness, Frontinus is probably referring to Pliny the Elder, who, as I already mentioned above, described pyramids as 'a superfluous and foolish display of royal wealth' (*regum pecuniae otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*, *HN* 36.75). This criticism, however, did not prevent Pliny from spending several pages on an elaborate account of pyramids that shows his fascination with these buildings.[54] Thus, although pyramids could be associated with negative qualities, they were famous enough to have a status-enhancing effect on Roman buildings when the two were compared with each other.

In emphasizing the non-functionality of pyramids Frontinus highlights a characteristic of pyramids that was left unmentioned by Horace and Martial, who, as shown above, emphasized their permanence and size.[55] Frontinus, however, wrote a technical treatise about aqueducts in which we might expect some remark about functionality, just as the metaphorical use of pyramids fits Horace's poetry and employing the grandeur of pyramids to eulogize the emperor suits Martial's panegyrical epigrams. Although they all employ different literary modes, their argumentative strategy is the same: their own achievement is compared with and thereby connected to something truly admirable, here pyramids, by which a status-enhancing effect is established. When they stress the different (positive or negative) qualities of that truly admirable entity, the pyramids (permanence, Horace; physical magnitude, Martial; uselessness, Frontinus), in comparison with their own achievement, their own achievement even turns out to be greater.

Admiration for the pyramids made them one of the Wonders of the World and all the examples that I have discussed to greater or lesser extent show that the pyramids' status as one of the Wonders contributed to the effect of the comparison: comparing a Roman work with a Wonder of the World entails adding it to this illustrious list (or even making this list superfluous). Although these references to pyramids in my examples may only have been proverbial for 'Wonder of the World'—i.e., they did not need to evoke an image of the real Egyptian monuments near Memphis to have effect—I believe that the word

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54 The Elder Pliny spends eight chapters on pyramids: *HN* 36.75–76 and 78–82. The intervening chapter 77 discusses the sphinx. Pliny's pyramids and the other Egyptian wonders are emulated by the Roman wonders; see n. 9 and n. 61 for references to Naas 2011.

55 In Frontinus' text the size of the pyramids plays an indirect role. Frontinus compares aqueducts, described as massive structures (*molibus*), with pyramids, i.e., constructions that were famous for their magnitude. Hence, Frontinus' claim of the aqueducts' immense size is indirectly supported.

pyramid activated Roman imagination of Egypt. As already said, it was no coincidence that Horace singled out pyramids as a point of reference, since he wrote in a time when Egypt was the center of attention.[56] In the Flavian period, Egypt played an important role in the establishment of the dynasty. Vespasian was crowned emperor in Egypt and the Egyptian goddess Isis became present in imperial representation. In general Rome was decorated with many Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts in that period. Domitian, Martial's patron, showed a particular interest in Egypt. He rebuilt the Iseum Campense after a fire had destroyed it in 80 CE.[57] Martial's contemporary Frontinus shows that references to pyramids could have evoked Roman images of Egypt as a country dense with great ancient monuments, as he probably had Pliny the Elder's extensive description of the pyramids in mind when he compared Roman aqueducts to pyramids.[58] A pyramid might have been a byword for Wonder, but using it would probably also have evoked larger Roman images of Egypt as a monumental and admirable country. Hence, emulating a pyramid means not only surpassing a Wonder, but also surpassing Egypt.

5 Incorporation

Ancient Egypt was not only used as a relative indicator for Rome's own status, but it could also be incorporated by the Romans, as I will argue on the basis of Pliny the Elder's history of obelisks (*HN* 36.64–74). By 'incorporation' I mean the process whereby an original Egyptian aspect becomes Roman. In this respect it is different from 'emulation', which refers to the use of an Egyptian aspect only. The Romans, as we have seen, used Egyptian pyramids to mark their own achievement, without the pyramids becoming Roman. In some instances, however, as I will demonstrate below, emulation can facilitate incorporation.

56 Speaking of pyramids as the 'standard example' of a Wonder of the World, or as 'the monumental stone structure *par excellence*' (both quotes from Coleman 2006, 4–5) slightly ignores the Egyptian impact on Rome.

57 An overview of Domitian's interest in Egyptian cults is Darwall-Smith 1996, 139–153. For a different opinion, see Pfeiffer 2010, 284: 'Ägypten und Ägyptisches sind jedoch insgesamt eher als Randerscheinungen in der allgegenwärtigen domitianischen Repräsentation zu werten.' For the Iseum Campense, see Lemke 1994.

58 Pyramids are just one of the Egyptian wonders treated by Pliny. The others include: obelisks, *HN* 36.64–74 (see my section on incorporation); sphinx, *HN* 36.77; lighthouse on Pharos, *HN* 36.83; labyrinth, *HN* 36.84–89; 'hanging city' of Thebes, *HN* 36.94.

Despite the difference, emulation and incorporation have in common that they create a hierarchy, as can be illustrated by looking at the larger context of Pliny's account of the obelisk, the *Natural History* as a whole.[59] In the *Natural History* Pliny clearly creates a unified 'Roman world' by demarcating the known Roman world from the unknown regions outside Roman territory, but also by drawing similarities between all the different foreign nations that now together form that Roman empire.[60] Although all these different countries are presented as united in the Roman empire, Rome appears to be the clear center of the world. Emulation can be indicated as one way in which this hierarchy is established. Other countries are described by their amazing wonders, but Rome outdoes all those countries.[61] Another feature of the *Natural History* that creates subordination can be labeled incorporation: throughout the *Natural History* we read how all kinds of foreign flora, fauna and objects were transported to Rome. Here they received new meanings in their new context; i.e., they became Roman.[62] One of these transported objects is the obelisk.

In Pliny's already much-discussed account Egyptian obelisks are first and foremost dedications to the sun.[63] He begins by describing obelisks as monoliths made of Syene granite, constructed by pharaohs out of some kind of competition *and* as dedications to the sun (*obeliscos … solis numini sacratos*, *HN* 36.64). Pliny also ends his account on obelisks by noting that an obelisk erected by pharaoh Nencoreus was dedicated to the sun in accordance to an oracle when he regained sight after blindness (*HN* 36.74). Pliny relates that during his time three obelisks were on display in Rome: one in the Circus Maximus, the second in Campus Martius (both transported by Augustus) and the third in the Vatican Circus. He does not devote many words to the function of the first and third obelisks in Rome, but he does elaborate on the second one. Although the original function of obelisks as dedications to the sun remains explicitly

59 Especially during the last two decades, scholars have started to interpret this encyclopedic work as a whole instead of using it as a reference book. Most important in this respect are: Gibson and Morello 2011; Murphy 2004; Carey 2003; Naas 2002; Healy 1999; Beagon 1992.

60 For Pliny's 'strategies of encyplopaedism', see Carey 2003, 1–40.

61 Naas 2011, 65: 'Marvels of nature, marvels of human activity, the *miracula Romae* surpass the marvels of the world and constitute in Rome a *mundus alius in uno loco*'; see also 2002, 330–393.

62 Murphy 2004, 50–52, 160–164.

63 Plin. *HN* 36. 64–74. For a discussion on these chapters, see Reitz 2012, 51–53; Murphy 2004, 51–52; Carey 2003, 86–89; Naas 2002, 353–355. For an archaeological study focused on Egyptian obelisks in their new Roman context, see Schneider 2004.

intact in the Roman inscription that was added to this monument,[64] Pliny only refers implicitly to this aspect when he describes the new 'Roman' function of the obelisk: 'to the one in the Campus, Augustus of blessed memory added a remarkable function so as to mark the sun's shadows and thereby the length of days and nights' (*ei qui est in campo divus Augustus addidit mirabilem usum ad deprendendas solis umbras dierumque ac noctium ita magnitudines*, *HN* 36.72). When Pliny's references to the original 'Egyptian' function of the obelisk at the beginning and end of his description of obelisks are taken into account, the new Augustan function as a meridian can only be seen as a Roman adaptation of the former.[65] In the lines (*HN* 36.72–74) following the above quoted passage Pliny explains the layout and workings of the meridian, and especially discusses the various reasons for the failure of this mechanism to correspond with the calendar over the last thirty years. In Pliny's account the focus is on the new Roman function of the obelisk, even though its original Egyptian function as dedication to the sun is never absent.[66]

Besides this process of adaptation of the obelisk as *object* to new circumstances, Pliny's report on the obelisk can also be interpreted as Roman incorporation of the Egyptian *history* of the obelisk. As Pliny associates the Roman employment of the obelisk with an Egyptian tradition, Egyptian and Roman history seem to merge. It is important to realize in my analysis that incorporation is the *effect* of the connection between Roman and Egyptian activities regarding obelisks, but that emulation is the *tool* for establishing this connection. Pliny's account of the obelisks is a story of continuous competition. First the ancient pharaohs, who, according to Pliny, lived before and during

64 *CIL* VI 702: 'Imperator Caesar Augustus son of the deified Caesar, pontifex maximus, imperator for the twelfth time, consul for the eleventh time, holding tribunician power for the fourteenth time, when Egypt had been reduced to the power of the Roman people, *gave this gift to the sun*' (*Imp. Caesar divi fil. / Augustus / pontifex maximus / imp. XII cos. XI trib. pot. XIV / Aegypto in potestatem / populi Romani redacta / soli donum dedit*).

65 An interesting paper on Augustus' 'so-called *Horologium*' in its larger context is Heslin 2007, according to whom the obelisk is a meridian instead of a sundial. On this debate see Haselberger 2011, with responses and additional remarks by Heslin, Schütz, Hannah and Alföldy. A general study on obelisks in Rome is Iversen 1968. When we relate Pliny's account of this obelisk to the above quoted passage of Frontinus on pyramids and Tacitus' one on Lake Moeris, it might be argued that Pliny's obelisk is Roman not only because it was given new function, but also because it now has a clear public 'usable' function.

66 See Naas 2002, 353–355, for Pliny's appreciation of technical and practical 'wonders' in relation to his account on obelisks. For Roman focus on functionality, see also my discussion of Frontinus above, p. 73–74.

the Trojan War, are competing against each other in creating obelisks.[67] The difficulties in erecting these obelisks are stressed by the example of Ramses who tied his son to the apex of an enormous obelisk—spurring the laborers to work as carefully as they could—to ensure the construction of the obelisk (*HN* 36.66). The difficulties of erecting such a large monument are surpassed by the transportation of an obelisk from Heliopolis to Alexandria by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Pliny accurately relates how boats and rivers were equipped to get the job done (*HN* 36.67–68). And finally the Roman emperor Augustus, in his turn, surpasses Ptolemy by his transportation of the obelisks to Rome: 'Beyond all difficulties was the task of transporting obelisks to Rome by sea' (*super omnia accessit difficultas mari Romam devehendi, HN* 36.69). Here we have a clear example of emulation: the works of Augustus' Egyptian predecessors have a status-enhancing effect on Augustus' achievement. It turns out to be even more astounding, because the difficulties Augustus had to overcome were heavier than those of Ramses and Ptolemy. But this emulation not only relates the achievements of Roman and Egyptian rulers with each other, it also connects the Roman present to the Egyptian past. By writing a history of the obelisk from the first pharaohs via the Ptolemies to Roman emperors in such a way that each 'generation' surpasses the former, Pliny inscribes Roman emperors into an ancient tradition. This transition implies that Rome incorporated not only the object but also the ancient tradition for which the obelisk stood.[68]

6 Conclusion

Roman references to the Egyptian past provoke associations with the Roman situation in the present. In my case study of Tactitus' account of Germanicus' excursion to Egypt, Roman admiration for Egypt seems to revolve around an image of Egypt that evokes affinity with Roman values, whereby Egypt is not praised for its own culture but for its approved similarities to the Roman culture. Associations that may disturb such a positive Roman identification with Egypt seem to have been omitted. This Roman-approved image of Egypt functions to separate the Egypt visited by Germanicus from the reality of the day and the result is that Germanicus' presence in Egypt does not seem to be clearly politically motivated.

67 Plin. *HN* 36.64: 'Monoliths of this granite were made by the kings, to some extent in rivalry with one another' (*trabes ex eo fecere reges quodam certamine*).

68 See also Parker 2007 on several Roman interpretations of obelisks.

Tacitean dodging of negative Roman associations with ancient Egypt already hints at the limits of Roman admiration for Egypt, which become more explicitly expressed in Roman emulations of Egyptian achievements, particularly the pyramids. In the first place, emulation brings it about that Rome's own deeds are praised as a result of being juxtaposed to an admired Egyptian achievement. Secondly, by dissociation from certain undesirable connotations emulation establishes an even greater significance of Romans' own achievement. In this vein emulation may even lead to new criteria for admiration, which may involve a reduction of the admiration for the emulated object.

Roman admiration for Egypt's antiquity did not only lead to juxtaposition of present Roman and past Egyptian performances, but could also lead to the incorporation of Egyptian elements. Pliny the Elder's chapters on obelisks represent a process in which these original Egyptian objects turn into Roman ones. But Pliny's account also conveys a more far-reaching incorporation whereby the Egyptian past becomes Roman history. The Egyptian past could thus function as a mirror for present Rome. In this chapter I hope to have shown that this was not only the case in terms of negative stereotypes: Egypt was also the Other that became part of Rome's cultural foundation.[69]

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CHAPTER 4

The Roman *Suburbium* and the Roman Past*

Joseph Farrell

1 Introduction: Imagining the *Suburbium* of Rome

Already in antiquity, the Roman *suburbium* was a place with a very long history, longer even than that of Rome itself.[1] As time went on, its relationship to that history along with its identity in the present became ever more varied and complex. It would be difficult even in a longer paper to do the *suburbium* justice as a place where antiquity valued antiquity. But it is worth considering whether certain kinds of valuing antiquity did characterize at least some parts of the *suburbium*, and whether these different kinds of valuation may have had some common basis that extended throughout the *suburbium*, perhaps even helping to define it.

But defining the *suburbium* is no easy matter. Perhaps the dominant impression of it has to do with those places that appear frequently in our literary sources as areas of cultivated retreat from the pressures of urban life, especially places like the Sabina and the *territorium* of Tibur, Praeneste and Tusculum.[2] These are all areas where we find the richly appointed settings in which Roman writers celebrate the cultivated leisure of the upper class; and the descriptions that we have of them, especially those of the Flavian period, tend to value modern convenience much more than antiquity as such.[3] But the idea that a journey from the city to some other place correlates with movement back in time is a

* This paper has been much improved by the questions asked and comments made by those who heard the version delivered at the Leiden conference, by the editors of this volume and by an anonymous reader. A few specific contributions are noted below.

1 Numerous Italian cities claimed heroes of the Trojan War as their founders; these traditions probably arose at the same time or by analogy with those that ascribed the foundation of Rome to Odysseus or Aeneas. But the subsequent invention of the Alban king list to account for the centuries-long gap separating Aeneas from Romulus established that Rome was substantially younger than the other Latin towns and many other cities of Italy. See in general Bickermann 1952, Alföldi 1971, Momigliano 1984.

2 See, e.g., Braund 1989, Henderson 1999, Welch 2001, Spencer 2006.

3 A distinction can be drawn between different kinds of villa (*urbana, suburbana, maritima, rustica*; in general see D'Arms 1970, McKay 1975, Ackerman 1986, Bodel 1997), but the distractions offered by all of them overlapped to a considerable extent. Literary and cultural

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familiar trope of Roman discourse. Usually the distances involved are great, and the nature of the past that one finds in different places varies greatly, as well.[4] But these same principles evidently operated on a smaller scale, too, because one does not have to look very hard to realize that access to different kinds of antiquity is among the benefits that suburban places provide.[5]

Here is a simple example. Horace, in his letter to Lollius Maximus, informs his friend, who has been studying in Rome, that he in the meantime has been rereading Homer in Praeneste; and Horace then expatiates on the excellent lessons that Homer imparts (*Epist.* 1.2.1–5):

> While you were declaiming at Rome, Lollius Maximus, I was at Praeneste re-reading the author of the Trojan War, who says what is beautiful, base, useful, and not, more plainly and better than Chrysippus and Crantor. Unless you are too busy, listen to why I think so.

historians regard Stat. *Silv.* 1.3 on the Tiburtine villa of Manilius Vopiscus and Pliny's letters on his own Laurentine and Tuscan villas (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17, 5.6) as the principal ancient celebrations of the luxurious *villa suburbana*, but in many respects these descriptions closely resemble Statius' treatments of Pollius Felix' *villa maritima* in Sorrento (*Silv.* 2.2, 3.1) and of Atedius Melior's *villa urbana* on the Caelian (*Silv.* 2.3), as well as Martial 3.58 on Faustinus' *villa maritima* at Baiae. All these texts celebrate the splendor and advanced engineering of the villas in question, and in this sense are very different, as is well recognized, from moralistic references to luxurious and technically impressive residences in Augustan writers (Pavlovskis 1973, Reitz 2012).

4 So, for instance, Kraus (ch. 9, 228–239) discusses the way in which Cn. Iulius Agricola, serving in Britain as an imperial governor, finds a quasi-Roman republican past. Conversely, Gillespie (ch. 11, 272–278) and Leemreize (ch. 3) demonstrate how, in different ways, access to Egyptian goods gives access to a pre-Roman imperial past that serves as a model, with positive or negative valence, for a Roman imperial present. On Egyptomania and Roman villa culture see Leach 1988, 267–271 and Spencer 2010, 142–155, with further references. More generally, the Ocean that bounded the *oikoumenê* was sometimes conceived of as embodying the elemental instability of the world at an early point in its genesis (Romm 1992, 20–26; 176–183), not entirely unlike the way in which the light that reaches us from the most distant stars bears information about the universe as it was billions of years ago.

5 I mention in passing Ovid's etiological excursions into the *suburbium* as reported in several episodes of the *Fasti* (e.g., at 3.87–98 he compares the Roman calendar to those of various Latin towns; at 3.667 the Anna Perenna episode is linked to *suburbanis Bovillis*; at 4.683–686 Ovid claims to have learned about certain elements of the Cerealia at Carseoli while he was en route to Sulmo; at 4.905 he reports having encountered a celebration of the Robigalia while returning to Rome from Nomentum; at 6.57–64 Juno mentions that she is worshipped not just at Rome but by the *suburbani* as well). On Ovid's full-dress aetiological excursion into Faliscan territory in *Am.* 3.13 see below.

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi;
qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te distinet, audi.

We obviously have here a familiar Horatian contrast between town and country, between *labor* and *otium*, between civic involvement and private retreat. But we also have a less specifically Horatian contrast between now and then, particularly with regard to education: Lollius is training himself by the modern technique of declamation (*dum tu declamas*, 1.2.2), while Horace is reading classical literature.[6] Lollius does this in the metropolis, Horace in a suburban hill town thought by some to have been founded by a descendant of Odysseus.[7] There is no need to labor these points; in fact, the very offhand way in which Horace states the basic terms of the dichotomy suggests it was so familiar that he could expect his readers to fill in the details.

But in what sense is Praeneste specifically 'suburban', and how is it like or unlike other 'suburban' places? Where did the *suburbium* begin, and where did it end? As it happens, Horace seldom speaks of places as specifically 'suburban', preferring, as we have just seen, to draw a simple dichotomy between 'town' and 'country'.[8] But his contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus, commenting on the large amount of building activity just outside the city walls, noted the difficulty of telling town from country at the point where both met—or, better, within the zone where they overlapped (*Ant. Rom.* 4.13.4). Modern

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6 Declamation is already regarded as a normal part of rhetorical training in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and in Cicero's *De inventione*, and it continues to be seen as such throughout the late republican and the imperial periods. At the same time, it is very frequently regarded as a highly artificial pursuit (Cassius Severus ap. Sen. *Contr.* 3, *praef.* 12–15, Petron. *Sat.* 1–2; Quintilian at *Inst.* 2.10 acknowledges the deficiencies of declamation while nevertheless defending it as necessary) and even as a new-fangled one: L. Vipstanus Messalla in Tacitus' *Dialogus* contrasts the practical oratorical training of earlier days with the declamation-based education of the present day (*at nunc*, *Dial.* 35.1; the dramatic date of the dialogue is 75 CE). On some of the contradictions involved in the ancient Roman representation of declamation see Gunderson 2003, 1–28.

7 On the various Praenestine foundation myths see Bremmer 1987.

8 Horace uses *suburbanus* only twice, once comparing the products of the *suburbium*, to their disadvantage, with those of the 'real country' (*Serm.* 2.4.15–16: *cole suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris / dulcior; irriguo nihil est elutius horto*). In the other occurrence, the phrase *rura suburbana* (*Epist.* 1.7.76) seems to me redolent of a very similar snideness; see further n. 17 below.

scholars who focus on relatively objective criteria consider this zone to extend at least 30 km and perhaps as far as 60 km from the city (so, a journey of either one or two days), and they speak of the 'inner' and 'outer' *suburbium*, respectively. Much of this area, when considered in terms of population density, transportation networks and so on, was surprisingly urbanized, increasingly so over time and in a way that involved all social strata.[9] On the other hand, literary and artistic evidence, which speaks mainly to the leisure activities of the urban elite, encourages definition of the *suburbium* in subjective terms as a landscape conducive to the relaxed celebration of the cultivated mind.[10] The two approaches share some characteristics: in particular, both depict the *suburbium* as a place that was anything but homogeneous. In material terms, urbanization was very uneven from one part of the *suburbium* to the next; and phenomenologically, not all suburban areas were deemed equally suitable for elite recreation (nor were all places that were so regarded within easy distance from Rome). Finally, while these two kinds of unevenness overlap, they do not always agree: the material *suburbium* is related to the *suburbium* of the imagination, but the two are hardly identical.

To get a sense of how different parts of the *suburbium* relate to one another and change their meaning over time, let us consider Maecenas' villa on the Esquiline, barely outside the city walls. Horace (again) makes it clear that he considered this place too urban in comparison with his own, more distant, Sabine villa. He contrasts these places, much as he does Rome and Praeneste, in terms of town and country; but unlike Lollius Maximus in *Epistle* 1.2, whom Horace places unambiguously 'at Rome' (*Romae*, *Epist*. 1.2.2), Maecenas' position just outside the city in *Ode* 3.29 is more ambiguous. This fact is clearly signalled by the two very different vistas that Maecenas' villa commands. Looking north and west, he may 'marvel' (*mirari*, 3.29.11) at the smoke and bustle of the city; looking east and south, he may 'contemplate' (*contempleris*, 3.29.7) the hill towns of Tibur and Tusculum. Maecenas' villa, then, is 'suburban' in the sense of 'almost urban' or even 'practically urban', because it represents a choice between city and country life that he seems unwilling or unable to make, despite Horace's urging and encouragement; for the poem invites Maecenas,

9 See in particular Witcher 2005.

10 Champlin 1982 is seminal in this regard. On the different kinds of 'rural' areas that existed even within the city (porticoes, gardens, illusionistic interior spaces etc.), see (variously) Conan 1986, Purcell 1987, Leach 1988, Braund 1989, Bergmann 1991, 1992, 1999, 2008 and Bergmann et al. 2010, Kellum 1994, Beard 1998, Welch 2001, Evans 2003 and 2008, Spencer 2006.

apparently not for the first time, to leave the Esquiline and join his friend in the more distant Sabina. Here again, if one is attentive to the dimension of time, it is notable that Maecenas' perspective on nearby Rome is dominated by the modern problems of air pollution, money and noise (*fumum et opes strepitumque Romae*, 3.29.12), while the more distant prospect of Tusculum calls to mind its mythic origins (*Telegoni*, 3.29.8). Maecenas' choice, then, is between the typical discontents of the contemporary metropolis and contact with a heroic, and deeply archaic, past.[11]

Time figures in Maecenas' choice in another way; or rather, it does not, and that itself is important. From the Esquiline villa one could reach the center of Rome in just a few minutes. The same could not be said about Horace's *Sabinum*. But, curiously, in writing about the *suburbium* and even more remote locations, travel time is seldom noticed, let alone emphasized. In this ode, it is as if Maecenas could leave the Esquiline and cover the short distance to Rome or the much longer distance to Horace's villa in the same, negligible amount of time. Think, too, of the Regulus ode, in which the republican hero's return to Carthage is compared to a busy advocate's escape to Venafrum in Campania or to the even more distant Tarentum in Apulia (*Carm.* 3.5.53–56).[12] These are hardly suburban destinations in a strictly spatial sense, but Horace treats them as such according to the elite geography of work and leisure. By the same token, Maecenas' greater proximity to Rome at the innermost edge of the inner *suburbium* contrasts with Horace's more remote position: relative distance connotes an ethical choice. But by the peculiar logic of the suburban landscape, distance and time do not relate to one another in the usual way. For Maecenas on the Esquiline, so close to threatening urban annoyances, time passes in an eternal present of pressing concerns.[13] It is the passage of time spent *not* traveling away from Rome that registers, rather than the time it would take to cover any given distance. And by traveling deeper into the suburban landscape,

11 It is somewhat jarring that Horace mentions Telegonus' unwitting murder of his father Odysseus (*parricidae, Carm.* 3.29.8). Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 350 comment ad loc. that 'in our passage there may be a hint of mischievous disrespect to counter the standard eulogies of Tusculum'. Quite possibly so, but the important motif of founding violence in the remote past should be borne in mind, as well; see further below and, more generally, Lowrie 2010.

12 On this poem and on the Regulus tradition more generally, see Leach (ch. 10) in this volume.

13 Cf. *Carm.* 3.29.25–28: 'You care for the citizenry, for what form of government suits it, and, in concern for the city, you fear what the Chinese and Bactra, once ruled by King Cyrus, and the quarrelsome Tanais are plotting' (*tu civitatem quis deceat status / curas et, Vrbi sollicitus, times / quid Seres et regnata Cyro / Bactra parent Tanaisque discors*).

we may infer, Maecenas would gain acccess to quite different dimensions of time, whether literary and philosophical (reading Homer at Praeneste), mythical (the founding of Tusculum) or historical and ethical (escaping to Venafrum and Tarentum like Regulus returning to Carthage).

This is, however, a particularly elite, and perhaps a particularly Augustan point of view. The *suburbium* as a whole and still more distant havens in Campania and Apulia are accessible to Horace's busy *patronus* in a way that they presumably are not to that man's less fortunate *clientes*. Martial, in a way that is typical of him, subtly expresses this perspective by means of inversion. As Michael Dewar has well shown, Martial probably had Horace's invitation to Maecenas in mind when writing about the suburban villa of his own friend Julius Martialis.[14] The place was situated in the northwestern district known today as Monte Mario, somewhat farther from the city walls than Maecenas' southeastern Esquiline villa, and this fact may reflect the reality of an urban sprawl that continued to encroach on the innermost *suburbium* during the decades that separate the middle Augustan period from the late Flavian (and beyond). But where Horace implied that Maecenas was too close to the city and that his villa's two perspectives offered him an ethical choice, Martial considers his friend to have found a position from which he might view the entire city and its *suburbium* with philosophical detachment.[15] He even establishes a link with mythical antiquity by framing the poem with comparisons to the garden of the Hesperides (Mart. 4.64.2) and the palaces of Alcinous and Molorchus (4.64.29–30). So there is no need for Julius Martialis to choose: his *villa suburbana* combines the best features found in those of Maecenas and Horace. Martial is quite clear on this point, explicitly stating that he prefers his friend's property to anything in Tibur, Praeneste or Setium (4.64.31–36). In addition, this villa is hardly so remote; but in another poem (1.108), Martial excuses himself from the *salutatio* of his friend Gallus in Trastevere because of the distance from his own digs on the Quirinal; an invitation to Monte Mario, particularly for dinner, would imply an even more tiring uphill journey and a potentially dangerous one home in the dark.[16] Dewar, then, must be right to suggest that when Martial praises in particular the *quies* that his friend must enjoy in his lofty *villa suburbana*, he is angling not just for a meal, but for a night's lodging,

14 Dewar 2014. My reading of Martial's poem is greatly informed by Dewar's perceptive discussion.

15 Dewar 2014 well brings out the ethical implications of *modico* (Mart. 4.64.5), *caelo … sereniore* (4.64.6) and *solus luce nitet peculiari* (4.64.8).

16 For Martial's apartment on the Quirinal, see *Epigrams* 1.108.3–4, 117.6–7, 6.27.1–2.

as well. The main point is that going from the center of town to a more peaceful location just outside the walls, though quite a negligible journey for the rich, was much more troublesome and tiring for the less well off.[17]

So it is clear both that the areas that made up the Roman *suburbium* were anything but uniform and that the ways in which they differed from one another changed over time. As they did so, the ways in which the *suburbium* was imagined changed as well, though not in any simple or directly analogous way, and not in the same way for all members of society. But, as we have seen, there are clear indications of a persistent tendency to think of the *suburbium* as granting access to various aspects of a more or less distant past that might be imagined as literary or artistic, Roman or Greek, historical or mythical, moral and ethical, or many combinations of these. Let us now turn to a brief survey of the possibilities.

2 A Grove of Ancient Virtues

This idea of a *suburbium* that stands in contrast with the city as a place that preserves or fosters positive values associated with the past appears in some surprising contexts. The elder Pliny, for instance, in a passage on the uses of various kinds of wood (*HN* 16.231–242), has occasion to mention the extreme age to which some trees could live; and as a case in point he cites a few very old trees in Rome, including some that he thinks date back to the time of Romulus (*HN* 16.234–236). But in the midst of this account he is suddenly reminded of more and even older suburban trees. There is one on the Vatican that he says is actually older than Rome: it bears an inscription in Etruscan testifying that even then (*iam tum*) it was an object of veneration.[18] The *mons Vaticanus* is of course, like the villas of Maecenas and Julius Martialis, just barely outside the city; and unsurprisingly, with greater distance, greater depths of antiquity become available.[19] Pliny continues (*HN* 16.237):

17 Dewar 2014. For similarly contrasting perspectives on a suburban outing (a pleasant diversion for the rich man, an obligatory chore for his poorer dependent), see Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.75–76 (and, on the phrase *rura suburbana* in that passage, see n. 8 above).

18 Cf. Plin. *HN* 16.237: 'Moreover, there is on the Vatican an oak tree older than the city, on which an inscription in bronze Etruscan letters indicates that the tree was deemed worthy of religious veneration even then' (*Vetustior autem urbe in Vaticano ilex, in qua titulus aereis litteris Etruscis religione arborem iam tum dignam fuisse significat*).

19 Cf. n. 4 above.

> The people of Tibur have an origin long before the city of Rome. And they still have three trees older even than their founder Tiburnus, who is said to have taken auspices in that grove. And they say he was the son of Amphiaraus, who died at Thebes a generation before the Trojan War.
>
> *Tiburtes quoque originem multo ante urbem Romam habent. apud eos extant ilices tres etiam Tiburno conditore eorum vetustiores, apud quas inauguratus traditur. fuisse autem eum tradunt filium Amphiarai, qui apud Thebas obierit una aetate ante Iliacum bellum.*

Mention of these ancient myths occasions a brief digression on some yet older trees that were still to be found in the Greek world (*HN* 16.238–240), and then a briefer paragraph on short-lived trees (16.241) before Pliny returns to the ancient trees of the *suburbium*, this time in a place called Corne near Tusculum, not far from the more famous grove of Diana at Nemi (16.242).[20]

A moralizing purpose is not far to seek in all of this: even the most luxurious parts of the *suburbium*, places like Tibur and Tusculum, not only are more ancient than Rome, but they also venerate their greater antiquity in the form of these remarkable specimens. Indeed, the entire passage, in one sense written as if for cabinetmakers, exceeds all utilitarian bounds to become a moral diatribe. Pliny begins by lamenting the absurd prices that some highly-prized exotic woods will fetch, and by deploring the use of deceptive veneers, first by employing one kind of wood to disguise another, then by disguising wood with tortoise shell veneer to make it look like something else entirely, and finally, coming full circle, by painting tortoise shell so that it resembles wood (*HN* 16.231–233). Pliny characterizes these techniques as luxurious and costly fads, each of which remained in vogue only until the next latest thing put it in the shade. They all share in an artistry that does not celebrate nature, but conceals and even deforms it; and as such they put one in mind of the elaborate *trompe-l'œil* effects that are often celebrated in descriptions of the most up-to-date suburban villas.[21] It is thus all the more striking that Pliny does not draw this connection, but instead associates suburban places with the veneration of living trees.

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20 On these groves and their relationship to the Latin communities of the region see Zevi 1995 and Green 2007, 89–90; 163.

21 On landscaping and landscape painting in Roman domestic archtiecture see Ling 1977, 1991, 142–152, Bergmann 1991, 1992, 2002, 2008; Bergman et al. 2010; Kuttner 1999; von Stackelberg 2009, 30–33.

Moreover, the implied contrast in this passage is not only between the *suburbium* and the city, but more specifically between the ancient *suburbium* and the Neronian capital of the very recent past. For instance, Pliny explicitly notes that the aforementioned trick of painting tortoise shell to imitate wood was a discovery of monstrous ingenuity made only recently during Nero's reign (*nuperque portentosis ingeniis principatu Neronis inventum, HN* 16.233). Conversely, after naming some of the oldest trees in the city, he mentions a cypress of like antiquity that survived until Nero's last years, when it fell and—the most damning part of the account—no attempt was made to save it (*fuit cum ea cupressus aequalis, circa suprema Neronis principis prolapsa atque neglecta*, 16.236). It is with the demise of this venerable relic Piny that takes us outside the city to the even older suburban trees that were mentioned before. By clear implication Pliny defines Nero's Rome as a place where trees are processed into items of conspicuous consumption, thus gaining a temporarily inflated cash value that will not outlast the next decorating craze. Conversely, he suggests, by gaining even a small distance from the capital one enters a place where ancient trees are cherished as living representatives of a distant, more authentic past. Even there, however, the pernicious influence of Nero's poisonous regime makes itself felt (*HN* 16.242):

> In our time Passienus Crispus, the orator, twice consul, and afterwards still more famous for marrying Agrippina and having Nero as stepson, was passionately attached to a fine tree (*sc.* in the grove of Diana at Corne), and he would often kiss and embrace it, not to mention lying down beneath it and pouring on it libations of wine.
>
> *in hoc arborem eximiam aetate nostra amavit Passienus Crispus bis consul, orator, Agrippinae matrimonio et Nerone privigno clarior postea, osculari conplectique eam solitus, non modo cubare sub ea vinumque illi adfundere.*

Here it is not neglect but a form of 'reverence' that seems eccentric, if not actually deranged, that emanates not just from the capital, but from the imperial house itself to appear as a parody of the truly reverential attitude that Pliny generally associates with the *suburbium*, an attitude that denizens of the contemporary city have lost so completely that their efforts to imitate it strike us as grotesque.

The symbolic importance of ancient trees is made all but explicit with the first—and actually the youngest—trees that Pliny mentions, an olive and a

myrtle planted by Scipio Africanus the Elder at his villa in Liternum (16.234).[22] This passage gives us a point of contact with the well known letter (*Ep.* 86) that Seneca says he wrote from the same villa, in which he develops a powerful contrast between the restrained and almost willfully austere villa culture of Scipio—who, from Seneca's point of view, is certainly to be numbered among the ancients—and the luxurious estates of his own time (including even some of Seneca's own).[23] Scipio's Liternum, which is much closer to Naples than to Rome, is too distant to be counted as literally part of the *suburbium*. But the letter is worth thinking about in this context because it contains a number of lessons that can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to our general understanding of the *suburbium* as a kind of time machine.[24] Simply getting out of the city, it seems, and going to the right kind of place could be imagined as a way of putting oneself in touch with an ancient, more salubrious, morally improving way of life; and the *suburbium* was evidently full of such places.[25]

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22 Other remarkable trees, both urban and suburban, that could be mentioned here include the *ficus ruminalis* (Varro *Ling.* 5.54, Plut. *Rom.* 4.1, Serv. *in Aen.* 8.90, Fest. 332–333 L) and the *ficus navia* (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.71.5, Fest. 168–170 L, Tac. *Ann.* 13.58), both mentioned by Pliny along with a third fig tree, an olive tree and a grapevine that were found *in medio foro* near the Lacus Curtius (*HN* 15.77–78, a passage different from the one I have been discussing), and Cicero on the *quercus Mariana* and its analogues (*Leg.* 1) with Spencer 2010, 63–69.

23 On villas in Seneca see Henderson 2004, Ker 2009, 325–360.

24 For Scipio the distance of Liternum from Rome is exactly the point: it is not a suburban retreat but a place of self-imposed exile. But the imaginary geography of Roman Italy changes radically over time: in the early fourth century, Camillus spent his exile at Ardea (Livy 5.43.6, Plut. *Cam.* 23.2). At the end of the same century, when the censor Appius Claudius banned the *tibicines* from the *Epulum Iovis* and restricted their activity to funerals, they seceded to Tibur; and Ovid (*Fast.* 6.665–666), in recounting this episode, notes (with obvious if strictly implicit reference to his own relegation to Tomis) that the *tibicines* 'exchange life in the City for exile and withdraw to Tibur: at one time, Tibur was a place of exile' (*exilio mutant Vrbem Tiburque recedunt: / exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat*). Both Ardea and Tibur were easily reached from Rome in a day, and had unarguably become suburban long before Ovid's time. Liternum and other Campanian locations were more distant, and so cannot be counted as suburban in terms of accessibility; but in terms of the characteristic activities associated with these destinations, it is difficult to distinguish between the inner *suburbium* and much more distant places; see p. 87 above and the following note.

25 Just one example, from beyond the material boundary of the *suburbium*: when the younger Pliny describes his Tuscan villa to Domitius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 5.6), he acknowledges his friend's concern about the pestilential nature of neighboring regions, but reassures him that the actual vicinity of the villa is exceptionally healthful, the local inhabitants living

3 Inventing the *suburbium*

To understand how Romans began thinking about the *suburbium* in this way we have to look back to the time of Scipio himself. Curiously, our earliest evidence takes the form of a certain disparagement especially of the other Latin towns around Rome. Praeneste, to which Horace repaired from the city for his re-reading of Homer, was notionally older than Rome and at least arguably more advanced in its adoption of a specifically hellenized culture.[26] But Praeneste comes in for some rough treatment at the hands of Plautus. In *Captivi*, for instance, it appears along with other Latin towns in a list of 'barbarian' cities (*Capt.* 879)—a remarkable concept in a Roman play adapted from a Greek original at a time when most Greeks must have regarded the Romans as barbarians themselves. But it was in part by creating a literature on the Greek model, though in Latin, that the Romans succeeded in establishing their own dialect of Latin as the correct one, relegating everyone else to provincial status.[27] In fact, Plautus jokes elsewhere specifically about the (allegedly) substandard latinity of the Praenestini (*Truc.* 687–692; cf. *Trin.* 609). So the definition of neighboring towns as constituting a suburban periphery that was culturally inferior—to some extent even in defiance of the facts, since many of these places at the time were probably at least as culturally sophisticated as Rome—is a project that begins in the period when Rome began to assume the pretensions of a capital city on the world stage.

But this early, rather anxious stage seems not to have lasted long. A new and more constructive phase becomes visible soon after the time of Scipio and Plautus in the works of the elder Cato—specifically in what Cato has to say about a particular portion of the *suburbium*, the Sabina. According to Festus, Cato, who was born in the culturally advanced town of Tusculum, made the following claims in a speech modestly entitled *On his Own Virtues* (Festus p. 350 L = *ORF*^{4} frg. 128; cf. Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 1.1):

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to such extreme ages that 'arriving there, you would think yourself born in another age' (*cum veneris illo putes alio te saeculo natum*, 5.6.6).

26 The famous Nile mosaic, which dates to (very roughly) about 100 BCE, attests Praeneste's integration with the Hellenistic world (cf. Meyboom 1995, Davis 2007; for a different view, Schrijvers 2007). The date of the fully developed sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia is disputed, but it is unlikely to be later than 100 BCE (Gros 1978, 50–53), and it was certainly much more ambitious and more representative of contemporary Hellenistic trends than any structure in Rome before the construction of the Theater of Pompeius (55 BCE).

27 On the problem of Latin literature in relation to Roman political and cultural hegemony in Italy, see Dench 1995, 74–76; Adams 2003, 151; 293–295; 642–686; 755; Feeney 2005, 236–240.

> Right from the start and throughout my youth I kept myself sequestered in frugality and in hardship and in hard work by means of tilling in the rocky Sabina, digging out fieldstones and planting.
>
> *Ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque in industria omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui agro colendo, saxis Sabinis, silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis.*

And Servius informs us that Cato had more to say about the Sabines, presumably in his *Origines*, since Servius (DServ *in Aen.* 8.638 = Cato *Orig.* frg. 51 *HRRel* = Gellius frg. 10 *HRRel*) begins with the information that

> according to Cato and Gellius they derive their origin from Sabus the Lacedaemonian, and everything that one reads tells us that the Lacedaemonians were very rugged. Cato also says that the Roman people followed the ways of the Sabines: so Vergil is right to call the Sabines 'austere', because they are descended from rugged ancestors and in many respects their Roman conquerors followed their way of life.
>
> *Cato autem atque Gellius a Sabo Lacedaemonio trahere eos originem referent. porro Lacedamonios durissimos fuisse omnis lectio docet. Sabinorum etiam mores populum Romanum secutum idem Cato dicit: merito ergo 'severis', qui et a duris parentibus orti sunt, et quorum disciplinam victores Romani in multis secuti sunt.*

Now this of course is the image of the Sabina that we all know. But it just happens that Cato is the first person we can name who actually talked about the Sabines in this way, and he clearly made a big point of it. So even if, following Emma Dench and Gary Farney, we put aside our prejudices, although most of the information itself is familiar, we may still have trouble recognizing the image of the Sabines that prevailed prior to Cato. According to this image, in the legendary days of Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Romans were one of the most primitive communities imaginable, while the Sabines lived in a much more developed polity. They refused to grant rights of intermarriage to their uncivilized neighbors. It was from these more cultivated Sabines, according to Fabius Pictor, that the Romans first got to know about wealth.[28]

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28 Cf. Str. 5.3.1 = 228 C = Fabius Pictor frg. 90 P (cf. frg. 8): 'The author Fabius says that the Romans first became aware of wealth when they gained control of this nation' (φησὶ δ'

That is interesting in itself: Fabius Pictor, writing a generation or two before Cato, regarded the sophisticated Sabines as acquainting their Roman conquerors not with hard primitivist virtue, but with riches, much as other conquered peoples would do in Fabius' own time. Specifically, we have the story of Tarpeia, whom the crafty Sabines tried to corrupt with costly bracelets in an attempt to capture the Capitolium; 'for, in those days', as Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes (*Ant. Rom.* 2.38.3 = Fabius Pictor frg. 8 P, Cincius frg. 5 P), 'the Sabines wore golden jewelry and were no less luxurious than the Etruscans' (χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τότε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἁβροδίαιτοι).

These images of political advancement and Sabine bling are entirely at odds with the later image of the Sabina espoused by Cato.[29] Cultural historians and archaeologists have tried to explain the dichotomy, either by identifying a point when things actually changed for all the Sabines, or else by trying to map the difference between hardy Sabines and decandent Sabines onto a map populated by rugged highlanders and effete lowlanders; but neither effort has really worked.[30] In the present state of our knowledge, we simply have to assume that this redefinition of the Sabina as kind of cultural preserve dedicated to the hard primitivism of earlier times, formed a part of the larger-scale Roman redefinition of neighboring districts as, precisely, suburban and, just as important, suburban in ways that were defined by their ability to remain in closer touch with antiquity than was possible in the capital. Notably, the effort to establish this connection between present and past frequently involves the way in which one imagines features of the landscape itself. Thus Pliny connects the ancient trees of Tibur with the hero Tiburnus and the even more ancient war of the Seven against Thebes, while Cato links Sabine virtue with the very stones of the Sabina, with the hero Sabus and the punishing discipline of the ancient Spartans.[31]

But, to return briefly to an earlier theme, places like Tibur and the Sabina were not merely and uniformly suburban; they also possessed distinct char-

ὁ συγγραφεὺς Φάβιος Ῥωμαίους αἰσθέσθαι τοῦ πλούτου τότε πρῶτον ὅτε τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου κατέστησαν κύριοι).

29 Nevertheless, as Dench 1995, 88 observes, Dionysius is one of the few authors who even comments on the difference between the Sabines' contemporary reputation and their former, luxurious ways.

30 Cristofani Martelli 1977, Firmani 1985 and Musti 1985, with Dench 1995, 90 n. 116.

31 In this connection, see the insightful remarks of Sciarrino 2011, 3–5 and 78–116 on Cato and scene-setting.

acters of their own. Catullus indicates as much in his famous poem 44 about the villa that he owned, evidently in a border zone, so that it might charitably be considered to be either in the trendy *ager Tiburtinus* or else in the less fashionable Sabina. By the same token, Horace bases a large measure of his 'moderate' lifestyle on the fact that his own *villa suburbana*—a sumptuous gift from the same Maecenas that Horace tries to instruct on the ethical dimensions of suburban places, and one that added enormously to Horace's already considerable wealth—was located squarely (one assumes) in the Sabina, even though Horace also spent time in Praeneste, as we have seen, and in Tibur as well.[32]

All of these areas were centers of Roman villa culture, but there is a difference that may play a role in accounting for the somewhat divergent ways in which Roman urbanites regarded the Sabina on the one hand and the hill towns on the other. In essence, the names of these places tell the story. Generally speaking, the Sabina is imagined just as the Sabina, which is to say, as an unurbanized rural area. Of course it contained towns, but most of them are not very prominent either in history, after the Sabines joined the Roman community, or in elite villa culture.[33] By contrast, Tibur, Praeneste, and Tusculum never stopped being cities in their own right.[34] They remain visibly distinct places with their own traditions throughout Roman history, and they are constantly mentioned in connection with elite villa culture. But even in the area south of the Sabina, these three great hill towns are somewhat exceptional. The Romans

32 On Maecenas and Horace's Sabine villa, see Bowditch 2001, 117. Spencer 2006, 240–244, considers the villa through the lens of imperial utopia as articulated by Evans 2003, now more fully developed in Evans 2008. Henderson 1999, 116, writing of *Odes* 3.22, captures a vital element of Horace's mythologization of the place as taking the reader 'aeons away from the cosmopolis, under the direction of an unholy condition of nostalgia'. Horace in fact more often mentions Tibur (*Serm.* 1.6.108, *Carm.* 1.7, 1.18, 2.6, 3.29.6, 4.2.31, 4.3.10, *Epist.* 1.8.12), sometimes together with Praeneste (*Carm.* 3.4.23, *Epist.* 1.7.28 and 45), which he names by itself only in the aforementioned *Epist.* 1.2.2.

33 Reate seems to have been too distant to figure prominently in the villa culture of the *suburbium*; and of towns nearer to Rome, none was of comparable importance. Cures is the only one about which one hears with any frequency, and it is clear that it was never important and certainly not very large after the absorption of the Sabines into the Roman community in 290 BCE. Only towns very close to Rome, such as Nomentum, are mentioned frequently as places of elite rustication.

34 The first two were the sites of major religious sanctuaries (of Hercules Victor and the aforementioned Fortuna Primigenia, respectively), and the third, as we have seen, was not far from a couple of others, most notably that of Diana Nemorensis at Aricia.

seem to have preferred to imagine the *suburbium* as a more or less empty landscape, which in fact it definitely was not.[35] And this too takes us back to early antiquity.

4 Selective Erasure and Commemoration

To understand why, a good place to begin is in the Vergilian underworld, with a famous passage that mentions several towns of the early Latin league. In it the Sibyl recites the names of the Latin towns that Aeneas' Alban descendants would found, but that had virtually ceased to exist in Vergil's time; some of them we cannot even locate securely today. In a kind of chronological pun that is typical of Vergil, the Sibyl says, 'These will be names in the future, but now they are just lands without a name' (*hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam, / hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces, / Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque; / haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae, Aen.* 6.773–776). Denis Feeney has brought out beautifully the irony that, in Vergil's time, these places were indeed just names, the Latin towns that they once were having ceased to exist and faded into memory as a result of Rome's growing domination.[36] Lucan, noticing what Vergil was hinting at, took up the motif and made it more explicit: Roman imperialism in the earliest days of the city's history would overwhelm its Latin neighbors and kinsmen, turning their cities into *rus vacuum*.[37] The same policy was followed in south Etruria, as Lucan's inclu-

35 Mayor 1994, 188–189 finds a hint of 'emptiness' (specifically regarding the idea of 'free time': see *OLD* s.v. *vaco* 6 and 7) in Horace's letter to M. Aristius Fuscus, written at the Sabine shrine of Vacuna (*Epist.* 1.10.49). But to Horace even a place like Tibur was 'empty' in comparison with 'regal Rome' (*mihi iam non regia Roma, / sed vacuum Tibur placet, Epist.* 1.7.44–45).

36 Feeney [1986] 2000, 112–113.

37 Cf. Luc. 7.389–396: 'That war will overwhelm nations yet to enter the world and will take away peoples belonging to an age to come, stealing their day of birth. The Latin race will be a myth; ruined buildings level with the dust will scarcely be able to indicate Gabii, Veii and Cora, and the city and household gods of Alba and Laurentum, an empty countryside, which a senator would not dwell in even on the compulsory night, unwilling and complaining about Numa's command' (*gentes Mars iste futuras / obruet et populos aeui uenientis in orbem / erepto natale feret. tunc omne Latinum / fabula nomen erit; Gabios Veiosque Coramque / puluere uix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae / Albanosque lares Laurentinosque penates, / rus uacuum, quod non habitet nisi nocte coacta / inuitus questusque Numam iussisse senator*). Cf. Rossi 2000.

sion of Etruscan Veii alongside Latin Gabii and Cora acknowledges. Throughout the zone that would become the *suburbium*, the security-minded Romans, centuries before Calgacus would say that they create a desert and call it peace (Tac. *Agr.* 30), did in fact pursue a policy of evacuating nearby towns that had caused them trouble, and of either absorbing, dispersing or relocating to less well-defended areas any of the inhabitants who managed to survive the destruction of their homes. One result of this process is that, for a time, in much of the area close to the city, history came to an end as towns were emptied, leaving the land itself available for cultivation in different senses, including the cultivation of a particular attitude towards the past.

5 Old and New Falerii

This attitude poignantly informs the history of one south Etrurian town, Falerii Veteres, the chief city of the Faliscan people from of old. Situated not far from the Tiber valley a little less than 50 km from Rome, Falerii lies close to the outer limits of the material *suburbium*, but in certain respects its position in the imaginary *suburbium* is central and exemplary. Near the end of his *Amores* Ovid devotes an entire poem (*Am.* 3.13) to a trip that he took to this town—surprisingly enough, for this poet of his own *nequitia*, with his wife—in order to take part in a festival of Juno, specifically as the goddess of marriage.[38] So, an unusual poem for the *Amores*, and it is no wonder that Ovid finds it necessary to travel outside Rome, Venus' own city, founded by her son, in order to write about such things.[39] Among other radical departures from the prevailing ethos of the *Amores* is this poem's palpable veneration for antiquity. In it Ovid joins a procession to an ancient, numinous grove, inside which he says there is an artlessly fashioned altar of immense antiquity.[40] He explains that the ritual celebrated there is itself extremely old, having been brought to

38 In what follows I adapt and summarize a fuller discussion (Farrell 2014) that will appear elsewhere.

39 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.8.42: 'But Venus is queen in the city of her Aeneas' (*at Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sui*); *Ars am.* 1.60: 'mother takes up residence in the city of her Aeneas' (*mater in Aeneae constitit urbe sui*); cf. also *Fast.* 4.117–118 and 875–876.

40 Cf. *Am.* 3.13.7–10: 'There stands a grove, ancient and shady from many a tree; look at it—you would agree that there is divinity in the place. An altar receives the prayers of worshippers and their offerings of incense—an altar fashioned by ancient hands, without artistry' (*stat vetus et densa praenubilus arbore lucus; / adspice—concedas numen inesse loco. / accipit ara preces votivaque tura piorum—/ ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus*).

Italy by Halaesus, a hero of the Trojan War who fled his native Argos upon the murder of Agamemnon.[41] The Roman capture of Falerii by the legendary Camillus is mentioned, as well.[42] Knowledgeable readers will remember that Camillus supposedly took the city without a fight when he refused a treacherous Greek schoolmaster's offer to deliver his pupils to Camillus as hostages. Livy (and later Plutarch) tell us that the Faliscans were so impressed with Camillus' honorable behavior that they voluntarily surrendered, believing that they would fare better under Roman administration than they would governing themselves.[43]

Quite apart from the implied parable about the benefits of Roman imperialism, the story is perfectly in keeping with the exaggerated reverence for antiquity that is so palpable in this poem. In order to create this sense of reverence, though, Ovid suppresses a few interesting details. He says nothing, for instance, about the actual temple that was also found within the grove, a magnificent structure of the fourth century BCE—and so, definitely old, but not in the way that the artless altar and the numinous grove are old.[44] The impressive remains of this temple that are housed today in the Villa Giulia suggest that it simply did not evoke the humble associations with primitive simplicity that are Ovid's main focus in the poem. Nor does the fact that the festival took place just outside a town that was called, as I have noted, Falerii Veteres, 'Old Falerii'; because the walls of the city that Ovid says Camillus captured in 387 BCE were actually razed in 241. Our literary sources indicate that hostilities broke out that year between the Romans and the Faliscans, although what caused the conflict is not at all clear. In addition to destroying the walls of the city, the Romans seized fifty percent of the *ager Faliscus*, killed or captured fifteen thousand people and forcibly relocated the survivors to a new town of Roman design, Falerii Novi or 'New Falerii', a poorly defended place on a level plain just a few kilo-

41 Cf. *Am.* 3.13.31–35: 'The appearance of the procession is Argive; upon the murder of Agamemnon, Halaesus fled both the crime and his ancestral wealth, and finally, after wandering in exile over land and sea, he founded these high walls with propitious hand. It was he who taught these rites of Juno to his Faliscans' (*Argiva est pompae facies; Agamemnone caeso / et scelus et patrias fugit Halaesus opes / iamque pererratis profugus terraque fretoque / moenia felici condidit alta manu. / ille suos docuit Iunonia sacra Faliscos*).

42 Cf. *Am.* 3.13.1–2: 'Since my wife's family are from Falerii, rich in orchards, we made a journey to those walls that you conquered, Camillus' (*cum mihi pomiferis coniunx foret orta Faliscis, / moenia contigimus victa, Camille, tibi*).

43 Livy 5.27, Plut. *Cam.* 11.

44 It is in fact the first temple with three *cellae* that was ever found. Illustrations in Carlucci and De Lucia 1998: 64–68.

meters from the old city.[45] A capital found in the forum of New Falerii features reliefs of Roman horsemen subjugating enemy combatants—a reminder that the town existed only because the Romans felt that the Faliscans needed to be taught a lesson.[46] Ovid gives the reader not the slightest hint of this ugly episode or even of the existence of Falerii Novi. But if his wife really was from Falerii, as he suggests, that almost has to be where her family lived—unless, as I rather suspect, they were Faliscan by ancestry but actually lived at Rome and merely commemorated their ethnic heritage with pilgrimages each fall to the traditional festival of Juno.[47] For there is abundant evidence that, even though the old city remained uninhabited until about the time of Charlemagne, it did in antiquity continue to be venerated as a cult site linked to an even greater antiquity.[48]

45 Polyb. 1.65, Livy *per.* 20.1, Zon. 8.18. McCall 2007 attempts to interpret the foundation of Falerii Novi as a peaceful and cooperative venture between the Romans and the Faliscans, but this view has not found much support.

46 Spoliated and re-used in the nave of the Cistercian abbey church of Santa Maria dei Falleri, which was built astride the *decumanus maximus* of the town. I have seen this capital *in situ*, but to my knowledge no image has ever been published. I am grateful to Francesca Patrizi for discussing this material with me.

47 Falerii Novi was the only settlement of any size in the *ager Faliscus* after 240 BCE, and intensive field survey efforts suggest that the countryside remained underpopulated long after the fall of Falerii Veteres, but it is an open question to what extent Roman military and political expansion actually caused or, alternatively, was enabled by this loss of population: see Patterson et al. 2004. It is obviously possible that Ovid's wife was born and raised at Falerii Novi, but his actual words could equally well mean that she had Faliscan ancestors; and in any case it seems much more likely that Ovid met her in Rome than in a town that he describes as somewhat out of the way; see Farrell 2014. I note in passing that the festival was likely celebrated at harvest time (cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.13.1 *pomiferis* … *Faliscis*) and that the productivity of the district is stressed in the poem, particularly in the form of the white cattle that were native to the area and in great demand as sacrifical animals (3.13.13–14; cf. *Fast.* 1.83–84, *Pont.* 4.8.41, Plin. *HN* 2.230). The conjunction of agrarian and military motifs is of course a commonplace, but Ovid's approach attracts attention by virtue of being almost ostentatiously matter-of-fact. Even more remarkably, Columella combines poetic *agriturismo* with barely-concealed cultural and military history in his discussion of cabbages at *Rust.* 10.127–139; see the analysis of this passage by Spencer 2010, 97–104 (a reference for which I am indebted to the anonymous reader).

48 For evidence of cult activity at Falerii Veteres after 241 BCE see Andrèn 1940, 80–151, Frederickson and Ward Perkins 1957, 129–133, Potter 1979, 99–100. On Falerii Novi and Falerii Veteres in the Middle Ages see Ciarrocchi 2008.

6 'Empty' Veii

The history of Falerii Veteres is hardly unique. Better known among the once great towns that the Romans overwhelmed and destroyed, and almost proverbial in this regard, was Veii, the wealthiest city of the Etruscan league and also the closest to Rome. In Propertius' antiquarian elegy 4.10 on Jupiter Feretrius we find a passage stating that, in distant antiquity, 'there was as yet no sound of war beyond the Tiber, and the most distant sources of booty were Nomentum and three *iugera* of captive Cora' (*necdum ultra Tiberim belli sonus, ultima praeda / Nomentum et captae iugera terna Corae*, Prop. 4.10.25–26)—meaning that the emptying of nearby Latin towns had already begun—until 437 BCE, when Aulus Cornelius Cossus slew the Veian king Lars Tolumnius in single combat.[49] At the thought of this episode, Propertius exclaims (4.10.27–30):

> Alas for ancient Veii! Then, you too were a kingdom, and in your forum was set a golden seat: now within your walls the lazy herdsman's heifer lows, and they reap harvests among your bones.
>
> *heu Veii ueteres! et uos tum regna fuistis,*
> *et uestro posita est aurea sella foro:*
> *nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti*
> *cantat, et in uestris ossibus arua metunt.*

The ideas and images associated in these few lines—mutability and transience, the rise and fall of cities, historically remote violence as a precondition for contemporary peace—are such pervasive elements of Augustan ideology that we may hardly notice them in a poem so familiar as this, and it may require an effort to see this collocation of motifs as defining an important aspect of the *suburbium* as a Roman imperial landscape; but I believe this is the case.[50]

49 Propertius begins by observing that his subject requires him to rise above his usual level (*magnum iter ascendo*, 4.10.3), and Ovid begins his Falerii elegy by noting the journey there is made challenging by the sloping terrain (*difficilis clivis huc via praebet iter, Am.* 3.13.6). It is impossible to say which poem was written first, but I suspect Ovid may be alluding to Propertius, who invokes the motifs of the 'difficult road' and 'ascent' more straightforwardly than Ovid does; cf. Farrell 2014.

50 The fall of Veii in the penultimate poem of book 4 can be read as part of a framing device that recalls the opening lines of poem 1, in which a visitor is introduced to *maxima Roma* (Prop. 4.1.1) as formerly empty (*collis et herba fuit*, 4.1.2); note in particular the cattle that once occupied the site of Apollo's temple on the Palatine (4.1.3–4). Veii is thus a spatially

How well does the picture correspond to reality? Politically and militarily the city of Veii basically ceased to exist in 396 BCE, and there was no organized community on its former site throughout most of the republic. It was probably never totally uninhabited.[51] But it was not until about 2 BCE that the place began to be redeveloped under the name of *Municipium Augustum Veiens*, perhaps having already become something of a suburban center.[52] As such it benefitted from imperial patronage for generations thereafter. Its material remains from the early principate include a bath, a theater, a forum, a temple of Mars, an altar to *Victoria Augusta*, a *porticus Augusta*, a *schola Fortunae Reducis*, a number of statues of Augustus and Tiberius and inscriptions attesting various religious activities.[53] So even if it took some time for the *municipium* to acquire all these appurtenances, we can hardly say, even in Propertius' day, that it was literally empty.

But what kind of place was it? The most recent studies make it clear that the built environment of the *municipium* covered a much smaller area than the ruins of the ancient city, which were left as they had been; and this fact sheds light on a small number of inscriptions attesting two citizen groups that are unparalleled elsewhere, the *municipes intramurani* and *extramurani*, those who live within the early imperial urbanistic environment and those who do not.[54] So people actually did live in Augustan Veii, and the place had some political organization. As a further indication that something like this could be so, we have an inscription of Tiberian date—26 CE, to be precise—in which the *centumviri* of the *municipium*—its town council—reward one Gaius Julius Gelos, a freedman of the emperor, for his services by granting him the honorary privileges of an Augustalis.[55] The document tells us a number of

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proximate antithesis of modern Rome that is the image of old Rome, or even of pre-Rome. I owe these observations to an insightful comment by Christoph Pieper; cf. Hutchinson 2006, 226–227 ad loc.

51 Santangelo 1948, Ward Perkins 1961, 52–57. D'Alessio 2001 presents evidence for continuous habitation of a central residential district from the sixth century BCE to the second century BCE and for the construction towards the end of that period of an impressive *domus* that remained in use for several centuries.

52 *CIL* XI.1, 3797, 3805, 3809.

53 Ward Perkins 1961, 57–60, Cella and Jaia 2012, 347.

54 For *municipes intramuranei* and *extramuranei* see *CIL* XI.1, 3797–3799, 3808 with Ward Perkins 1961, 59–60, Soricelli 2007, Cella and Jaia 2012, 348–349.

55 Cf. *CIL* XI.1, 3805 = D 06579: *Centumviri municipii Augusti Veientis / Romae in aedem Veneris Genetricis cum convenis/sent placuit universis dum decretum conscriberetur / interim ex auctoritate omnium permitti / C(aio) Iulio divi Augusti l(iberto) Geloti qui omni tempore / municip(ium) Veios non solum consilio et gratia adiuverit / sed etiam inpensis suis et per*

things, including the names of several magistrates and board members. It allows us to infer that Veii was a place where socially ambitious freedmen, including former members of the emperor's *familia*, were active. But it tells us one other interesting thing. Although the inscription itself was found at Isola Farnese, the modern name of ancient Veii, it is the record of a meeting that was held in the temple of Venus Genetrix at the very center of Rome. So if that is where the town council of Veii met, where did its members live? Maybe in Veii; it would not be a difficult trip into the city for this meeting, about 15 km on the Via Flaminia and down the Via Lata to the Forum Iulium. But maybe they didn't live in Veii. The presence of this body in Rome reminds one just a bit of modern emigrant societies that have their basis in a certain nostalgia for great moments of bygone glory.[56] The circumstances of ancient and modern colonial and postcolonial discourse are very far from identical; but, *mutatis mutandis*, even if some people did live in Veii, as was clearly the case, it could be that the town fathers and other socially and politically ambitious *municipes* spent most of their time not in Veii but in Rome. But wherever they lived, I am tempted to suggest that the refounded *municipium* was as much a ceremonial as a real place, so that the *ager Veientanus* could somehow remain 'empty' in the collective imagination even as Augustan Veii took shape as a kind of commemorative monument to Rome's ancient foe rather than as an actual city in its own right—more or less a physical representation of the mood evoked by Propertius' poem.[57]

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filium suum celebrari / voluerit honorem ei iustissimum decerni ut / Augustalium numero habeatur aeque ac si eo / honore usus sit liceatque ei omnibus spectaculis / municipio nostro bisellio proprio inter Augus/tales considere cenisque omnibus publicis / inter centumviros interesse itemque placere / ne quod ab eo liberisque eius vectigal municipii / Augusti Veientis exigeretur / adfuerunt / C(*aius*) *Scaevius Curiatius / L*(*ucius*) *Perperna Priscus IIvir*(*i*) */ Ma*(*nius*) *Flavius Rufus q*(*uaestor*) */ T*(*itus*) *Vettius Rufus q*(*uaestor*) */ M*(*arcus*) *Tarquitius Saturnin*(*us*) */ L*(*ucius*) *Maecilius Scrupus / L*(*ucius*) *Favonius Lucanus // Cn*(*aeus*) *Octavius Sabinus / T*(*itus*) *Sempronius Gracchus / P*(*ublius*) *Acuvius P*(*ubli*) *f*(*ilius*) *Tro*(*mentina*) */ C*(*aius*) *Veianius Maximus / T*(*itus*) *Tarquitius Rufus / C*(*aius*) *Iulius Merula // actum / Gaetulico et Calvisio Sabino co*(*n*)*s*(*ulibus*). I am grateful to Paul Harvey for calling my attention to this document and for discussing it with me.

56 In honor of the Penn-Leiden collaboration, in the oral version of this paper I singled out the Netherlands Society of Philadelphia, a group of people, descended from early Dutch settlers to be sure, but who had never lived in or in many cases even visited Holland. The group 'was established in 1791 to disseminate knowledge of Netherlands history, to preserve the traditions of the Dutch colonists in the Delaware Valley and … to commemorate the anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1579' (van Doren 1990).

57 So Cella and Jaia 2012, 346: 'The case of the Etruscan city of Veii and its transformation into

In the case of Veii, a few lines of Propertius and a curious detail in an inscription seem to push back a bit against the historical reality of the *municipium* and the material reality of archaeological finds. But, happily, the most recent archaeological report explains how the literary topos of an empty Veii might be reconciled with evidence that there probably was an inhabited urban center in the time of Augustus.[58] Clearly, however, the material evidence pushes back against another literary testimonium. The historian Florus, in the epitome of Roman warfare that he wrote in the time of Trajan or Hadrian—so, about a century after Propertius' fleeting meditation on the bygone glory of Veii—was able to summarize Veii's former greatness, and then write (Flor. 1.6):

> This is what Veii was then; now who remembers that it existed? What is left of it? What trace? It tests our faith in history to believe that it ever was.
>
> *Hoc tunc Veii fuere. nunc fuisse quis meminit? quae reliquiae? quodve vestigium? laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus.*

I think one has to admit, that seems a bit extreme. In Florus' day, Veii not only still existed, but it had even grown since its refoundation as a *municipium* under Augustus and was continuing to be improved. So there is certainly evidence here that we are dealing with a literary topos; but I think it is something more than that, something that we cannot merely dismiss if we wish to understand those cultural realities that permitted Florus to utter what was from one perspective a patent untruth without actually sounding absurd.

7 Conclusion: Re-Imagining the Suburbium of Rome

The question with which I would like to end is whether the experience of places like Veii and Falerii is common elsewhere or perhaps even typical for the Roman *suburbium*. To what extent did the Romans try to maintain and develop the *suburbium* almost as an imaginary landscape dominated by ruins,

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Municipium Augustum Veiens clearly shows the imperial will to preserve past memories by embodying them into a new urban project'.

58 Cella and Jaia 2012, in contrast to Ward Perkins 1961, who tends to dimiss the testimony like that of Propertius as 'a lament on the transitoriness of human greatness, not a statement of observed fact. He was writing poetry, not a guide-book' (52).

cult sites and other institutions that helped make it a kind of time machine, a zone of virtual antiquity, a nearby area of chronological as well as other kinds of refuge from the modern city and its discontents? Or, to what extent did they merely think of it this way? I am not yet willing to venture an answer, but I hope to have outlined some of the issues that I think are at stake in a continuing investigation.

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PART 2

Encountering the Past through Material Objects

CHAPTER 5

Burnt Temples in the Landscape of the Past

Margaret M. Miles

1 Introduction

The theme of cities, temples and shrines damaged and violated by Persians is a frequent marker of Persian impact on their enemies in Herodotus' account of the wars. Best known is his description of Xerxes' siege and destruction of the Acropolis of Athens, and the burning of its temples (Hdt. 8.51–55). In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, Athenians made a memorial out of the cracked and calcinated blocks of two temples on the Acropolis burnt by the Persians during their invasion. Still embedded in its north wall today are parts of the Old Temple of Athena and the Older Parthenon, carefully oriented to form a memorial of the destruction. This paper examines the representation of burnt temples in Herodotus' *Histories* and other ancient accounts, and their references to ruins left deliberately as a memorial to past events: how did visible ruins of past destruction become part of the social memory of the Persian invasion? When did this idea come about, and how was the damaged ruin valued as a memorial? For Herodotus, the burnt temples in the landscape were signs of divine and human retribution, and for later generations, they served as reminders of valiantly fought invasions that could bind communities together. The nostalgic reaction to ruin as a symbol of decline or the end of an era, as voiced about Rome even in antiquity, was yet to come.

Burnt temples are both a literary artifact with considerable longevity, and the physical remnants of actual temples, burned by the Persians. The uses and values of the two overlap and endure, but as a site of memory the literary artifact naturally has had a more prominent life. I shall trace the burnt temples in both senses here. For the physical buildings, it may be noted that fire was always a risk in Greek temples: the aging timbers in the roofs, together with the crowded interiors, jammed with tapestries, furniture and votive objects of all sorts, made the use of oil lamps and braziers inside the temples especially hazardous. At least two temples on the Athenian Acropolis were new and one was unfinished, still under wooden scaffolding, when they were burnt by the Persians. Temples were also burnt by accident, arson and strikes of lightning.[1]

1 Accident: Temple of Apollo at Delphi in 548 BCE, Temple of Hera at Argos in 423 BCE, Temple

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But what made the temples burnt by the Persians so memorable was that the burnings were deliberate, premeditated acts, recalled as a way of characterizing Persian aggression by Aeschylus, Herodotus and later authors.

2 Burnt Temples in Aeschylus' *Persians*

Herodotus was not the first to see the dramatic power of the burnt temples as markers of Persian destruction across the landscape of Ionia, the islands and central Greece. In Aeschylus' *Persians* burnt temples are cited as significant factors that led to the defeat of Persia at Salamis, clear sacrilege that brings down severe punishment. Produced in 472 BCE, only seven years after Plataea, the play takes the Persian defeat at Salamis as its primary subject. Darius' ghost tells Queen Atossa and the chorus about the woes to come after Salamis for the remaining army of Xerxes (*Pers*. 807–815, trans. Collard):

> The worst of disasters are waiting there for them to suffer, atonement for their aggressive and godless thinking, men who went to the land of Greece and had no scruple in plundering gods' statues or burning temples; altars have disappeared, and holy shrines been uprooted from their foundations in scattered ruin. For their evil actions, therefore, they suffer no less and are destined for more; no solid floor yet lies beneath their woes, they well up still.
>
> οὗ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν
> ὕβρεως ἄποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων·
> οἳ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
> ᾐδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς·
> βωμοὶ δ' ἄιστοι δαιμόνων θ' ἱδρύματα
> πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.
> τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
> πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοὐδέπω κακῶν
> κρηπὶς ὕπεστιν, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται.

Aeschylus' use of burnt temples as stark examples of sacrilege may echo Phrynichus' *Capture of Miletus* that was produced earlier and was so painful for

of Athena Alea at Tegea, 395 BCE; arson: Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, 356 BCE; lightning: Temple of Athena at Sicyon (Paus. 2.7.6); Temple of Dionysus at Megalopolis (Paus. 8.32.3).

the Athenian audience that it was banned from further production, and a heavy fine imposed on the playwright (Hdt. 6.121.2). The crossing of the natural boundary of the Hellespont (*Pers*. 749–751) and the deliberate sacrilege of burning temples are set in place as reasons for future reprisals. Although the speakers in the play present a range of explanations for the Persian defeat, the ghost of Darius puts the responsibility squarely on religious violations by the Persians.[2]

In the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus alludes to a similar violation perpetrated by the Greeks at Troy: Clytemnestra tells the chorus she hopes the Greek forces at Troy spared the altars and shrines, because they still need to come home; but the herald states that all the altars and shrines have been destroyed (*Ag*. 338–344; 527). Since Aeschylus (famously) fought at Marathon and likely Salamis, we may take his literary expression of divine retribution for such violations as reflecting contemporary assumptions about how divine justice works: the gods will protect their sanctuaries, their locales, from violators. The success of the plays and their continued re-staging guarantee remembrance of the events they represent.[3]

3 Burnt Temples as a Theme in Herodotus

Herodotus uses the theme of burnt temples at the very beginning of his history, in his account of the expansion of the Lydian empire under Croesus' father Alyattes. He starts with Lydia, he says, because Croesus was the first to impose tribute on Greeks: before his reign, all Greeks were free. In the twelfth year of a war of attrition against Miletus that Alyattes inherited from his own father Sadyattes, Alyattes burns Milesian crops as usual, but he does not deliberately burn houses or other buildings. A gust of wind blows the flames against the Temple of Athena at Assesos, and it is burnt to the ground (Hdt. 1.19). Later Alyattes falls ill, does not recuperate, and sends to Delphi to consult about his illness: but the Pythia will not answer until he rebuilds the temple—and so he rebuilds it and a second one in addition, and later sends more offerings to Delphi. The dedications were seen and noted by Herodotus, a large silver

2 See Grethlein 2010, 83–95 for a discussion of responsibility vs. the contingency of chance in the play; Saïd 2002 and Griffin 2006 summarize views about the relationships between tragedy and Herodotus' history. For the bridging (and whipping) of the Hellespont as a violation, see Winnington-Ingram 1983, 8–13; Boedeker 1988, 43–45; Mikalson 2002, 193–194; Greenwood 2007; Garvie 2009, xxviii–xxxii, 71–74, 295–297, 310–313.

3 Garvie 2009, liii–lvii; Munn 2000, 27–36.

bowl and a stand of welded iron made by Glaucus of Chios; the dedications serve as a sort of δεῖξις or 'proof' of the event.[4] The sanctuary of Athena Assesia, located just southeast of Miletus, has been identified by an archaic dedicatory inscription, and part of the foundation of an archaic temple has been noticed; surveys in the area were conducted in the 1990s.[5]

The story of the initial burnt temple at Assesos illustrates a significant episode near the beginning of interactions between Greek Miletus and the Lydians, and it was rebuilt at the instruction of (Greek) Delphi. In effect Herodotus characterizes Alyattes as a Lydian king who despite warring against neighboring Greeks is respectful of their temples and religion, and even makes offerings at Delphi. Lydian respect for Greek temples is illustrated again in the stratagem used at Ephesus in the face of Croesus' siege, in which the Temple of Artemis, located at some distance (7 stades or about 1.25 km) from the city, was tied with a rope to the city wall, thus in effect extending the protection of the sanctuary to the city; later Croesus contributed to the temple, as attested by inscribed column drums.[6]

The use of fire by Persians to consume the enemy begins vividly in Herodotus' description of Cyrus' initial effort to burn alive Croesus (and fourteen Lydian children) on an enormous pyre (Hdt. 1.86). Herodotus himself seems puzzled by this ferocity (and it has even been suggested that Croesus actually died on the pyre and of his own volition), but in Herodotus' account, Croesus (and presumably the fourteen children) escaped.[7]

4 Hdt. 1.25, objects noted also by Hegesandrus (in Ath. 5.210 b–c), Paus. 10.16.1–2. An inscription of ca. 346 BCE found at Delphi lists a part of Alyattes' offering (the silver bowl), later looted and melted by the Phocians: Habicht 1984, 47; Bassi (ch. 7, 185) in this volume. On the difficulties for modern scholars of interpreting Herodotus' religious explanations, see Gould 1994, Mikalson 2002.

5 Müller 1997, 430–434; Lohmann 2007, 371–372; Kalaitzoglou 2008, 5–15.

6 Hdt. 1.26; other ancient accounts in Asheri et al. 2007, 95. For Croesus' actions and offerings, and the materiality of the past in Herodotus, see Bassi (ch. 7) in this volume.

7 That Croesus died on the pyre: Evans 1978, Burkert 1985, West 2003; see Asheri et al. 2007, 141–142 for many other more likely possibilities. A red-figured table amphora by Myson (ca. 490 BCE), now in the Louvre (Beazley *ARV*^{2} 238, no. 47), shows Croesus in Greek dress on the pyre with a *phialê*, pouring a libation, a hint at the divine rescue; in Bacch. 3.24–63 he survives the episode with Apollo's help. Cyrus himself later became well-known for his clemency to fallen enemies, especially the captured Jews whom he returns to Jerusalem with their plundered sacred vessels to rebuild the burnt temple of Solomon, destroyed by King Nebuchadnezzar II in 586 BCE (Ezra 1:19, 5:14; Isaiah 44:28). That temple would be burnt and sacked 16 more times before its final destruction by Romans in 70 CE (Cline 2004, 129).

Destruction of the enemy's temples and the use of fire as a reprisal had a long history in the ancient Near East, well before the existence of the Persian empire and its expansion toward the Mediterranean, as part of a more totalizing form of warfare. In some instances cult images or other important monuments were taken as trophies of war and are still preserved with the boasting inscription of capture, such as the stele of Naram-sin and the stele with the laws of Hammurabi, taken by the Elamites in the thirteenth century BCE. Herodotus does not explicitly explain to his audience the Persian use of fire for destroying temples, but he does remark that Persians do not customarily build temples or altars and do not make statues of gods, and consider those who do as fools (μωρίαν ἐπιφέρουσι), because their gods are not anthropomorphic.[8] While burning temples in wartime was used frequently by Persians to terrorize opponents, in peacetime, their respect for others' religions is well attested. Darius' inscribed letter to Gadatas, a local satrap, for example, threatens punishment because he had wrongly imposed a tax on the gardeners of a sanctuary of Apollo and required the cultivation of land that had been set aside.[9]

In Herodotus' account of burnings, we see a pattern of Persian behavior established before their campaigns against Greeks: during his invasion of Egypt, Cambyses is reported to have sent an army of 50,000 to burn down the oracle of Zeus Ammon at Siwa, but before they arrived at the oasis, a windstorm engulfed the army and it disappeared.[10] As in the case of Alyattes, Herodotus illustrates the recompense for the hybris of sending off such an attack: whereas Alyattes simply fell ill with a mysterious ailment after the accidental burning, the planned burning of the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon together with earlier violations in the sanctuary of Apis at Memphis are said to have driven Cambyses mad and led to further atrocities (Hdt. 3.27–29). The Persian use of fire against opponents continues in the north when Darius, while chasing Scythians and passing through otherwise barren terrain on the steppes, burns a wooden-walled town of the Budinians, even though it had been evacuated (4.123).

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8 Hdt. 1.131; elsewhere he comments on Persian (and Egyptian) prohibition of using fire to cremate corpses (3.16.2–3). His characterizations of Persian religion show limitations of knowledge: Georges 1994, 54–58; Mikalson 2003, 155–161. Georges observes that the Persian use of fire for terrorizing opponents and rebellious subjects, especially burning temples, may also have had a Zoroastrian component of purification. Cf. the much-debated *daivā* inscription of Xerxes (*XPh.* 35–41): Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Briant 2002, 550–554.

9 *ML* (= R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century* BC. Rev. ed. Oxford, 1988) 12; on Persian respect for Greek gods, Briant 2002, 547–549.

10 Hdt. 3.25–26; on the context and historical background, see Asheri et al. 2007, 425–427.

The theme of burnt temples recurs frequently in Herodotus' narrative of the Ionian Revolt, with the destroyed temples as a geographical marker of the Persian trajectory. Early in the conflict, however, the *hieron* (sanctuary or temple) of Kybebe at Sardis was (unintentionally) burned by Greeks: in support of Greek resistance during the Ionian Revolt, Athenians and Eretrians attacked Sardis, and one soldier lit a reed house that led to a wholesale conflagration, including the sanctuary of Kybebe.[11] He remarks about this accident that later the Persians made this their reason for their retaliatory burning of sanctuaries in Greece (Hdt. 5.102.1). And he mentions it a second time while describing Persian damage at Eretria (6.101.3, trans. Waterfield):

> Then those who entered the city plundered and burnt the sanctuaries, taking revenge for the burning of the shrines in Sardis, and enslaved the population, according to the commands of Darius.
>
> οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

This is interesting for the implication that there was a context in which Persians (or their apologists) felt they needed some defense for their actions. In a comment made just before the narration of the burning of Sardis, Herodotus himself asserts that the 20 Athenian ships sent in support of the revolt marked the 'beginning of evils for Greeks and barbarians' (5.97.3). He depicts Darius dramatically as taking up his bow and shooting an arrow while vowing vengeance against the Athenians upon hearing about Sardis, and orders a servant to remind him daily (5.105, 6.94.1). In two other passages, Herodotus has Xerxes state that the burning of groves and sanctuaries at Sardis by Athenians (7.8.3), or simply 'the burning of Sardis' (7.11.2), was one of his reasons for marching against Greece.[12]

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11 Excavations at Sardis have yielded very clear levels of destruction for ca. 546 BCE (when the Persians captured Croesus' capital), but not yet much evidence for the burning of ca. 499 (Cahill and Kroll 2005). Evidence of the type of flammable reed houses described by Herodotus: Ramage 1978, 7–10. For Kybebe, Roller 1999, 128–131; Munn 2006, 120–125.

12 The burnt temple at Sardis forms a closer temporal parallel for the Persian burning of temples than the burnt temples at Troy. Cawkwell 2005, 66–67 argues that Herodotus' emphasis on the Athenian role in the Ionian Revolt (and the consequent burning of the temple at Sardis) as a trigger for Persian revenge shows the influence of Athenian isolationists. On the Ionian Revolt see Tozzi 1978, Murray 1988; on the burnt temple as

After Sardis, the next place that saw action was Cyprus, and after the Persians quelled the revolt there, they began operations against Greek cities around the Hellespont, destroying a city per day. Next was Caria, then the Propontis and the Troad. Finally, in 494 BCE, a Persian-led armada approached Miletus. There exiled Ionians were instructed to parley with the Greek fleet gathered to support Miletus: among other promises, they are told their sacred and private property will not be set on fire (Hdt. 6.9.3). After the devastating defeat at Lade came the disastrous siege and capture of Miletus, celebrated home of scientists and philosophers, and the maritime capital of the eastern Aegean. The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma was sacked, plundered and burnt.[13] In subsequent months, as the Persians mopped up the revolt, people were rounded up, atrocities were perpetrated against Greek children and numerous cities and sanctuaries were burnt (6.32).

The trail of burnt sanctuaries continued west with the invasion of Darius. Naxos and the temples there were burnt first, on the way across the Aegean (Hdt. 5.96). Eretria and her sanctuaries were burnt down next (6.101), before the landing at Marathon, and the surviving Eretrians were deported to western Iran where they lived near a natural oil well, apparently visited by Herodotus (6.119). Occasional exceptions punctuate Herodotus' narrative: during the Ionian revolt, because the Samians had withdrawn their ships at a crucial moment, they were the only ones whose city and sanctuaries were not burnt down, as they had been promised (6.9.3–4, 6.25.2). In another exception, after burning the sanctuary and town of Naxos, Darius' admiral Datis spares Delos (which had offered no opposition), and gives 300 talents of frankincense as a burnt offering on the altar. Such an impressive offering suggests a spectacle intended to demonstrate control of the sanctuary and implicitly the larger Aegean. Later he returns a statue that was discovered in the hold of one of his ships, looted from the Boeotian Delion, to the island of Delos to be returned back to its proper place, because he was warned by a dream (6.97, 6.118).[14]

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casus belli, Munn 2006, 242–248. In the course of a theoretical discussion of cause and effect, Aristotle mentions the Greek attack and burning of Sardis as the provocation for the Persian war against the Greeks (*An. post.* 2.11, 94a36–94b7), discussed by Munn.

13 Hdt. 6.19.3; archaeological evidence: Tuchelt 1988; Ehrhart 1998. Strabo 14.1.5 attributes the burning of the temple to Xerxes, and Pausanias 8.46.3 states Xerxes plundered the bronze image of Apollo at Didyma.

14 The impact of Herodotus' account of Datis' offering at Delos may be seen in a later inscription: Datis is credited with making an offering at the Temple of Athena Lindia following an epiphany of the goddess, according to the Hellenistic Lindian Chronicle. *FGrH* 532, D. 1–60; see Higbie 2003, 42–47, with commentary.

In the subsequent campaigns under Xerxes, burnt sanctuaries form a geographical roll call of those places that resisted: many towns of Phocis were burnt in the valley of the Cephissus river, and eleven are named specifically (Drymos, Kharadra, Erochos, Tethronion, Amphicaea, Neon, Pediees, Triteae, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotami, Hdt. 8.32–33). Further into Phocis, the Persians burn Panopeos, Daulis, Aeolis (8.35). Although Delphi protected itself (Xerxes intended to burn it), the oracular sanctuary at Abai (consulted earlier by Croesus) was looted and burnt.[15] In Boeotia, Thespiae and Plataea were torched later in the war, even though they were empty and evacuated, because the Thebans told the Persians the inhabitants had resisted. Herodotus himself accepts the idea that such burnings would have consequences, as we see in his observation that even Persian corpses couldn't fall into Demeter's sanctuary at Plataea, because they had burned her sanctuary at Eleusis (9.65).[16]

During the interval between the battles of Salamis and Plataea, burnt temples become a central topic in the parley between the Athenians and Alexander of Macedon, who represents Mardonius in an attempt to persuade the Athenians to yield: his offer includes the rebuilding of the temples already burnt down. The Athenians reply that they will never come to terms: 'rather', they say, 'we will proceed against him in vengeance, confident of the support of the gods and heroes for whom he felt such utter contempt that he burnt their homes and statues,' (ἀλλὰ θεοῖσί τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὄπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα, 8.143.2; trans. Waterfield, modified). And the Athenians then say to the Spartan messengers who are anxious about whether the Athenians will yield to the pressure that 'as long as a single Athenian is alive, we will never come to terms with Xerxes'. Herodotus has them point out (8.144.2, trans. Waterfield):

> First and foremost, there is the burning and destruction of the statues and homes of our gods; rather than entering into a treaty with the perpetrator of these deeds, we are duty-bound to do our utmost to avenge them.
>
> πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἤ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ.

15 Extensive evidence of the Persian destruction has been found in the excavations there: Felsch 2007; *AR* 2010–2011.

16 As Boedeker 2007 points out, for Herodotus, and in later accounts, Demeter has a significant and specific role in the Persian Wars as a goddess capable of intransigent anger at territorial violations.

Both Herodotus (8.50, 9.13) and Diodorus Siculus (11.28) state that when the Athenian refusal was made known to him, a furious Mardonius then destroyed all temples in Attica that were still standing; Diodorus specifically refers to the sanctuaries along the coast. This would have included Rhamnous, Brauron and Sounion.

In this second set of campaigns too, we hear of examples of Persian respect for Greek sanctuaries. While in Thessaly, Xerxes leaves unburnt the sanctuary and sacred grove of Zeus Laphystios in Achaea, after hearing about its history from a guide; he orders that no one should go near it (Hdt. 7.197). At Athens, Xerxes requires some Athenian exiles to make customary sacrifices to Athena the day after he burnt the temples on the Acropolis.[17] Mardonius sends Mys to consult at least five oracles in Phocis and Boeotia (Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, Trophonius at Lebadeia, Apollo at Abai [before it was burnt], Amphiaraus and Apollo Ptoios; 8.133–135). At Plataea, he uses Greek divination before the battle (9.37). That Persians are depicted as showing respect—and even participation in rituals—in certain instances only heightens the contrast of the more widespread destruction.

Herodotus concludes his history by narrating yet another violation of a sanctuary, that of Protesilaus at Elaeus on the southwestern tip of the Chersonese (Hdt. 7.33, 9.116–122). Herodotus' conclusion brings together at the strategic crossing of the Hellespont the legendary, spatial and temporal events that frame the war.[18] Protesilaus was the first Greek to die at Troy, killed just as he leaped from his ship (Hom. *Il.* 2.700–702). He is one of three heroes cited by Pausanias (1.34.2) who were once men but received divine honors and had cities dedicated to them, and in Herodotus' account he is referred to as a god by his violator. His tomb at Elaeus formed a pendant with the tomb of Achilles on the opposite, Troad side of the Hellespont. Arrian reports that Alexander sacrificed to Protesilaus at Elaeus before leaving the European side.[19]

In Herodotus' account Protesilaus' sanctuary at Elaeus was not merely burnt, but had been violated in three other ways. Not only did the Persian Artayctes thoroughly plunder the accumulated offerings, but also he farmed the sacred

17 Hdt. 8.54; further remarks on the miraculous olive shoot that followed (with other references) in Bowie 2007, 141–142. On Persian religious policy, behavior and attitudes toward Greek gods, see Briant 2002, 547–551.

18 Boedeker 1988 (Protesilaus and the conclusion); divine retribution: Dewald 1997; Harrison 2000, 68–69, 102–121; further on the ending, Dewald 1997; for the site Elaeus and the possible location of the sanctuary, Müller 1997, 816–821.

19 Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.5. Like Achilles, Protesilaus was from Phthiotis.

land and used the *adyton* of the temple for sex.[20] Artayctes is caught and crucified by the Athenians, led by Xanthippus, father of Pericles. Herodotus ends by remarking that Artayctes was a descendant of Artembares, who had suggested to Cyrus that the Persians should move to an easier country.[21] Thus the beginning and conclusion of Herodotus' historical narrative are framed with burnt and violated sanctuaries, at Assesos by Alyattes (father of Croesus) and at Elaeus by Artayctes (a contemporary of Xerxes), together with specific consequences. In addition to the obvious themes of divine vengeance and human reprisals, by punctuating his account with other burnings of temples, at Sardis (an accidental event caused by Greeks), then in Ionia, Eretria, Athens, Attica and the sanctuaries and cities on the route to Plataea, Herodotus evokes an intense sense of place, of local geographies, of local deities and heroes who respond to the destructive invasion of their territory.

4 A New Form of Warfare for Greece

One significant aspect of the targeting of temples for burning is that for the Greeks, this was a new form of reprisal and a greatly escalated type of destruction in warfare. Before the Persian invasions, during warfare among themselves Greeks respected the shrines and temples of their enemy, and even avoided destroying long-term crops such as olive trees, fruit orchards and grape vines.[22] In the archaic and much of the classical period, temples and shrines were left untouched by Greek adversaries.[23] This is why they yielded such spectacular harvests later, when Greeks began looting and plundering their own sanctuaries. In the context of Greek wartime experience in the early fifth century, the tactic of deliberate burning of sanctuaries was a new type of horrific catastrophe.

The Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, rich with offerings, was the object of a possible early 'Sacred War' and of a second struggle among locals to wrest

20 On pollution of sanctuaries by sex, see Parker 1983, 74–79. Artayctes deceived Xerxes into condoning the confiscation of land by duplicitously presenting Protesilaus as a deceased human Greek invader with a house rather than the hero in a sanctuary.

21 For discussion of the implications of the conversation with Cyrus, see Boedeker 1988 and Dewald 1997.

22 Hanson 1998, 157–173, 244–246. This was generally true during the Peloponnesian war as well: annual crops were burnt, but not trees. An exception that proves the rule was Cleomenes' burning of a sacred grove at Argos, an indication of madness (Hdt. 6.80).

23 Pritchett 1991, 160–168; Miles 2008, 30–36.

control in 449 BCE, followed by Spartan and then Athenian interventions noted very briefly by Thucydides (1.112.5).[24] Apart from those confrontations, not until 424–423 BCE do we first hear of accusations of violation and impurity as a result of warfare among Greeks, in Thucydides' account of the battle at Delion. The Boeotians charged the Athenians with violation because they had fortified the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion and used it as though it were an unconsecrated place, including improper use of the sacred spring (Thuc. 4.97). For a generation well-accustomed to summertime raids and battles and consequent human loss, the terrifying inability to defend against the looting of sacred places and their calculated destruction threatened the very existence of their communities.

While Greek temples were above all the 'homes' of the gods and typically sheltered their images, and therefore their destruction was sacrilegious, in addition to that obvious outrage the ancient audiences of Aeschylus and Herodotus would have been reminded of more personal loss, the tangible bond between individual and communal memory. Temples in the late archaic period were usually the most substantial and colorful buildings in the environment, and were the focal point for communal processions and rituals, the primary focus of the local festival calendar. They were full of votives that commemorated events important to individuals and families or to the *polis*, with relics, war memorials and dedications of armor: temples were the repositories of familial and communal experience and communal memory. By the end of the sixth century BCE, there was a whole 'second population' of statuary at many sanctuaries. A significant aspect of Herodotus' use of burnt temples as a δεῖξις left in the wake of the Persians is that the destruction is metonymical for the attempted destruction of the political communities that built and used them, and their memories based on collected dedications and treasured offerings.

The destruction of the human-built environment (comprised of bright temples, public buildings, city walls, agoras, simple houses) has a counterpart in Herodotus' account of Xerxes' calculated manipulation of the natural landscape. First there is his treatment of the Hellespont, the natural divide between Asia and Europe: after a storm destroyed the first bridge, Xerxes has the Hellespont whipped 300 times, a shackle thrown in and (perhaps) even red-hot brands; he also orders his subordinates to address the water with 'barbaric and reckless words' (βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα) and has those in charge of the construction beheaded (Hdt. 7.35). The emphasis here is on the strait as a form of divinity, deeply affronted by such actions. A second bridge is built and the

24 Hornblower 1991, 181–183; Sánchez 2001, 106–115.

crossing made with pomp, splendor and ritual offerings.[25] Aeschylus has Darius' ghost say that Poseidon himself was offended by the bridge (*Pers.* 749–751).

Most notably, Xerxes has a wide canal cut through the Acte peninsula, visible still today in satellite images, which Herodotus specifically remarks was calculated to demonstrate his power and leave a memorial of himself.[26] Later Isocrates would quip that Xerxes had his men sail across the land and march across the sea (*Paneg.* = 4.89). As the army is on the march, rivers are drunk dry by the enormous army as it invades (in general, Hdt. 7.21.1; rivers Onochonus and Epidanus, 7.196). The other requirements in food and provisions for such a mass of men, and their impact on the countryside, are left to our imagination.

A further engineering scheme is contemplated by Xerxes at the Vale of Tempe, the gorge that splits Mt. Olympus and Mt. Ossa in Thessaly, and the site initially chosen for the Greek defense before Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.173). Rather than using scouts or other subordinates, Xerxes sails in person to look at the mouth of the Peneios at the Vale of Tempe, and is astonished by it. The Thessalian clan Aleuadae had already submitted to Xerxes, and he comments that they were wise, because the river could easily be made to change its course and flood the Thessalian plain, submerging everything but the mountains (7.128.2–130). Earlier in the *Histories* Herodotus describes multiple occasions where Cyrus, Xerxes and others actually do divert rivers as a strategic way of conquering. The implication is that altering, 'punishing' or violating numinous landscapes is impious and hybristic, even if effective as a military stratagem.

The burnt Greek temples are also the monumental counterpart of the many cruelties and atrocities committed on human bodies, narrated by Herodotus: men, women and children suffer whipping, mutilation (severed noses, ears, tongues, breasts; gouged-out eyes), castration, rape, torture, flaying, decapitation, hanging, being cut in half, impaling, burning, stoning and crucifixion. Some 92 atrocities, catalogued by R. Rollinger, are perpetrated mostly by Persians (42), Greeks (20), Scythians (10) and Egyptians (8), and in a majority of cases specifically at the order of kings, queens, nobles or tyrants.[27] Rollinger argues persuasively that the context and agency of these atrocities cumula-

25 As Romm 2006, 186–190, notes, the second bridging is presented as an admirable achievement of the Samian engineer Mandrocles; for its construction, see Hammond and Rosen 1996; for Xerxes' behavior at the crossing, Baragwanath 2008, 280–284.

26 Hdt. 7.22–24; archaeological investigations of the canal: Isseren 1991, Isseren et al. 2003. For Herodotus' portrait of Xerxes, Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989 [2002]; Flower 2006, 282–284; Baragwanath 2008, 254–265.

27 Rollinger 2004.

tively illustrate a division not of culture, between west vs. east or Greek vs. Barbarian, but rather, between political systems, between autocracy and freedom.

Thus by including the burning of Greek temples in his account, Herodotus juxtaposes on a broad canvas the deities' sanctuaries, the natural environment and human bodies that are marked by the events he narrates. We may infer that Herodotus' 'argument' is that past events are valuable to the present as illustrations of human and divine causality, of codes of right conduct and of the significance of political freedom. No mere logographer, Herodotus rightly may be called the 'Father' of rhetorical historiography, in that he makes his argument with subtlety, sophistication and extraordinary skill.[28]

5 Archaeological Evidence for the Burnt Temples

While Herodotus' account is both tragic and evocative, and he uses the topic of burnt temples brilliantly, it is also documentary. The burned temples in his narrative are not just a literary device. Where the sites he mentions have been excavated, destruction debris datable to the period of the wars has been found. The destruction in Athens is especially well-documented. On the Athenian Acropolis, excavations in the late nineteenth century uncovered large, very deep pits of *Perserschutt* that yielded, among other finds, much of the collection of archaic statuary and architectural sculpture in the Acropolis Museum today, since the damaged votives and sculpture left behind by the Persians were collected and buried.[29] The deity's property, even broken or burnt, was kept on site in observance of legal ownership, and was set in fill that in some places helped to support new walls. Deep pits were found behind the north wall of the Acropolis, to the southeast of the citadel, and along the south side of the foundations of the Older Parthenon, reused later for the Periclean Parthenon. A huge quantity of added fill was brought from the lower city as part of the rebuilding of the walls of the Acropolis. The northern section of the walls dates to ca. 478–460, the southern to ca. 465–430 BCE.[30]

For the wall itself, many pieces of the Older Parthenon and Temple of Athena Polias were set into the north wall of the Acropolis, while some blocks of the Older Parthenon, even with thermal fracturing, were reused in the construction

28 Enos 2012, 79–91.

29 For recent discussion of *Perserschutt*, Lindenlauf 1997; Stewart 2008a and 2008b.

30 Evidence analyzed by Stewart 2008a, with Fig. 18.

of the Periclean Parthenon.[31] For the north wall, the re-used material was positioned properly (the blocks aligned as they would have been on a temple) and high above the city as a deliberate memorial.[32] The Older Parthenon, begun after Marathon, was a new temple dedicated to Athena and was still under scaffolding when the Persians sacked the Acropolis. The unfinished drums that were too damaged to be reused are set within the middle and eastern extension of the north wall. The entablature of the Temple of Athena Polias, which had been in use for about twenty years, is set up toward the western side of the north wall, above the City Eleusinion and the Panathenaic Way and facing toward the Agora, Kerameikos and Dipylon gate. Thus anyone entering the city sees the distinctive blocks clearly as part of the Acropolis, and they are visible to anyone in the Agora.

In the excavations of the Athenian Agora, some sixteen wells and five large pits and trenches were found packed with the debris from the clean-up after the sack of Athens, analyzed by T.L. Shear, Jr.[33] In addition to large quantities of broken crockery, there were many pieces of roof tiles, fragments of Doric column drums and the top of a marble metope, bits of stone sculpture, mud brick and charred debris from timbers that illustrate the complete destruction described by Herodotus and noted too by Thucydides in the *pentêkontaetia* (Thuc. 1.89.3). The wells served private houses and commercial establishments on the periphery of the Agora, whereas the pits were found under and near public passageways.

In Attica, archaeological evidence exists for Persian destruction at Eleusis, Rhamnous and Sounion, although at Eleusis the degree of destruction is not clear.[34] At Sounion, when the current, marble temple was built a few decades later, blocks from the temple burnt by the Persians were included in its foundations and supporting terrace. In Phocis, a sequence of temples has been found at Kalapodi (Abai), also sacked and burnt by the Persians, including the predecessors and rebuildings of the destroyed temples.[35] As more sites are excavated, the facts of destruction are likely to become even better documented.

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31 For bibliography on the Older Parthenon, Miles 2011, 663–666.

32 Blocks as memorial: Kousser 2009, Miles 2011.

33 Shear 1993; since he wrote, more Persian destruction debris was found in the Panathenaic Way, and a seventeenth well, cf. Camp 1999, 233, 242–252.

34 Convenient summaries: Eleusis: Boedeker 2007; Stewart 2008b; Rhamnous: Miles 1989, 137–139; Petrakos 1999, 24–26, 194–198; Sounion: Goette 2000, 19–23. Persian destruction may be assumed for Brauron as well, based on literary testimonia; there is a summary of the 1960s excavations in Papadimitriou 1963.

35 Felsch 2007; *AR* 2010–2011.

Recovery from such extensive destruction took about two decades. Immediately after the burning of the lower city in 479 BCE and the victory at Plataea, the first priority was rebuilding the walls of the city, as Thucydides makes clear, with a lengthy account of Themistocles' role in urging and facilitating the reconstruction (Thuc. 1.89.3, 1.90.3, 1.93.1). In addition to the circuit wall, the initial work on the Acropolis included the north wall and a new entrance gate. Adjacent to it a new (small, simple) Temple of Athena Nike was constructed.[36] Such work presupposes extensive clearance and gathering of broken statuary, inventories of material, moving and hauling blocks around the sanctuary. Since the devastation was so thorough, housing must have been a priority as well and Thucydides notes that the few houses still standing were those used by Persian officers. At least one large public building, the Stoa Poikile, was built in the Agora ca. 470 BCE, with private financing.[37] Outside of the central city, the new construction in Piraeus required a large investment of civic resources, for the harbor, agora, housing and new temples.

Once the necessary defensive and domestic infrastructure was complete or underway, Athenians turned to rebuilding temples and sanctuaries. Most scholars now would have some work on the Parthenon, including especially its sculpted metopes, beginning in the 450s (the inscribed financial accounts begin in 447 BCE), and the Hephaisteion was likely started as early as ca. 460 BCE. Further out in Attica, a new, larger Temple of Athena was started at Sounion ca. 460 BCE. Themistocles is credited with building a small temple to Artemis Aristoboule, excavated in the site of the ancient deme Melite, to the west of the Hephaisteion on Herakleidon Street (a bust of Themistocles was seen by Plutarch in the temple).[38] According to Plutarch, at least one sanctuary of Demeter, in Phlya (just northeast of central Athens), was also rebuilt by Themistocles (Plut. *Them.* 1.4). Plutarch also has the Greek forces at Plataea choosing out of the booty 80 talents to rebuild the Temple of Athena at Plataea (which had frescoes that were still impressive in his day).[39]

Beyond Attica, the Athenians constructed the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, probably started soon after Marathon. At Delos, a new marble Temple of Apollo was begun ca. 475 BCE to serve the newly established Delian League, and it was completed up to the geison by ca. 430 BCE; the Athenians surely had a

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36 The poros naiskos should be dated shortly after the Persian Wars. For its details, see Mark 1994 (with a lower date).

37 Evidence for the identification and date is reviewed in Camp 2007, 649–651.

38 Plut. *Them.* 22; cf. Travlos 1971, 121–123.

39 Plut. *Arist.* 20.3: τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνῳκοδόμησαν ἱερὸν.

significant role in organizing its construction. Building and rebuilding temples is a complex activity; especially well-documented for the fourth century BCE is the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, which had to be rebuilt after the earthquake of 373. For that temple there was the added requirement of gathering funds from a wide array of geographically distant contributors, but the essential organizational structures and broad networks of contractors needed for such buildings may be read in the financial accounts, and typically such construction takes a generation or more to complete.[40] As for Athens, given the thoroughness of the destruction, it is impressive how quickly the recovery moved forward.

6 Burnt Temples as a Useful Topic

In subsequent Athenian discourse about the wars, wartime damage to religious places caused by the Persians becomes a significant theme, particularly in the orators, where the comments serve an epideictic or propaedeutic function. Here I discuss briefly three salient passages.[41] References to the destruction of the city and the burnt temples are made in the context of Lysias' *Epitaphios*, with a summary of the achievements of past generations and a brief history of previous wars, and the events of the Persian Wars. He depicts Athenians before the battle of Salamis as follows (Lys. 2.37 = *Epit.* 37, trans. Todd, modified):

> Facing such uncertainty, they must have hailed each other frequently, and perhaps they lamented their own fate. They knew their ships were few, they saw the enemy's vast fleet, and they understood that the city had been abandoned, that the countryside was being ravaged and was full of the barbarians, that the sanctuaries were on fire, and that all these terrible things were happening close at hand.
>
> ἦ που διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπορίαν πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὠλοφύραντο, εἰδότες μὲν τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς ὀλίγας οὔσας, ὁρῶντες δὲ πολλὰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιστάμενοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἠρημωμένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην καὶ μεστὴν τῶν βαρβάρων, ἱερῶν δὲ καομένων, ἁπάντων δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν δεινῶν …

40 Overview in Davies 2001.

41 For a summary of the retrospective historiography of Persian Wars during the fourth century, Marincola 2007. Lysias: Todd 2000, 25–41; on funeral oratory, Ziolkowski 1993.

As N. Loraux argued some time ago, one function of *epitaphioi* was to present a didactic model (in a sober ritual context) for Athenian citizens and instruction (however reductive it may seem) on the great events of the past.[42] Such public discourse helped to educate citizens as well as inspire them and justify present losses; through repetition, these narratives could be said to contribute to the formation of communal 'identity'. Delivery of an *epitaphios* would have been a part of communal funerals after wars, thus a not infrequent event, even though only six such orations are preserved (including the oration of Pericles in Thuc. 2.34–46). The *dêmosion sêma*, the site of communal tombs and public funerals, was established by custom, ca. 500 BCE. Its location, now securely identified by N. Arrington, was on the Academy Road leading north from the Dipylon Gate, where the road widened so as to accommodate large crowds.[43] One of the older and prominent monuments there was the cenotaph for the fallen at Marathon, and this was also the site of the festival *Epitaphia* (featuring ephebes), which by the Hellenistic period became an explicit commemoration of Marathon.[44] Although modern buildings obscure the view today, the north side of the Acropolis would have been visible from this site in the pre-modern era.

In his self-defense *On the Mysteries*, given about 400 BCE, Andocides mentions the burnt temples as a historical backdrop to the present. He takes as a model of catastrophe the Persian destruction of the city and temples burnt to the ground, compares it to the conditions after the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami and urges clemency and generosity (Andoc. *Myst.* 108, trans. MacDowell):

> And after this great achievement they decided not to revive accusations against anyone for past acts. It was for this very reason that, finding their city in ruins, temples burned down, and walls and houses demolished, and starting from scratch, because of their unity with one another they were able to establish their Greek empire and hand down to you this fine, great city.

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42 Loraux 1986; see also Stupperich 1977. Parker 1996, 131–137 dates the beginning of regular public funerals with collective eulogies to ca. 470–460 BCE. The public funeral is described in detail in Thuc. 2.34. See also Grethlein (ch. 13) in this volume, p. 344 on myth in *epitaphioi logoi*.

43 Arrington 2010.

44 Parker 2005, 469–470.

> ἔργον δὲ τοιοῦτον ἐργασάμενοι οὐκ ἠξίωσάν τινι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων μνησικακῆσαι. τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα, τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον παραλαβόντες ἱερά τε κατακεκαυμένα τείχη τε καὶ οἰκίας καταπεπτωκυίας, ἀφορμήν τε οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατηργάσαντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην παρέδοσαν.

Andocides' purpose in reminding the jury of the burnt temples is to provide a vivid historical parallel of devastation suffered and overcome, and a general amnesty and redemption that followed, with the expectation of persuading the jury to take a similarly generous view of his current circumstances.

Isocrates in his *Panegyrikos*, published in 380 after some ten years of composition, pleas for Greek unity, urges a joint Athenian-Spartan military mission against Persia, and refers twice to the burnt temples (Isoc. 4.96, 4.155 = *Paneg.* 96, 155). The purpose of this pamphlet is educational at its heart (and that is how it was received), even though the author clearly had a serious political intention as well.[45] This piece, like Lysias' *Epitaphios*, exemplifies the use of past events in a public, ritual setting, both for persuasion and as a didactic tool. Besides the praise of Athenians for facing war even while her temples were plundered and burning (4.96), we have a reference to an oath, taken by Ionian Greeks, that their burnt temples should not be rebuilt, but left as a memorial to the impiety of the barbarians, and as a reminder to later generations to be on guard against them (Isocr. 4.155–156 = *Paneg.* 155–156, trans. Papillon):

> What is there of ours that is not hateful to these people, who in the prior war dared to plunder and burn the seats of the gods and their temples? We should praise the Ionians because, when their temples were burned, they cursed anyone who would move them or want to restore them to their original conditions, not because they did not know how to rebuild them but so that they might be a memorial for people in years to come of barbarian impiety. They did this so that no one would trust those who dared to commit such crimes against the gods and also so that people might be cautious and fearful, seeing that they had fought not only against our bodies but also against our religious offerings.

> Τί δ' οὐκ ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, οἳ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἕδη καὶ τοὺς νεὼς συλᾶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ καὶ κατακάειν ἐτόλμησαν; Διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηράσαντ', εἴ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ

45 On its purpose and audience, Papillon 2004, 15–73 and 2007, 62–66.

> πάλιν εἰς τἀρχαῖα καταστῆσαι βουληθεῖεν, οὐκ ἀποροῦντες πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ᾖ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας, καὶ μηδεὶς πιστεύῃ τοῖς τοιαῦτ' εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν [ἕδη] ἐξαμαρτεῖν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττωνται καὶ δεδίωσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν πολεμήσαντας.

This passage is the earliest reference to an oath with a clause that concerns temples, and is the only statement that Ionian Greeks took such an oath. And Isocrates was correct about the status of at least one burnt temple: the rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the largest and best-known of sanctuaries in Ionia, did not begin until well after Isocrates' lifetime, about 300 BCE, and therefore was still in ruins at the time of his writing. He adds the idea of a curse on those who may propose restoration, and explicitly labels the ruins as memorials to barbarian impiety. (Herodotus, a far more subtle author, does not explicitly label them as such.)

7 To Build or Not Rebuild the Burnt Temples?

The so-called Oath of Plataea has been a fraught issue in modern scholarship, its authenticity questioned and debated. The general consensus is that the entire Oath of Plataea was a creation of the fourth century BCE, but discussion about what it actually was and why it is referenced in antiquity continues. The excellent discussions by P. Krentz and D. Kellogg have clarified some of the key issues.[46] I shall summarize very briefly the evidence and their conclusions, relevant to the burnt temples: Herodotus mentions an oath sworn before Thermopylae, but the oath is short and does not refer to temples, and the Greeks present there had not yet suffered such destruction (Hdt. 7.132). Among fourth-century BCE authors, besides the passages in Lysias and Isocrates just mentioned, in Lycurgus' oration *Against Leocrates* (330 BCE), Lycurgus has an oath read aloud, which he says is ancestral and was sworn before Plataea by all Greeks (Lycurg. 1.81 = *Leoc.* 81). Lycurgus' version of the oath includes Isocrates' clause (sworn by Greeks in Ionia) about not rebuilding the burnt temples (Lycurg. 1.80–81 = *Leoc.* 80–81, trans. Burtt):

> It was for this reason, gentlemen of the jury, that all the Greeks exchanged this pledge at Plataea, before taking up their posts to fight against the

46 Krentz 2007; Kellogg 2008 and 2013.

> power of Xerxes. The formula was not their own but borrowed from the oath which is traditional among you. It would be well for you to hear it; for though the events of that time are ancient history now we can discern clearly enough, in these recorded words, the courage of our forbears. Please read the oath. [Oath:] 'I will not hold life dearer than freedom nor will I abandon my leaders whether they are alive or dead. I will bury all allies killed in the battle. If I conquer the barbarians in war I will not destroy any of the cities which have fought for Greece but I will consecrate a tenth of all those which sided with the barbarian. I will not rebuild a single one of the shrines which the barbarians have burnt and razed but will allow them to remain for future generations as a memorial of the barbarians' impiety.'
>
> διόπερ ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ ταύτην πίστιν ἔδοσαν αὑτοῖς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅτ' ἔμελλον παραταξάμενοι μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ξέρξου δύναμιν, οὐ παρ' αὑτῶν εὑρόντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν εἰθισμένον ὅρκον. ὃν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ γὰρ παλαιῶν ὄντων τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων ὅμως ἴχνος ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἰδεῖν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς. καί μοι ἀναγίγνωσκε αὐτόν. ⟨ΟΡΚΟΣ.⟩ Οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἅπαντας θάψω. καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τῶν μὲν μαχεσαμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων οὐδεμίαν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἁπάσας δεκατεύσω. καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐάσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.

Diodorus Siculus, perhaps relying on an account written by Ephorus in the fourth century BCE, repeats a similar oath with nearly identical wording in a clause about not rebuilding temples and leaving them as memorial to impiety; he, however, states that it was sworn at the Isthmus (near Corinth) before the battle of Plataea.[47] Theopompus denounces the Oath of Plataea as falsified by Athenians, but it is not clear whether he meant it was changed from what was

47 Diod. Sic. 11.29.3 (trans. Oldfather): '… nor will I rebuild any one of the sanctuaries which have been burnt or demolished, but I will let them be and leave them as a reminder to coming generations of the impiety of the barbarians' (καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἐάσω καὶ καταλείψω τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας).

sworn or that it never was sworn. His charge, together with Diodorus' location of the oath at the Isthmus, have contributed to modern skepticism about the authenticity of the Oath. Skeptics look askance too at the very large jumble of reputed historical documents of various periods and types cited by Lycurgus, an unusual screen of references and quotations from poets that may have been a deliberate rhetorical strategy. But the clause about non-rebuilding of destroyed temples has triggered especial skepticism.[48]

Further evidence is given by an inscribed stele, dated to the mid fourth century BCE, discovered at Acharnae in 1938. The text contains two oaths: one for ephebes and one which the Athenians swore when 'they were about to fight the barbarian' (ἤμελλον μάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους), and was set up by Dion, son of Dion, a priest of Ares and Athena Areia in the deme at Acharnae.[49] The text does not include a clause about not rebuilding temples. Krenz persuasively argues that this oath, inscribed on the stele, was actually the oath sworn before Marathon. Kellogg focuses on the purpose of joining the two oaths, one to do with the Persian Wars and the other with current duties of ephebes, and the inscribing and setting up the stele at Acharnae, presumably in a sanctuary. She points to the didactic purpose of the oaths for the training of the ephebes, a significant concern attested elsewhere for Lycurgus, who instituted reforms for ephebic training.[50] They were to have a two-year course of service, and their training was to begin with a tour of Attic sanctuaries. Hence the repetition of oaths contributed to the ongoing process of forming social memory about the Persian Wars, and how Athenians should behave in the face of an invading enemy. As Connerton remarks about oath-taking (as well as cursing and blessing): 'Such verbs do not describe or indicate the existence of attitudes: they effectively bring those attitudes into existence by virtue of the illocutionary act.'[51]

These interpretations lead in two directions: first, Kellogg's observations about the didactic role of the oaths for young men gives us a context for the

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48 On the jumble: Davies 1996, 31–32; Rhodes 2011, 28; for the strategy: Allen 2000. Skepticism about the non-rebuilding clause articulated early by Siewert 1972, 102–106; a summary of arguments for its authenticity, including a 'gap' between the wars and the rebuilt Parthenon, in Meiggs 1972, 504–507; a summary against in Flower and Marincola 2002, 323–325.

49 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, no. 88, 440–449.

50 The didactic purposes of Lycurgus are discussed further by Steinbock 2011, who suggests that in the context of the speech Lycurgus was attempting to evoke memories of their own ephebate in the jurors.

51 Connerton 1989, 58.

orators' retrospective view of burnt temples kept as a memorial to past atrocities. Clearly this view must have been a reliable rhetorical reference-point for Lysias, Andocides, Isocrates and Lycurgus in their speeches. It seems safe to conclude at the least that effective rhetorical use could be made of ruined temples even 150 years after the event: the remains still existed in the landscape and had now become part of the social memory that was handed down to each class of ephebes, through recall in a formal ceremony as a way of stirring protective pride for the Attic countryside. Besides the remains of ruined temples in Athens and Attica, teachers and orators had only to point up to the north wall of the Acropolis. Even though many temples were rebuilt, the existing remains from the past could still be used as markers and memorials, as needed. The new temples rising up behind the remains of the old might have seemed phoenix-like in resilience.

The second new direction in the old debate about the Oath of Plataea is that if an oath unifying against Persian aggression was taken at Marathon, as Krentz argues, we can consider again the authenticity of the Oath of Plataea apart from the issue of a non-rebuilding clause, mentioned only in literary versions. Since there is good evidence for an oath of some sort before Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.132.2), and the Acharnae stele may record a reconstructed oath taken before Marathon, it also seems possible, even likely, that there was some sort of group oath before Plataea.[52] It need not have included a clause about burnt temples, and in fact, the burnt temples would have been of concern to only a segment of the Greek contingent, those who had suffered actual invasion (Eretrians, Athenians, Plataeans, Thespians, Megarians).

The non-rebuilding clause was invented, likely by Isocrates as part of his campaign to shift contemporary warring parties to fight the Persians, and remembered by Lycurgus and subsequent authors. This includes Plutarch, who adds that Pericles called for congress of all Greeks about rebuilding the temples, which failed in the face of Spartan opposition.[53] As noted above, Plutarch also has Themistocles rebuilding a burnt sanctuary of Demeter at Phlya, and the combined Greek forces at Plataea using booty to rebuild the Temple of Athena there, thus his accounts seem inconsistent.

The clause in the oath not to rebuild temples, but leave them as a memorial, presents a dramatic rhetorical flourish, and served to impress into memory

52 The Nottingham Oaths project includes an online database of archaic and classical Greek oaths, with more than 3,700 entries: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/Classics/Research/projects/oaths/intro.aspx, accessed Nov. 25, 2012.

53 Plut. *Per.* 17. For a classic review of the so-called Congress Decree, see Seager 1969.

the idea that burnt temples were in fact left by those who fought as a deliberate memorial to the barbarians' impiety. It was so remembered by Pausanias (10.35.2) and Cicero (*Rep.* 3.15). The Ephebic and Marathon oaths stress allegiance to communal goals over individual self-interest, a crucial element of martial valor. A non-rebuilding clause, if it were part of an oath, seemingly would place the instruction of hypothetical future generations (who would benefit from the didactic memorial) over the need of the present community to have functioning temples. That such a calculating clause was included in any oath actually sworn in wartime at the battlefield of Plataea is highly implausible, as many have argued. Yet the appeal of the idea, the image of the valiant generation of *Marathônomachoi* reaching out to future descendants and defiantly leaving physical messages that urge continued resistance against barbarians, was irresistible.

The content of the social memory about destroyed temples (always somewhat fluid) was outrage, that the ruins should be left so future generations would know the barbarians are different from us, they are impious and we should never trust them. This echoes the vengeance that Thucydides says was the reason for establishing the Delian League (Thuc. 1.96, echoed in 6.76.4): their professed object (πρόσχημα) was to retaliate for their sufferings by ravaging the king's country (Thuc. 1.96). As the Persian Wars receded into the past, its events inevitably were viewed retrospectively with changing interpretations, but the physical presence of ruined temples attested to the essential authenticity of destructive past events. A deliberately constructed commemorative monument requires a viewer for interpretation, and burnt temples could be perceived more variously if the oral traditions about them were forgotten. But forgetting the Persian Wars was not likely. Herodotus' *Histories* and Aeschylus' *Persians* could be read or performed, while newer, more teleological and reductive accounts were also written or spoken at public events and emphasized claims of communal continuity and defense.[54]

8 Burnt and Looted Temples in Later Centuries

The temporal context of the fourth-century BCE literary testimonia about destroyed temples as memorials coincides with a rapidly accelerating vulnerability of sanctuaries to theft and plunder, in addition to ongoing wars with

54 Marincola 2007, 122–123. *Ath. Pol.* 23.5 emphasizes defense as the purpose of the Delian League.

escalating reprisals. Dionysius I of Syracuse seems to have been the earliest individual who plundered venerable sanctuaries in order to pay his mercenaries, in Syracuse and in southern Italy.[55] In mainland Greece, an age-old cloak of inviolability over the panhellenic sanctuaries had frayed by the time of a battle in the Altis in 363 BCE, with armed men standing on top of the temples, and a dispute over possible peculation of sacred funds at Olympia (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.32–33). The next step was the plundering of Delphi by the Phocians starting in 357–356 BCE. This stunned the Greek world for its sacrilege, and led to further plundering. Besides the silver krater, weight seven minae, dedicated by the Lydian King Alyattes, even the gold tripod dedicated after Plataea by the victorious Greeks was also melted down, although its limestone base and bronze support in the form of three intertwined serpents survive in Delphi and Istanbul. Altogether the melted silver and gold offerings suddenly flooded the economy with some 10,000 talents, and the impact of the looting must have been felt widely.

What was so shocking was that it was not a horde of barbarians, but the Phocians, Greeks, in whose territory is Delphi, who looted the sanctuary that had been inviolate for so many centuries. Philip II was soon embroiled in the Sacred War that followed, and Phocian cities that had resisted punishment were burnt. Pausanias lists the towns burnt by Philip II as a reprisal with a specific comparison to the earlier torching by the Persians (Paus. 10.3.1–2). Later, he adds, the Phocians fought at Chaeronea and again helped defend Delphi against the invasion of the Gauls (in 279 BCE), in order to 'wipe out the stain on their honor' (10.3.4). The use of fire by Philip II even for punishment must have seemed terrifying. It didn't require a Demosthenes to accept the view of many southern Greeks that they were facing a new barbarian invasion. The burning of Thebes and enslavement of the inhabitants did not help alleviate this view, although at least Alexander spared the house of Pindar and several other venerable shrines. In the context of these fresh violations, burnt temples from the past must have taken on an additional layer of significance.

Alexander was said to have burnt Persepolis at least in part because of a desire for revenge against the Persians for the temples they burnt in Greece (Arr. *Anab.* 3.18.11–12, Str. 15.3.6). The burnt temple in Sardis led to the burnt Athenian Acropolis, which in turn led to vengeance sought by the Delian League, and was put to rest (finally?) by Alexander burning Persepolis, as G. Murray has

55 Pritchett 1991, 163–164; Miles 2008, 36–37. The shift to a more ruthless view of sanctuaries as a financial resource seems to come about along with the sharply increased use of mercenaries.

observed. He aptly remarks, 'Seldom has such a symbol reverberated through history with such consequences.'[56]

Toward the end of the third century BCE, yet another wave of deliberate burning, pulling down of temples, looting of statuary and votives is recounted in detail by Polybius in his narrative of the warfare between Philip V of Macedon and the Aetolians. Each attack the others' primary sanctuaries, Thermon in Aetolia, Dodona in Epirus and Dion on the slope of Mt. Olympus. Long use, rising prosperity and remoteness had made those sanctuaries very wealthy indeed with accumulated offerings, and after initial sacks that were perhaps more restrained, the enemies returned to each others' sanctuaries for further devastation. The Macedonians even left taunting graffiti on the walls at Thermon (Polyb. 5.8.9). Philip V also dismantled temples in Athens and Attica, and in Pergamon he is said to have completely destroyed and uprooted the altars and temples in the sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros outside the citadel. These actions are described in tones of outrage and disgust by Polybius, and are noted too by Diodorus and Livy.[57]

9 Ruins in Pausanias

When Pausanias traveled the Greek countryside in the 160s CE to write his commentary on sanctuaries, he saw many abandoned or ruined temples and shrines. W.K. Pritchett collects and lists 42 temples and sanctuaries that Pausanias describes as 'in ruins' (ἐρείπια), in addition to much longer lists and charts of other ruins, including one agora, several walls, many whole towns and villages.[58] Where the cause is identified, and most of them are, they appear to have been destroyed by the second century BCE. In many instances Pausanias could find out what caused the destruction: specific episodes in the wars just noted, strikes of lightning, or, in some instances, he claims to know that they were left in ruins deliberately after the Persian wars. When he cannot find out precisely the history, he records what he did learn: a burnt temple on the roadside outside of Corinth, for example, seems to have been remembered in two ways. It was either a temple of Apollo burnt by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, or a temple of Zeus Olympios that had been struck by lightning (Paus. 2.5.4).

56 Murray 1988, 466.

57 For discussion of an evocative link between Philip V and Xerxes, see Graninger 2011, 68–70.

58 Pritchett 1999, 195–222, esp. 215–216 (table).

In some places Pausanias is quite precise in his knowledge of local history. In his account of the sanctuary and oracle of Abai, he contrasts the Roman reverence for Apollo that led them to respect it unharmed, while earlier the Persians had burnt it, and comments on three Greek temples in Boeotia and Attica that were left deliberately as memorials (Paus. 10.35.2, trans. Frazer):

> The Greeks, who withstood the barbarian, resolved not to restore the burnt sanctuaries, but to leave them for all time as records of hate. That is why the temples in the land of Haliartus, and the temple of Hera at Athens on the road to Phaleron, and the temple of Demeter at Phaleron, remain half-burnt even in my time.
>
> Ἑλλήνων δὲ τοῖς ἀντιστᾶσι τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰ κατακαυθέντα ἱερὰ μὴ ἀνιστάναι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸν πάντα ὑπολείπεσθαι χρόνον τοῦ ἔχθους ὑπομνήματα· καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα οἵ τε ἐν τῇ Ἁλιαρτίᾳ ναοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαληρῷ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἡμίκαυτοι μένουσι.

He mentions an oath taken by Greeks (with no specific battlefield mentioned), and states briefly that the Greeks who withstood the barbarian resolved not to restore the burnt sanctuaries, but to leave them for all time as 'memorials of hatred' (τοῦ ἔχθους ὑπομνήματα), rather than of Persian impiety. He comments further that Abai was burned again during the Sacred War by the Thebans, which completed the destruction. For Pausanias, the burnt temples in the landscape of Greece are witnesses and markers of specific events in the Greek past, and a part of his pilgrimage to the religious places of that past. His record of them is remarkable, and his proto-archaeological commentary stands as an exceptional endeavor. Given the effort required to travel to the remote areas of rural Greece to try to see what was left, his interest in the burnt and ruined temples is extraordinary.[59]

At the beginning of book 1, as Pausanias approaches Athens from Phaleron, the first 'ruin' he mentions in the whole work is a Temple of Hera that has no roof or doors, burnt by Mardonius son of Gobryas; but he adds that since the image in it was made by Alcamenes, it [the image] could not have been

59 Pausanias as a 'pilgrim:' Rutherford 2001; Elsner 1992 [2004], 284 with contrary views cited. For Pausanias within the 'Second Sophistic': Swain 1996, 330–356; Porter 2001; Galli 2005; Pretzler 2007. Pausanias frequently reports collections and 'relics' he sees in the standing temples; for this aspect see Reiterman (ch. 6, 146) and Howley (ch. 18, 469–473) in this volume.

burnt (Paus. 1.1.5). He has just noted a nearby cape where Persian wrecks washed ashore after the battle of Salamis. As readers of Pausanias have noted, Pausanias frequently has reason to refer to the Persian Wars—after all, the Persian invasions were tremendous events for Greece, Herodotus' primary topic, and to this day inspire a 'cultural response' as well as an outpouring of books and articles. Pausanias' description of places, buildings, monuments and objects associated with the Persian Wars, however, should be considered within the wider phenomenon of Roman-period interest and re-use of Persian War references and memorabilia, a specific aspect of the retrospective views common to the Second Sophistic.

A. Spawforth has pointed out the ideological link between Persians and Parthians that help to explain the fascination with the old Persian Wars already in the Augustan period, and extending through the first three centuries CE, shown in monuments, sculptural imagery, the activities of the Hadrianic Panhellenion and a variety of staged events and pageantry.[60] The ancient idea of western triumph over easterners could resonate with contemporary events from the Augustan regime onward, and the Persian Wars 'tradition', rich with classical monuments and commemorative festivals (especially at Marathon and Plataea), provided obvious literary models. Seemingly a discourse about the Persian Wars could also bind together Roman and Greek interests. While traveling the landscape of mainland Greece, still full of old temples, Pausanias found compelling points of reference to an inherently fascinating period of history.

10 Ruined Greek Temples in the Roman Period

Another aspect of the topic of valuing past events in the past is the continuing intrinsic and practical value of the physical remains. In mainland Greece in the first and second centuries after Christ, some archaic and classical Greek temples, by that time some 500 or 600 years old, were recycled into new temples. A beautiful archaic Ionic temple from an unknown location was brought into Roman Thessaloniki and set up as a new temple for the imperial cult.[61] Several temples and a marble stoa out in the countryside of Attica were carefully dismantled and brought into the Athenian Agora, probably also for the Imperial temples. One of them is the Temple of Ares, which we now know

60 Spawforth 1994, 2012, 103–141; see also Farrell (ch. 4) in this volume, p. 101.

61 Grammenos 2003, 80–82.

was built originally as a Temple of Athena at the Pallene (modern Stavro, and not at Acharnae), and the Roman-period builders used on it a marble sima taken from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.[62] These new temples built of reused blocks served imperial cults, which thus acquired a patina of antiquity, even if borrowed.

Still later in 267 CE, these recycled blocks and others from other dilapidated buildings in Attica were recycled yet again in a time of great desperation in Athens, the invasions of the Herulians. No scope here for cherishing the remains of temples as memorials, rather the post-Herulian wall, as we now call it, was built in haste, much like the Themistoclean wall, and later became a sort of unplanned memorial to a grim time for Athens. Current thinking in Athens is that the Herulians likely also burnt the Parthenon. More transformations would come when some of the temples were converted to churches, or their *membra disiecta* were built into churches or fortification towers.[63]

Yet there is no obvious set of nostalgic references about sanctuaries in Greece comparable to that accumulated around the motif of burned and destroyed cities in the Roman world. The city of Rome had its own sorrowful tradition of burnings and destruction, inside and outside the city, with the fall of Troy subsumed into its own 'history' as a part of its origin. The Roman tradition may begin with Polybius' well-known account of finding Scipio Aemilianus with tears in his eyes, on a hilltop overlooking the destruction of Carthage, whereupon they discuss fate, Priam's Troy and whether Rome might fall some day.[64] Perhaps in homage to this Livy also has Marcellus weeping at the destruction of Syracuse earlier, with a review of Syracuse's glorious history (Livy 25.24.11). Polybius and Livy are followed by Vergil, Ovid, Tacitus, Plutarch and others who comment on military spolia and great art—the tangible markers of past triumphs—later lost in terrible fires, and on the fate of cities (Troy, Corinth, Carthage, Rome).[65] The melancholia is directed toward important accomplishments that become forgotten and lost in time, and the eternal city that might not be truly eternal.

62 McAllister 1959; Dinsmoor, Jr. 1974; Korres 1992–1998.

63 Two notable collections of essays on this topic include Hahn et al. 2008 and Lavan and Mulryan 2011; see especially Lavan 2011 for current views on the timing, extent and degree of coercion in conversions.

64 Astin 1967, 77–78, app. 4 with sources in app. 2; Miles 2008, 66–68, 95–99.

65 Edwards 2011.

11 Conclusion: Burnt Temples as Memorials

Unlike the (early) modern romantic view, in which ruins seemed to evoke for a beholder such as Goethe an imagined, simpler and more noble past, ruins within ancient Greece were seen in antiquity as the locus of slaughter and destruction, a reminder of urgent warfare and consequent suffering, compounded by the outrage of dishonoring the gods and the gods' property. In Athens of the fourth century BCE, such ruins (visible or remembered) were used to urge unity in the face of adversity, to spur on civic duty and defensive action. They were viewed and used as memorials deliberately left by previous generations, a link with their ancestors' experience. In time they became the subject for Pausanias' scholarly and religious inquiries, in an era when Rome and Greece seemed conjoined in the West after successive conflicts against other easterners, the Parthians. At Corinth Pausanias deplores and laments the brutal destruction of the city in a rare display of personal feeling; perhaps he sees all the *ereipia*, the ruins, he records as small-scale Corinths. He might have read about Scipio weeping at the fall of Carthage, and we might think of Jerome aghast over the sack of Rome. Obviously we bring far more catastrophes as filters through which to think about burnt temples. As a placard in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden reminds us, Mark Twain put it this way: 'History doesn't repeat itself, but it does rhyme.'

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CHAPTER 6

Keimêlia in Context: Toward an Understanding of the Value of Antiquities in the Past

Amanda S. Reiterman

1 Introduction

The centrality of the past in the worldview of ancient Mediterranean populations is evident from a host of sources, including testimonia, people's recurring engagement with specific landscapes and monuments[1] and—the phenomenon considered here—the prolonged use of certain valued objects, frequently described as *keimêlia* by early Greek authors.[2] Although artifacts comprise the most abundant and ubiquitous category of surviving material evidence, they have received relatively little note in recent archaeological discussions of the uses of the past in antiquity.[3] Yet 'things'[4] presented an *ownable, movable* past.[5]

In examining burnt temples, Margaret Miles in this volume (ch. 5) reveals how monumental physical remains served as foci for Greek memory communities, continuously evoking the trauma and lessons of the past. Fixed points in the landscape like these can speak of public commemorative behaviors that often tie into larger historical narratives, but this chapter explores people's interactions with the past on a smaller, more intimate scale, through portable goods, such as pots, jewelry and weapons, among others. Artifacts with signs

1 Steinbock 2013, 84–94; Haake and Jung 2011; Alcock 2002; Antonaccio 1995.

2 The word *keimêlia* has several nuances (section 1.2 below). These do not follow a neat evolutionary pattern; the same text can invoke different connotations of the word. I use *keimêlia* and *keimêlion* as succinct descriptors for objects that were curated in antiquity.

3 Olsen 2010, 109–110. Important exceptions include Foxhall 2012, Langdon 2001, Nizzo 2010, and Whitley 2002 and 2006.

4 'Object' and 'thing' are used interchangeably here to refer to potential *keimêlia*, which are tangible items, small enough to be held or moved without difficulty and, therefore, owned. Anthropologists apply the same two words to a broader set of referents and problematize the word 'object' for its implications of opposition (for discussion, see Hodder 2012, 1–14).

5 Hence, they could be incorporated into ritual and performance (Lillios 1999, 242).

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that they were 'curated'[6] in antiquity are important analogues to the silver kraters with distinguished lineages traced by Homer,[7] the dedications recorded in temple inventories and the myriad ancient relics described by Pausanias. While these and other famous objects have been discussed elsewhere,[8] this exploration probes the microhistories of *keimêlia* recovered through archaeological investigation. Such artifacts are portholes through which modern observers catch glimpses of the past active in the lives of anonymous individuals. They offer an alternative pathway for understanding the values assigned to the past in antiquity.

The following case studies are drawn from diverse parts of the Mediterranean (eighth to fifth centuries BCE), spanning the Greek heartland, colonies and non-Greek communities. The broad chronological and geographic scope reveals a spectrum of behaviors toward older objects, and the emergent patterns help to establish questions useful for assessing antiquities in the material record. But first, a brief look at select textual sources gives some sense of the significance individuals once attached to *keimêlia* and justifies the project of seeking them in archaeological contexts, despite the methodological challenges, also outlined up-front.

1.1 *Setting the Scene: Why Study 'Things' from the Past?*

A humble basket (*antipêx*) and its contents—a cloth with imperfections indicative of its young weaver, gold coils and a dried olive wreath—famously unlock the secret of Ion's identity in the eponymous play by Euripides.[9] These tokens, which were stored for years by the Delphic priestess, enter the stage as the '*res ex machina*'.[10] Witnesses to Ion's secret birth in Athens long ago, they bridge time and space, providing proof of maternity to a son who had no memory of his mother, and to a mother who could not recognize her child now grown. Although Euripides does not call the basket and its contents *keimêlia*,[11] that is

6 For the origins of the term in archaeological dialogues, Binford 1971, 242.

7 *Il.* 23.740–747; *Od.* 4.615–619.

8 Biographical objects in Homer: Grethlein 2008; Whitley 2002, 221. Temple inventories: the Lindian Chronicle, Higbie 2003; Acropolis temples and several other sites: Hamilton 2000. Pausanias: Hartmann 2010, 510–514; Arafat 1992.

9 Eur. *Ion* 21–27.

10 Mueller 2010, 389.

11 Instead, Ion initially calls it 'an old basket' (*palaian antipêga*, *Ion* 1338), but upon recognizing the objects' significance, he refers to them as 'treasures' (*thêsaurismasin* [1394], a synonym of *keimêlia*). The basket's perishable composition makes its survival semi-miraculous—nominally elevating it to the realm of the magical possessions of heroes

precisely what they are. His play spotlights the power of *keimêlia* and their common features, including a distinctive appearance, material stability and complex biography which overlaps with the life histories of human actors. While people age and change at a relatively rapid pace, objects have a consistency that makes them effective markers of ephemeral relationships and episodes of the past.[12] They help people track the passage of time and maintain a sense of the order of events.[13]

1.2 *Defining and Identifying* keimêlia

The word *keimêlia*, attested first in the Homeric epics, denotes 'anything stored up as valuable; treasure; heirloom; or relic'.[14] Homer portrays *keimêlia* primarily as undifferentiated commodities stockpiled in rich men's storerooms and redistributed as booty or ransom.[15] However, even in these early accounts, contact with illustrious individuals or involvement in important episodes could contribute to an object's worth;[16] in other words, a *keimêlion* stored not just wealth but history. Achilles affirms the dual values of *keimêlia* when he bestows a *phialê* on Nestor, while expressing a desire that this *keimêlion* serve as a *mnêma* for the elderly king of the funeral games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23.618).[17] In a society

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(Mueller 2010, 390–391). However, it is likely only a few decades old, since Ion is still a young man, and his mother has come to Delphi hoping to bear a child. By choosing such fragile items as the tokens of Ion's birth, Euripides reveals the power of objects to articulate aspects of identity across time, only collapsed within a single man's life. The telescoping of time in this manner is consistent with the tragedian's use of Ion as a miniaturized double for the Athenian population, noted by Mueller (2010, 392).

12 For oral cultures, this is especially true (Langdon 2001, 580). See also: Olsen 2003, 88–89, 121; Belk 1990, 669–670; and Kopytoff 1986. Hodder, on the other hand, emphasizes the fragility of things, which 'draw humans into various forms of care' (2011, 162). Most surviving *keimêlia* are made of semi-durable materials; nevertheless, they required special treatment like polishing, washing, repair, gentle handling or safe storage, as did perishable items. Such acts cultivated special bonds between people and things, and these points when the lives of people and objects intersected could provide a temporal framework onto which events might be mapped.

13 Jones 2007, 47–49.

14 *LSJ*, s.v. κειμήλιον. For the word and its connotations: Charneux 1985, 370–372; Volioti and Papageorgiou 2008, 21, 25 n. 42.

15 *Il.* 6.47, 9.330, 11.132, 18.290; *Od.* 2.75, 10.40, 14.326.

16 *Od.* 1.312, 4.600, 4.613. The histories of Homeric *keimêlia* are told most often in the context of gift exchange.

17 This nuance carries into later periods. The sixth-century philosopher Xenophanes (frg. 2.9) describes the gift given to an Olympic victor by his city as a *keimêlion*, or 'keepsake'

preoccupied with the achievement of *kleos*, the exchange of storied objects, which served as *aide-mémoires*, was a mechanism for perpetuating the fame of individuals and manipulating the structure of remembrance.

Recognizing similarly valued possessions in the mute material record poses a significant challenge for archaeologists.[18] In rare cases, an inscription identifies an artifact as a *keimêlion*;[19] however, usually scholars must rely on other clues, such as its early date in relation to the assemblage or signs of use and repair. Ancient mends cannot mark an artifact as a treasure definitively, but repairs indicate a desire to prolong its life and are, in essence, a first step toward transforming something into a *keimêlion*. By acknowledging the factors that complicate the study of *keimêlia*, we can begin to explore avenues for making use of this problematic body of evidence to glean information about ancient views of the past.

First, *keimêlia* were exceptional by definition and presumably comprised a small subcategory of the material world even in antiquity, so we should anticipate very limited survival. Moreover, many of the most treasured pieces likely were made of perishable materials or metals that have since been recycled. For these reasons, analysis of archaeological *keimêlia* must be qualitative rather than quantitative.[20] Second, the dating of excavated material within a narrow frame is a perennial problem, but it is an even greater challenge to achieve the chronological resolution needed to determine that an artifact predates its assemblage by several decades and, therefore, may be a *keimêlion*. Demonstrating an artifact's asynchronicity requires a closed context, yet this introduces other concerns, since—aside from wells and destruction levels—most sealed deposits are graves, whereas *keimêlia* no doubt belonged to the realm of the living in many communities. The archaic necropolis of Morgantina, for example, yielded few objects that were repaired or temporally out-of-sync. Yet excavations at the settlement uncovered a fine Attic volute krater[21] that had been in

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(trans. J.H. Lescher, 1992). For heirlooms deployed as mnemonic devices, see Lillios 1999, 236.

18 For common features of heirlooms, see Lillios 1999, 252.

19 The one extant artifact labeled *keimêlion* is an Attic black-figure *lêkythos* which reads: 'Hermaios found me, a treasure of others …' (Ἑρμαῖός με εὗρε κειμήλιον ἄλλων …). The sense of the word's usage is elusive since the inscription's final letters are illegible, and the vase's provenance uncertain (Volioti and Papageorgiou 2008). Some objects also have multiple inscriptions, representing different chapters in their lives (Lombardi 2000; Tusa 1982; Guarducci 1986).

20 Lillios 1999, 237–238.

21 Museo Archeologico di Morgantina, inv. 58–23 (Neils 1995, 44, Figs. 1–5).

use for some five decades (and had ancient mends to show for it) when Sicel leader Ducetius sacked the city (457 BCE), preserving the vessel in a destruction level. With data rarely available for both the settlement and cemeteries of a given site, *keimêlia* surely are underrepresented archaeologically, and the specimens recovered from funerary contexts raise difficult questions about how the act of removing an older object from circulation should be understood, a matter considered below.

Lastly, in antiquity (as today), objects became enmeshed in complex networks of associations during their use-lives as they interacted with humans, other objects and their environment.[22] No single narrative can capture the full texture of these ever-evolving webs of contact, replete with history, emotions and memories.[23] Furthermore, ambiguity is inherent to the discipline of archaeology, which attempts to understand the dynamics of past societies through fragmentary remains.[24] Scholars have attempted to accommodate these uncertainties through multivocality—presenting multiple narratives to reflect the diverse experiences between objects and people. In order to explore these 'complex, complicated, shifting and nuanced realities',[25] several possible meanings are weighed for the artifacts examined below.

2 Contextualizing *keimêlia*

2.1 *The Magical Potential of the Distant Past*

The famous 'Cup of Nestor'[26] from the Greek colonial site of Pithecusae claims to be a relic from a very remote past, if we follow the reading of its early metrical inscription preferred by most scholars:[27]

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22 Hodder 2012, 88–89 conceptualizes these as mutual dependencies or 'entanglement'. Fowler 2004, 37; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986.

23 Whittle 2010, 37. The heuristic framework of object biography has the potential to capture more moments in the lives of objects, but attention remains focused the major events that bookend their use-lives: creation and discard. Deductions based on an artifact's form, condition and context can help scholars access intermediate episodes and develop narratives that integrate phenomenological considerations (Joy 2009).

24 Gero 2007, 313–314.

25 Gero 2007, 319. For an illustration of this paradigm, see Fowler 2004, 41–42.

26 Museo Archeologico di Pithecusae Inv. 166788 (Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 219). Faraone 1996, 77 n. 1 reviews the extensive biography.

27 Translation and text from Faraone 1996, 78.

> I am the cup of Nestor good for drinking.
> Whoever drinks from this cup, desire for beautifully
> crowned Aphrodite will seize him instantly.
>
> Νέστορός : ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ : εὔποτ[ον] : ποτέριον :
> hὸς δ' ἂν τόδε πίεσι : ποτερί[ο] : αὐτίκα κε̃νον
> hίμερος hαιρέσει : καλλιστε̣[φά]ν̣ο : Ἀφροδίτες

Although this imported *kotylê* was perhaps only a decade or two old when it was interred in the grave of a twelve- to fourteen-year-old boy in the later eighth century,[28] it may help us understand uninscribed *keimêlia* from the site's cemeteries. The verses imply a belief in the magical properties of things from deep antiquity, and contextual data suggest a similar value for some of the older objects in other tombs.

Nearly every aspect of the cup's three lines has come under scrutiny, from the restoration to the translation, and from the identity of said Nestor to the tone of the message. Damage in the first line effaced the verb's central letter(s), but ample parallels for eighth-century 'talking objects' support the restoration of ε[ἰμ]ι.[29] Focus then shifts to the cup's owner, whether the legendary Pylian king or an individual by the same name who lived at the colony. The question must remain open, but mention of Aphrodite and the fame of Nestor's cup in later literature[30] point to a mythical referent. This allusion to the goddess of love is the basis for a popular reading of the inscription as a bawdy remark fitting for the symposium, the natural setting for such a cup.[31] Many have remarked on the humorous irony of the verses, considering the cup's presence in the tumulus of an adolescent too young to care for erotic pursuits and its coarse form, which no one would mistake for the gold cup that King Nestor alone could lift.[32]

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28 Hansen 1976, 27.

29 Faraone 1996, 78 n. 3. Ownership inscriptions on several sherds excavated at Methone in northern Greece are approximately contemporary with the Nestor cup inscription and follow the formula: genitive name + *eimi* (Μπέσιος, Τζιφόπουλος and Κοτσώνας 2012, 337–347). I thank Jeremy McInerney for this reference.

30 Ath. 1.10; 10.433c.

31 The Methone deposit (see above n. 29) also produced a cup (Μθ 2248: Μπέσιος, Τζιφόπουλος and Κοτσώνας 2012, 339–343) with an inscribed curse that may follow the same formula: 'I am of Hakesandros; [whoever steals me from him], will be deprived of / lose his eyes (or money)'. The editors (559) consider the tone humorous in light of the vessel's sympotic form.

32 Hom. *Il.* 11.732–737. The humor hypothesis, first argued in depth by Hansen 1976, has gained widespread acceptance. See Faraone 1996, n. 4 for alternative views.

However, as Faraone observes,[33] the threat of seizure by erotic forces was a genuine concern for the early Greeks. He argues that the ancient authors of the verses used hexameters—a meter typical of magical incantations in later periods—expecting that the words would transform this rather ordinary *kotylê* into a potent agent. And Nestor would be an appropriate owner for the magical vessel, since he himself was a relic bridging the generation of Homeric heroes and an earlier race of men with far greater powers.[34] Their personal possessions fittingly displayed strengths and abilities beyond those of ordinary objects.[35]

A handful of graves at Pithecusae produced artifacts that were fifty to one hundred years old at the time of deposition.[36] While some may have been esteemed for their lineages, it would have been virtually impossible for inhabitants to maintain an unbroken awareness of the history of the flint point in Tomb 488 (Figure 1a).[37] Dating to the Eneolithic, it was some two millennia old when it was buried with a young girl during the eighth-century.[38] Moreover, it was of a type local to the Italic peninsula, perhaps uncovered in a prehistoric grave of the Gaudo culture during construction at the settlement. The point was placed on the girl's chest beside a shark's tooth (Figure 1b),[39] another singular object of similar size and morphology. The assemblage as a whole has strong intimations of the occult. Several other antiques (although none so displaced chronologically) may support this tentative proposal that some antiquities were viewed as charged objects. A small ivory double-axe pendant in Tomb 495,[40] for example, was at least five decades old when it was interred with an infant burial in the late eighth century. The pendant could have been a simple ornament or a gift from the kin, but the fact that it occupied the same position on the child's chest as a steatite scarab—a class of object habitually deployed as amulets for youngsters throughout the early Mediterranean[41]—invites us to contemplate a parallel magical function. A bronze lunate razor found near the

33 Faraone 1996, 79–80.

34 The 'epic plupast' (Grethlein 2012, 15–20).

35 See Hartmann 2010, 54; Grethlein 2008, 38–39 and 2012.

36 Two silver bracelets, Tomb 245 (Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 305, Cat. 245–4, -5, Tav. CXLIII); a steatite scarab from the same grave (Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 305, Cat. 245–7, Tav. CXLIII; Nizzo 2010, 95 n. 97); the gold-plated silver earring recovered from the infant burial in Tomb 555 (Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 552; Cat. 555–8; Nizzo 2010, 94–95).

37 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 491, Cat. 488–8, Tav. 145.

38 For the chronology, see Nizzo 2007, 85, Fig. 39.

39 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 492, Tav. 145.

40 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 496, Cat. 495–1, Tav. 146.

41 De Salvia 1978.

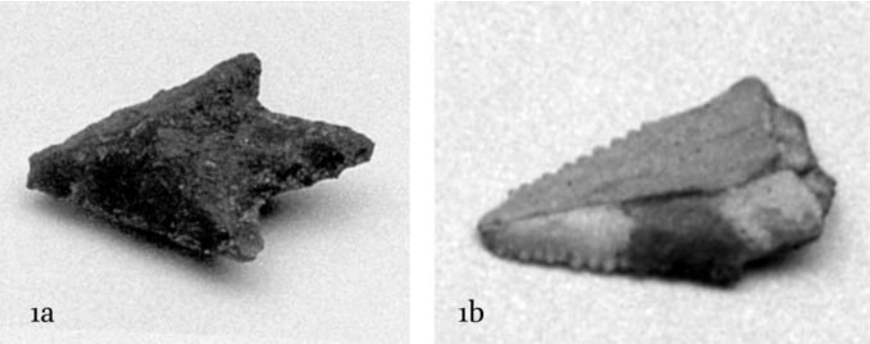

FIGURE 6.1 *Finds from Pithekoussai Tomb 488.* 1a*: Eneolithic flint point (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 167920).* 1b*: shark's tooth (Inv. 167921). Courtesy of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali—Soprintendenza Speciale per i beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei*

clavicle of a sub-adult in Tomb 381 was some five to seven decades old at the time of burial and came from a region on the mainland where Villanovan culture had flourished.[42] It is noteworthy that these three objects (the point, axe and razor) are defined by sharp edges inappropriate for children of a young age but suitable for defense.

Although the identifiable 'antiques' at Pithecusae are few, they cluster in the graves of infants and children, and it might be suggested that they, like Nestor's cup, were thought to have a protective value important for these youngsters, who typically were interred rather than cremated, leaving their bodies vulnerable.[43] An analogous phenomenon has been observed in a small number of Late Medieval Christian burials, where Roman artifacts—found objects, no doubt—appear alongside other unusual items, like animal teeth,

42 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 419, Cat. 381–1, Tav. CXXXII; Nizzo 2010, 92 n. 89.

43 The adolescent buried with the Nestor cup was cremated, although inhumation was the rite usually reserved for children (Ridgway 1993, 48–50). The grave was exceptional both for its departure from the usual burial rites and the large number of high quality grave goods, including an unprecedented four kraters; however, similarly ostentatious child burials are attested in the Greek colonial world (Shepherd 2007, 102). The extraordinary effort made to treat him as an 'adult' in death (Shepherd 2007, 93) through ritual and the dedication of multiple sympotic vessels may betray a tension over the status of children who had lived to an advanced age. Viewed in this light, the Nestor cup with its admonitory inscription could signify an attempt to translate the amuletic elements (i.e., scarabs) typically incorporated in infant and child graves to a young adult's burial.

fossils and exotic stones.[44] These potentially charged objects crop up in graves at the moment when inhumation in churchyards supplanted the pagan rite of cremation. Gilchrist postulates that they were charms intended to safeguard the bodies of women and children in particular, the most defenseless members of the community.[45]

When the ties between an object's original owners and its later curators were attenuated or nonexistent, as was likely the case with the point in Tomb 488, the gaps in its biography became blank pages where existing meanings could be reformulated and new ones inscribed.[46] Due to their archaic or unfamiliar appearance, *keimêlia* several generations[47] old were prone to be classified with a remote past: either a specific, mythic past, of the sort to which the Homeric epics allude, when things possessed innate powers and agency; or a general past, which had a foreignness that encouraged people to ascribe numinous qualities to these things.[48] While it is impossible to verify the hypothesis that the Pithecusans viewed certain antiquities as magically charged, attention to temporal discrepancies between *keimêlia* and their contexts can help to focus discussions of their value in a secular or mystical realm.

2.2 Keimêlia *for Kids*

The site of Pithecusae offers at least one example of a *keimêlion* from a past so remote that its life history can be divided into two distinct phases. Yet archaeologists more frequently encounter artifacts separated from their context by a span of only a few decades. Such objects, their pasts known and near, likely originated with an older—perhaps still living—generation. While not remarkably old in a calendrical sense, these artifacts can have an advanced 'social age' reflected in their 'age profiles'. This concept, applied in biographical approaches to material culture, acknowledges that objects can age through rich and diverse life experiences, not according to traditional linear chronology.[49] The dense webs of associations that objects accumulate even over short time spans make them potentially powerful vehicles for mobilizing the past in the construction or maintenance of social identities in ways considered below.

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44 Gilchrist 2008, 119, 141–148.

45 Gilchrist 2008, 142, 148.

46 Eckhardt and Williams 2003, 142.

47 A common estimate for a generation is thirty years (Snodgrass 2000, 11).

48 A New World parallel for the reappropriation of a very ancient object for magical purposes is a shaman's wand, *Hechicerro* stick, into which a 1,500-year-old Elko Eared projectile point was inserted (Thomas 1976).

49 Lucas 2005, 107–113.

The name vase of Beazley's Hypobibazon Class,[50] a fine Attic black-figure amphora (Figure 2a and b),[51] was some three decades old when it became the burial urn for a child in the Kerameikos cemetery of Athens (490 BCE).[52] An older pot would seem the obvious, cost-effective choice in a preindustrial community, where the rate of child mortality was undoubtedly high. However, the care taken with child interments in sixth- and fifth-century Athens[53] encourages us to explore other motivations. Anthropologists and researchers of consumer practices have stressed the fluid, discursive nature of humans' interactions with the material world.[54] Although they conceptualize these interrelationships differently, there is a general consensus that as objects are involved in social performances, including exchange, quotidian activities and milestones, they are imbued with meanings that link them to specific people, places and events.[55] People can actuate these embedded meanings as they engage with objects whether intentionally or subconsciously through habitual practice.[56] In this way, objects with extensive life histories had the capacity to draw people from disparate times and places into contact.

The Attic amphora was, first and foremost, a functional object—a coffin. However, the sacrifice of a distinctive vessel that had been a fixture in the household for decades may have other purposes and layers of significance. The burial of the vase, with its history anchored in the life of the family, was perhaps a means of extending comfort and protection over the child eternally. Such was Creusa's intention when she prepared the infant Ion for exposure, by including items that were both amuletic and representative of her own past. Her gorgon-emblazoned sampler was undeniably apotropaic, but it was also an artifact of her girlhood, woven by her own hand. It was, in a sense, an extension of her person.[57] Likewise, the dedication of an amphora, an object deeply rooted in the household, may have been a means of bestowing an ancestral

50 *ABV* (Beazley 1956) 338–339.

51 Athens: Kerameikos Museum Inv. 158; *ABV* 339, 2; Kunze-Götte, Tancke and Vierneisel 1999, 36–37, Taf. 20, 1.2.

52 The style of the vase would have been an unmistakable indicator of its age, since, by the fifth century, red-figure pottery had largely supplanted black-figure.

53 They were privileged with special offerings and prominent positions near the city's major gates (Houby Nielson 2000, 158–161)

54 Hodder 2011, 162–164; Meskell 2006.

55 The bibliography is vast: White and Beaudry 2009, 211–213; Gosden and Marshall 1999, 172–174; Belk 1990, 669, 673–674; Kopytoff 1986.

56 Olsen 2010, 110, 116–117.

57 White and Beaudry 2009, 213–214.

FIGURE 6.2 *Attic black-figure amphora of type B. Attributed to the Hypobibazon Class; Kerameikos Inv. 158.* 2a*: side A,* komos*.* 2b*: side B, warrior mounting horse. Photo Credit: D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 8042 and 8043. All rights reserved*

identity on a child who left the household prematurely before achieving various stages of personhood. And just as potent as the vessel's presence in the funerary rites may have been its absence from the home; for a window of time, the void left by this large and unique piece would have created a space for the commemoration of the child.

An older object also might be included in a child's grave if the youngster were the intended heir of the vase. This type of familial connection was proposed for a black-glaze Laconian krater in the *corredo* of an adolescent at Cumae in central Italy.[58] Two ownership inscriptions belong to different phases of the vessel's history; the one on the side of the handle ('I belong to Euphronios'; *ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟ ΕΜΙ*) dates to 480 BCE, approximately six decades before the second ('Of Biotos'; BIOTO), which is divided in two syllables among the handles and dates to the time of the burial. Lombardi suggests that the vessel originally belonged to the grandfather of the youth with whom it was interred. The Athenian amphora and the krater from Cumae, with their extended histories, may have embodied the family, its past and the children's place within the line of descent.

58 Lombardi 2000.

The imagery of the amphora (Side A, komasts; B, a warrior about to mount a horse) and the sympotic forms of both vessels draw attention to the forward-facing potential of *keimêlia*. The vases, which may allude to the children's anticipated roles in the adult male institutions of the military or the symposium, were possible mechanisms for ascribing unrealized social identities to the children at the time of their death.[59] A similar suggestion was offered for the gold necklaces worn by the young female buried in the same tumulus as the famous Polyxena sarcophagus from Gümüşçay in northwest Turkey.[60] The jewelry shows definite signs of use, including missing granulation on the pomegranate finials and repairs in gold leaf. The excavators cautiously propose that the offerings were intended for the girl's bridal trousseau or dowry before her life was cut short in the mid-fifth century. These *keimêlia* from diverse Mediterranean contexts introduce the rather paradoxical possibility that objects from the past could carry a future aspect if they were curated for a specific purpose or individual.

Echoes of each of these proposals are found in literary sources, which show older objects communicating diverse (and often overlapping) aspects of personal identity. The relics of Ion's birth, for example, had no practical value for him as an adult. Instead, they served as keys that dramatically unlocked the mysteries of his past on two levels: his parentage, which Creusa claimed upon seeing the objects; and his broader Athenian ancestry, to which the objects refer symbolically.[61] More of a forward gaze is evident in the tale of Theseus' recovery of his tokens of investiture (*gnôrismata*).[62] The sandals and weapons left by his father King Aegeus at the time of Theseus' birth were the trappings that aided the hero on his journey to Athens and the requisite proof for him to claim the throne.[63] Thus, these *keimêlia* stood as the nexus of the hero's past

59 Langdon 2001, 599 interprets a Late Geometric *pithos* from a child's grave in Thebes along these lines. It had ancient repairs indicative of a prior life, and the imagery may depict the local Daphnephoria festival in which children were protagonists. Greek funerary epigrams reveal that, at the time of a young person's death, the kin contemplated rites unfulfilled; for example, the famous monument of Phrasikleia laments that she died a maiden rather than a bride (Svenbro 1988, 24).

60 Sevinç and Rose 1999.

61 The Athenian audience would have recognized the items unpacked from the basket as symbols of their religious and civic traditions (Mueller 2010, 392–393): the gorgon on the textile recalled the aegis of the city's patron deity; the amuletic snakes, the snakes that guarded Erichthonius; and the olive branch, the goddess' gift to the city.

62 Paus. 1.27.8; Plut. *Thes*. 3.4, 6. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 99–100.

63 Lissarrague 2010, 203.

(birth), present (transition to manhood) and future (kingship). By simultaneously encapsulating who Theseus was and who he was destined to become, the *gnôrismata* illustrate the capacity of objects from the past to represent a person's full, diachronic identity.

The *antipêx* and *gnôrismata*—as literary devices, first and foremost—are problematic sources for the study of real-world *keimêlia* like those interred in the children's graves in Athens, Cumae and Gümüşçay. Nevertheless, for *keimêlia* to be so central to the plots of these narratives implies that audiences were sympathetic to the notion that aged objects could stand as indices for various aspects of personhood. The artful deployment of heirlooms in these myths encourages us to look beyond simple economic explanations for the dedication of *keimêlia* in children's graves, a phenomenon that recurs—albeit sporadically—across cultures within the ancient Mediterranean.[64]

The association of *keimêlia* with child burials came as a surprise to some participants at the Leiden conference, but, as the *gnôrismata* of Theseus demonstrate, *keimêlia* had a temporal depth that made them fitting accompaniments for children, who also embody the past, present and future simultaneously.[65] At a child's funeral, the community that gathered might have reflected on these different temporal horizons, of which *keimêlia* and the child's body were material expressions. Mizoguchi has explored the dialectic between past and future for the Nagoka cemetery (third to first centuries BCE) of Japan, where deceased children were interred within the graves of adult ancestors. The audience, viewing the child's body and the ancestor's side-by-side, was confronted with two symbols that instantiated the passage of time. Mizoguchi proposes that 'the burial of a child by adult members of the community mobilized the child as a symbol of communal well-being and mutual concern in past, present and future.'[66] A child's death was an episode of rupture for a family, but the presentation of the past, objectified through *keimêlia*, actually may have expressed a family's longevity and forecast the continuity of its lineage.

64 A fragment of a Rhodian relief amphora from Gela (Museo Archeologico di Gela 8602) dates to the late eighth century, two decades before the Rhodio-Cretan colony's foundation (Lentini 2005). A sporadic find, it probably contained an archaic infant burial. This rare antique *pithos* was perhaps a 'bene di famiglia' displayed to signal the child's status as a member of the colony's founding families (Lentini 2005, 305). Orsi 1907, 124–125 reports that several other urns used for child burials at Gela predate their context by decades and sometimes even a century.

65 Mizoguchi 2000, 141.

66 Mizoguchi 2000, 148.

2.3 Keimêlia *within Communities*

The presence of *keimêlia*, when considered in conjunction with other signs of ancient engagement with the past, may speak of the circumstances when the past assumed importance within a given community. At the site of Gela, for example, glimpses of fifth-century inhabitants interacting with earlier material culture can nuance text-based discussions of attitudes toward the past in Sicily. In addition to the early vessels used as funerary urns (above, n. 64), vases several decades old were interred on sarcophagus lids of adult burials, a position that points to their role in the funerary ritual.[67] Some sixth-century graves show signs of reuse in the fifth century, and it appears that elements of the original *corredo* occasionally were preserved for the tomb's new occupants.[68] In at least one case, a fifth-century burial was sunken into a sixth-century mortuary complex after several decades had passed.[69] Beyond the funerary sphere, three remarkable terracotta altars unearthed in excavations of the commercial sector deserve mention. Although dated to the first decades of the fifth century by associated ceramics, they were executed in an archaic style; one replicates the early sixth-century pedimental motif of the Artemisium of Corcyra.[70]

Modest hints of engagement with the past, such as these, pose interpretive problems. The reoccupation of older tombs may have been entirely practical. Likewise, the advanced age of objects in graves may reflect simply the longevity of household articles. A shipwreck off the Geloan coast offers a cautionary tale. The cargo exhibited a broad chronological range, with most artifacts dating to the second half of the fifth century, but also several vases from

67 The repaired black-figure neck-amphora in Tomb 19 Predio di Bartolo (525–500 BCE; Syracuse: Mus. Arch. Reg. Inv. 21965; Panvini and Giudice 2003, 257, Cat. D9; Orsi 1907, 334–336) was some three decades earlier than the neck-amphora inside the sarcophagus (475–450 BCE; Syracuse: Mus. Arch. Reg. Inv. 21967; Panvini and Giudice 2003, 325, Cat. I6). A red-figure *pelikê* (480–470 BCE; Syracuse: Mus. Arch. Reg. inv. 21192; Panvini and Giudice 2003, 473, Cat. pI3) found on the lid of the *baule* in Tomb 1 of the same necropolis (Orsi 1907, 328–329) is another example.

68 Orsi infers reuse when significant chronological gaps in the *corredo* are coupled with evidence for two different burial rites. For example, Tomb 10, Predio Leopardi (Orsi 1907, 395–396, Fig. 290) contained a mixture of bone, ash, a fragmentary *lêkythos* (445–440 BCE; Syracuse: Mus. Arch. Reg. 21133; Panvini and Giudice 2003, 382, Cat. L5), and an intact *lêkythos* (525–500 BCE; Syracuse: Mus. Arch. Reg. 20638; Panvini and Giudice 2003, 258, Cat. D10), perhaps belonging to an earlier inhumation.

69 Vases of different dates in Tomb 19 of the Predii Catalano and Tascone are likely indication that a sixth-century tomb was rearranged (Orsi 1907, 474).

70 Panvini and Sole 2001, 22–26. I thank Professor Clemente Marconi for bringing these altars to my attention.

the first decade of the fifth century (perhaps the personal possessions of the crew).[71] The significant age range is an important reminder that objects from multiple temporal horizons could coexist in the same context, and frequently did. Although they may muddy the waters for interpretation, it is precisely this chronological layering that engenders a historical consciousness,[72] of which we find evidence in accounts of fifth-century Sicily.

The persistence of objects from earlier periods at Gela may help to illuminate a different side of the fifth-century socio-political milieu. It is widely recognized that the tyrants invoked the past when seeking the legitimization of their political and religious authority and territorial claims. The epinician poets presented these rulers as *basileis*—kings of an epic tradition—and interwove accounts of their victories with deeds of mythic figures, thus portraying the tyrants as the natural descendants of an illustrious line of mortals and heroes.[73] According to Herodotus (7.153), the Deinomenids' monopoly over the priesthood of Demeter and Korê was based on their ancestor's action at a time of crisis.[74] Even Gelon's decision to move the seat of his rule from Gela to Syracuse after he conquered the city may be viewed as a response to the past, since Syracuse was not only a strategic location but the first Greek colony in Sicily. By claiming the island's earliest Greek foothold and its sacred spaces, the tyrants eroded the Syracusans' civic identity,[75] paving the way for the Deinomenids to revise the history of the eastern part of the island by bringing it under their command.

At Gela, the *keimêlia* in graves, the reoccupation of earlier tombs and the archaizing sculpture may counterbalance the tyrants' ideological rhetoric, reminding us that what appears to be top-down propaganda was a dialectic. The Deinomenids' invocation of the past resonated because the past was meaningful within these communities, and the uses of the past by political regimes likely encouraged the types of acts described above. As the landscape of eastern Sicily was reconfigured through conquests and the displacement of populations,[76] we might imagine that objects from the past assumed a special value for families on the move, as foci for remembrance not fixed to a particular locale.

71 Panvini 2001, 83–87
72 Olsen 2010, 121.
73 Harrell 2002, 439–441.
74 Demand 1990, 47.
75 Thatcher (2011, 125–129; 2012, 83–87) argues that Hieron used civic landmarks (i.e., the island Ortygia, the Arethusa spring) in coinage and propaganda as a means of undermining local Syracusan identity. It seems possible that Hieron's predecessor Gelon might have used the island's history strategically as well.
76 Lomas 2006; Thatcher 2011, 130–131.

2.4 *The Value(s) of* keimêlia

The attributes that made objects worth keeping in different Mediterranean communities are revealed by patterns in the form and context of *keimêlia*. Mapping these trends is a first step toward disentangling the economic, cultural and personal motivations underlying the extended circulation of certain objects, and understanding how their past contributed to their significance. For instance, when composed of precious materials, objects were a means of storing wealth. Many extant metal vessels from archaeological contexts and temple inventories were manufactured according to weight standards;[77] for example, a silver *phialê* weighing one Attic mina was nearly a century old when it was deposited in a fourth-century Macedonian tomb. Independent of artistry or other subjective factors, such pieces had intrinsic, quantifiable worth that could be liquidated if need arose.

The distribution of artifacts with ancient mends is also informative. Our understanding of the phenomenon of ancient repair remains largely impressionistic due to uneven reporting in earlier scholarship and the scourge of unprovenanced artifacts.[78] According to one systematic examination of mended pottery,[79] repair rates could correspond to socioeconomic conditions. The largest numbers of mended objects at the Greek *apoikia* of Olbia Pontica occurred at times of invasions and distress, when supplies of pottery were disrupted, while the most prosperous periods produced the fewest repairs. Other studies which examine repair rates in non-Greek communities suggest that objects with exotic origins were more likely to be preserved. Tombs of the Bosporan kingdoms in the Kerch region produced a number of red-figure Attic vases that predated the rest of the assemblage by a decade or more and frequently exhibited repairs.[80] The well-known high rates of repair to Attic vases in Etruscan communities diverge from the lower incidence on vessels manufactured locally.[81] Yet farther west, in the regions of modern France and Spain, fine wares from both Greece and the Italic peninsula alike were mended.[82]

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77 Kozani Archaeological Museum Inv. 589. See Vickers and Gill 1994, 48–54; Gill 1990.

78 Dooijes and Nieuwenhuyse 2007, 17. Recent research has quantified and contextualized repairs: Guldager Bilde and Handberg 2012 (Olbia Pontica); Rotroff 2011 (Agora at Athens); Slane 2011 (Corinth).

79 Guldager Bilde and Handberg 2012.

80 Petrakova 2012, 157.

81 Reusser 2002, 35 n. 42. Also see Rasmussen 2013 for repaired Etruscan bucchero vases (Bizzarri 1962, 127, Fig. 41). I thank Tom Rasmussen and Jean Turfa for sharing this manuscript.

82 For example: several Campanian kraters from the hillfort of Oppidum d'Ensérune (S/N;

Other rare attributes could promote a *keimêlion*'s survival, as the findings from a well near the Athenian Agora indicate. The deposit, the results of clean-up efforts by a household following the Persian invasion of 480 BCE, yielded several sets of drinking vessels,[83] including two cups executed in the rare coral red technique.[84] Nearly three decades old at the time of destruction, they had been broken and mended in antiquity through an elaborate repair system which utilized lead clamps in conjunction with a lead sealant along the fractures that presumably allowed the cups to hold liquid. As Lynch notes,[85] a pair of figured cups could be replaced easily through a quick trip to the Kerameikos, but the special technique may have compelled the owners to restore, rather than discard, these particular vessels.

For archaeologists approaching *keimêlia* in the material record, visible features, such as an object's material composition, exotic origin, unusual technique of manufacture, size, quality or a combination of these characteristics, emerge as the ostensible reasons for its long life. However, other invisible—and, therefore, unknowable—layers of meaning also played a part in their endurance. Take, for example, a *lêkythos* from a grave at Selinus. It was a *keimêlion* in a chronological sense, dating stylistically to the third quarter of the sixth century but found in a grave belonging of the first decade of the fifth century (a difference of perhaps a generation).[86] The metrical inscription offers a rare glimpse into the reasons why this particular vessel was valued: the first verse refers to its beauty ('I belong to Aristokleia, and I am as beautiful as she'; Ἀριστοκλείας ἐ̄μὶ τᾶς καλᾶς, καλά); and the second, to an ownership transfer ('But she does not own me. Pithakos, having asked, possesses me.'; *h*αὐτὰ δὲ̄ μά· Πίθακος αἰτέ̄σας ἔ̄χει). A graffito on the shoulder, possibly a *pi* and an *alpha* for Pithakos and Aristokleia, may have been made at the time of exchange.[87]

The *lêkythos* was likened to Aristokleia, documents an exchange and—in a sense—signifies a relationship, probably amorous in nature. The inclusion of an object that represents Aristokleia and instantiates a bond may be seen as

CVA Mouret Collection 1, 20–22, Pls. 15.3, 18.1); an Etruscan *skyphos* from the site of Empúrias (Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueología de Catalunya 608; *CVA* Barcelona 1, 39, Pl. 36.2).

83 Lynch 2011, 81–92, 99–110.

84 Athens, Agora Museum P 32344 and P 32311. See Lynch 2011, 228–230, Cat. 87, 88, Figs. 84, 85, Ill. 10; 93–95.

85 Lynch 2011, 93.

86 Tusa 1982, 176–177. I thank Professor Clemente Marconi for bringing this artifact to my attention.

87 For the translation and hypothesis about the graffito, see Guarducci 1986.

a poignant attempt to maintain their link in the grave, when it was no longer physically possible. In contrast, a black glaze *skyphos* from a grave in Ialysos on Rhodes had two ownership inscriptions on the foot: Τελεσιγέροντός ἐμι; and another with the name partially scratched out.[88] With the *lêkythos*, the object's history contributed to its value, but with the *skyphos*, this information was perhaps unimportant or undesirable. Another example of the unpredictability of human-object attachments is the sole surviving artifact with an inscription designating it a *keimêlion*. It belongs to a class of early fifth-century *lêkythoi* with decoration so coarse that it is difficult to decipher the banquet scene encircling the body.[89] Such vases were mass produced and distributed widely, and were it not for the inscription, scholars probably would take little note of the piece, much less regard it as the 'treasure' it claims to be. Similarly, without knowledge of its subtext, the Aristokleia *lêkythos* would stand out only slightly as an import in its Sicilian context.

Objects were preserved for idiosyncratic and unpredictable reasons because the process of 'singularization'[90]—whereby commodities became sacralized or transformed into entities of personal significance—often is rooted in matters of practice, with its infinite variations.[91] Things as mundane and understated as loom weights, for example, could acquire value beyond their functionality. As one generation of women taught the skill of weaving to the next, these tools became embedded in invisible networks of female kinship and provided a physical focus of remembrance for daughters, mothers and grandmothers as they were dispersed geographically through marriage and separated by time.[92] On the other end of the spectrum, one must not forget that items with definite value as commodities, such as the silver *phialê* from Kozani, 'do absorb the other kind of worth, one that is non-monetary and goes beyond exchange worth'.[93] Indeed, as Lynch notes, the selection of rare or distinctive objects for important social interactions underscored the significance of these events,[94] and, equally, the restricted use of such objects helped to ensure that those special occasions would be remembered with clarity.

88 Jacopi 1929, 224, Fig. 219.

89 Volioti and Papageorgiou 2008. Cf. above n. 19.

90 Kopytoff 1986, 73–75.

91 Kopytoff 1986, 81–83.

92 Foxhall 2012 documents one specimen from Metaponto that was preserved for over a century.

93 Kopytoff 1986, 1983.

94 Lynch 2011, 95 nn. 150–151.

The social implications of repairs also warrant further consideration. In modern consumer society, an object's value generally depreciates with damage or wear,[95] yet aging and breakage provided openings for different individuals to inscribe themselves on a significant object, becoming a part of its history through acts of maintenance and care.[96] A remarkable Attic cup (Figure 3a and b) from a Celtic tomb in Kleinaspergle, Germany, can illustrate.[97] Although the vessel did not predate its assemblage significantly, it had broken in antiquity and was repaired using gold leaf decorated with embossed motifs of the local La Tène culture.[98] The fracturing of this imported vase was an opportunity both to embellish and to naturalize it.

The former significance of most *keimêlia* unearthed through excavation is irrecoverable. Anachronistic artifacts and those curated in other ways not only affect the structure of the material record. They also suggest that people in antiquity used objects to mark their individual and familial pasts, which might have been activated on special occasions as well as through praxis. Even when the precise associations of an object cannot be known, evidence for the curation of *keimêlia* is an important indicator of the value of the past in antiquity.

3 Conclusions: Listening through Noise

By asking the right questions, archaeologists can make meaningful inferences from the 'noise'[99] left in the material record by artifacts that were curated in antiquity. These anomalous elements provide insight into the values assigned to objects from the past in discrete historical contexts and, as a corollary, the place of the past within ancient communities. The proposals offered here for the value of storied objects—as talismans, as instruments for constructing and maintaining different valences of identity, and as vehicles for commemorating a personal past—emerge through the consideration of the following:

- *Which past did* keimêlia *evoke?*
  When an object was disembodied from its history, later curators had the freedom to assign it new meanings. The strange or unfamiliar appearance

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95 Though patina can increase value (Rosenstein 1987, 399).

96 Herva and Nurmi 2009, 175.

97 Kimmig 1987.

98 Böhr 1988.

99 Thomas 1976, 128.

3a

3b

FIGURE 6.3 *Attic red-figure cup with gold-leaf repairs from Kleinaspergle.* 3a*: interior, woman before an altar.* 3b*: exterior, black-glaze with gold-leaf repair. Stuttgart: Landesmuseum Württemberg KAS 113. Photo Credit: P. Frankenstein, H. Zwietasch; Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart*

of things from a very remote past, like the Eneolithic point from Pithecusae, invited interpretations not anchored in contemporary realities but in mythical spheres, where objects might have magical values.

- *Who owned or received* keimêlia?
  Antiques in the graves of children are a pan-Mediterranean and cross-cultural phenomenon. Objects could be recognized as extensions of people and groups, who used them. As symbols, they were capable of enlarging an individual's identity beyond what he or she had achieved in a lifetime. At a funeral, the display of a *keimêlion*—an object defined by its long life within a family—was a pointed reminder of the endurance of a lineage and an expression of hope for its future, thus illustrating how objects from the past might be mobilized in the articulation of personal and corporate identities.
- *Under what circumstances were* keimêlia *deployed?*
  Keimêlia evaluated in a site or regional context may shed light on the place of the past in political dynamics, a question generally approached through the lens of texts alone. Signs of fifth-century Geloans' engagement with objects and monuments of earlier generations can be set against the activities of the Deinomenids, which were framed with a gaze toward the past. The intersection of these diverse lines of evidence may corroborate philologists' conclusions that the past was a meaningful form of argumentation in the political discourse of the fifth century.[100]
- *What made* keimêlia *worth keeping?*
  In addition to the obvious physical characteristics that would have inspired owners to hold onto objects for extended periods, archaeologists must be cognizant of hidden histories embedded within *keimêlia* that bound them to specific people, places and events, as Euripides' *Ion* illustrates.

After the Pythia hands Ion the tokens of his birth, she states, 'You will know these things yourself' (γνώσῃ τάδ' αὐτός, Eur. *Ion* 1357). By 'these things', she means the tokens, and the knowledge they hold in store, but a Greek audience have been reminded of the famous aphorism on the Temple of Apollo before which Ion stands: 'Know thyself' (γνῶθι σαὐτόν, Paus. 10.24.1). The Pythia's words blend with the Delphic mandate to offer a comment on the power of objects from the past: 'Through these things, you will know thyself'. Through objects, people in antiquity were able to map their personal histories, and in doing so they became the narrators of their own pasts. In this way, *keimêlia* performed

100 Higbie 1997.

a function similar to oral and textual accounts, and were even in competition. The critical difference is that through the placement of *keimêlia*, people were able to decide where to position their past *physically* in the present.[101]

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CHAPTER 7

Croesus' Offerings and the Value of the Past in Herodotus' *Histories**

Karen Bassi

1 Introduction

This paper explores the relationship between visible evidence and the value of the past in Herodotus' *Histories*. The discussion is framed by the temporal dimension of physical objects and architectural features in Herodotus' narrative and, by extension, in the writing of history more generally. What particular qualities do descriptions of the phenomenal world bring to our understanding of the historical past? A related topic is the relationship between the visual content of the historical narrative and reading as its mediating practice. Narratological approaches situate this practice within the various rhetorical strategies, e.g., prolepsis and analepsis, that structure historical time. More generally, the representation of past time in Greek narrative is explained in terms of the causes and effects of memory as experienced or endorsed by characters, narrators and readers.[1] There is no question that memory (*mnêmê*) is a powerful concept in the Greek tradition; its role as a heuristic device in Classical Studies can be understood as a natural consequence of this fact. But the privileging of memory, with its roots in the formal structures of orally-derived poetry, has had the effect of overshadowing the significance of visual and other modes of perception in accessing and assessing the meaning and value of the past.[2]

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1 Grethlein 2010 takes memory as both the starting point and central concept in his account of the rise of Greek historiography in the pre- or proto-literate milieu of the fifth century. See also Grethlein 2009.

2 In discussing the emergence of the history of trauma for example, Ankersmit 2005, 4 notes 'the use of the term *memory* where we previously preferred to speak of "History" or of "the past". This new idiom suggests an interesting shift in the nature of contemporary historical consciousness.' According to Ankersmit, this shift is guided by the 'experience of the past'

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My premise is that descriptions of the material world in history writing produce a singular, even unique, reading experience.[3] As a figure for this experience, the reader of history is positioned as a virtual viewer of the past defined in terms of what is no longer or is only partially visible, i.e., of the past as a receding visual field. Beginning with Herodotus' intention to insure that 'the past deeds (τὰ γενόμενα, *ta genomena*) of men may not fade with time' (Hdt. *praef.*), this definition of the past is explored in the relationship between oracles and objects, notably Croesus' offerings at Delphi, in the Lydian *Logos*. More specifically, I examine a particular historico-linguistic feature in Herodotus' narrative, namely, his descriptions of the offerings that exist up to his own time (ἐπ' ἐμέο, μέχρι ἐμεῦ, etc.). In disciplinary terms, the expression 'up to my time' in the *Histories* contributes to what I have elsewhere called a proto-archaeological discourse, founded on the principle that the value of the past is determined in part in relation to visible evidence in the present.[4]

Before turning to Herodotus' text, however, it is important to locate the discussion within current and ongoing debates over the connection between the historical past and the historical text in the philosophy of history.[5] Doing so acknowledges the contemporary perspective that frames the argument and foregrounds the question of what it means to read Herodotus' text in our own time. I begin with Frank Ankersmit's distinction between 'looking at' and 'looking through' the historical text as a succinct formula for assessing the value of reading history. I take seriously Ankersmit's use of visual metaphors to refer to the epistemological dilemma that lies at the heart of historical narrative since the linguistic turn, namely, the relationship between the reality of the past and the rhetorical structures that shape that reality. In the present context, this relationship is expressed as a function of the rhetorical strategies that invest visible or material objects with temporal meaning. In order to better understand this function, I then turn briefly to the relationship between what Alois Riegl has called the 'age-value' and the 'historical value' of artifacts and monuments. Although formulated in the context of an early twentieth-century

in which experience is not limited to sensory perception but also includes 'such a thing as "intellectual experience"' (5–7) although it is not clear how memory and 'intellectual experience' are related in Ankersmit's argument.

3 This experience differs, for example, from the aesthetic experience of reading ecphrastic descriptions. On ecphrasis, see Webb 2009 with Goldhill's review 2009. See also Elsner 2007 for a pertinent discussion of tragedy as the source of ecphrastic passages in Philostratus' *Imagines*.

4 Bassi, forthcoming.

5 See the Introduction to Part I of Partner, forthcoming.

debate over the preservation of artifacts and monuments within the field of art history, Riegl's terms are adapted here to the temporal effects of objects and artifacts in Greek narrative history. Together, these two sets of conceptual categories provide the basis for exploring the epistemological, historical and ethical value of objects and artifacts that Herodotus defines by the fact that they existed 'up to my time'.

2 Looking through and Looking at the Historical Text

Under the auspices of what has been called the new historiography, Frank Ankersmit argues in *History and Tropology* that the historical text is 'no longer a layer *through* which one looks (either at a past reality or at the historian's authorial intention), but something which the historiographer must look *at*'.[6] The activity of looking at the historical text is presumably a short-hand for post-structuralist and psychoanalytic approaches to language and narrative, aimed in very general terms at apprehending their hidden or latent content. According to Ankersmit, 'A historically uncontaminated, transcendentally knowing subject looks "through the text" at a past reality which lies behind it'. Conversely, looking *at* the historical text means noticing that it is not a transparent window on a set of pre-existing real events, but that events are endowed with historical reality by virtue of the text's mediating practices; transparency is an effect of rhetoric.[7]

But even if historiographers no longer look through their texts, what Jürgen Pieters has called the 'ontological level of the past itself' is a recurring point of reference in the discipline.[8] What I want to draw attention to however is Ankersmit's own rhetorical strategy, i.e., his seemingly natural and inevitable use of visual metaphors to describe this advance in historiographical thinking.[9] For if 'a transcendentally knowing subject' *looks through* the historical text then what sort of subject *looks at* it? And if we agree that both subjects are readers, then how do we differentiate between the one for whom reading

6 Ankersmit 1994, 128; emphasis in the original.

7 On this topic, see the remarks of Partner 1995, 22–23.

8 Pieters 2000, 28. Cf. White 1999, 1–2.

9 Ankersmit 1995, 213–214 comments on the epistemological utility of these metaphors as expressed in the relationship between 'picture and text'; he is not concerned with the particular epistemological effects of descriptions of visible or material objects in history writing. Cf. Pieters 2000.

history summons a past reality and the other for whom it activates a skeptical response to such a summons? And how do these competing or alternating reading practices shape the value of the historical past?

3 Age-Value and Historical Value

This assessment rests in turn on identifying the time-dependent characteristics that define remains and ruins as such in historical narrative. Addressed to the question of justifying the preservation of monuments (which include all classes of artifacts), this definition forms the basis of Alois Riegl's 1903 essay 'The Modern Cult of Monuments, Its Character and Its Origin'.[10] Riegl's arguments are not directly concerned with narrative history. But as Michael Gubser suggests, 'the concept of history' is central to Riegl's work:[11]

> Time was not simply one topic among the many that held Riegl's attention; his oeuvre can be read as a sustained investigation of the concept of history itself, a steady effort to grasp history and time in artistic form—to treat art as time's visible surface.

The importance of Riegl's essay for the discipline of art history has been well documented by scholars in the field.[12] Its significance in the current context is not due to its arguments about the relationship between formalism and representation in the history of art, however, but to its focus on what Gubser suggestively calls 'time's visible surface'. According to Gubser, Riegl identified 'two distinct notions of time: time as a historical construct, and time as a phenomenon embedded in artifacts'.[13] More significantly, these notions of time are imbued with notions of value, i.e., with what Riegl called the 'historical value' (*historischer Wert*) of monuments, on the one hand, and their 'age-value' (*Alterswert*) on the other. And although Riegl assigns these temporal values to the

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10 Riegl 1928 [1903]. Citations are taken from the English translation of Riegl's essay by Forster and Ghirardo 1982, with reference to the German edition.

11 Gubser 2005, 456. For a fuller overview of Riegl's essay, with a focus on his views of time and history, see Gubser 2006, Chapter 8. Cf. also Olin 1992, xxi.

12 In addition to Gubser 2005 and 2006, see Olin 1992 and Elsner 2006. Olin 1992, 180–182 summarizes the importance of Riegl's work for other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences.

13 Gubser 2005, 458.

nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively, their theoretical implications extend beyond these chronological parameters.[14]

In Riegl's account, historical value and age-value intersect on synchronic and diachronic axes; the former is the effect of a singular moment in the past while the latter emerges through time:[15]

> Age-value appreciates the past for itself, while historical value singles out one moment in the developmental continuum of the past and places it before our eyes as if it belonged to the present … While age-value is based solely on the passage of time, historical value, though it could not exist without recognizing time's passage, nevertheless wishes to suspend time. Intentional commemorative value simply makes claim to immortality, to an eternal present and an unceasing state of becoming. It thereby battles the natural processes of decay that militate against the fulfillment of its claims.

If historical value gestures toward an 'eternal present', age-value gestures toward its own ephemerality, i.e., to the future disappearance of the monument or artifact in question:[16]

> It is probably fair to say that ruins appear more picturesque the more advanced their state of decay: as decay progresses, age-value becomes less extensive, that is to say, evoked less and less by fewer and fewer remains, but is therefore all the more intensive in its impact on the beholder. Of course, the process has its limits. When finally nothing remains, then the effect vanishes completely. A shapeless pile of rubble is no longer able to convey age-value; there must be at least a recognizable trace of the original form, that is, of man's handiwork, whereas rubble alone reveals no trace of the original creation.

Derived from developmental and progressist premises, these values invoke the human capacity to preserve monuments or artifacts on the one hand and the monuments' natural and inevitable tendency to decay and disappear, on the

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14 In assigning the two values to two different centuries, Riegl 1982 attempts to keep them separate. But he also admits that the 'cult of ruins' is a form of age-value that can be 'traced back to the seventeenth century' (31).

15 Riegl 1982, 38. Cf. the remarks on Riegl's 'radical conservatism' in Olin 1992, xvii.

16 Riegl 1982, 32–33.

other.[17] In addition to these temporal and existential categories, the two values also comprise spatial orientations: historical value is an effect of 'localized historical memories' (*lokalisierte historische Erinnerungen*) while age-value is an effect of a 'non localized presentation of time' (*nicht lokalisierte Vorstellung der Zeit*).[18] This spatio-temporal localization is necessarily specified from the point of view of an observer whose response to the monument or artifact is either analytical (in the case of historical value) or emotional (in the case of age-value).[19] As a subject in space and time, in other words, the viewer of the monument in Riegl's account is the arbiter of the value of the past where that value is realized in a negotiation between the eternal and the ephemeral and between objective (historical) knowledge and subjective (emotional) response.[20]

Finally, Riegl distinguishes between what he calls 'intentional' (*gewollte*) and 'unintentional' (*ungewollte*) monuments. In general terms, intentional monuments are invested with historical value at the time of their making while unintentional monuments are invested with age-value over time:[21]

> To the class of intentional monuments belong only those works which recall a specific moment or complex of moments from the past. The class of historical monuments is enlarged to include those which still refer to a particular moment but the choice of that moment is left to our subjective preference. Finally, the category of monuments of age-value embraces

17 Riegl 1982, 24 maintains that age-value is 'evoked by mere sensory perception' (*durch die bloße sinnliche Wahrnehmung*) and can therefore be appreciated by the masses; historical value, in contrast, is the purview of the educated classes. Gubser 2006, esp. 135–163 provides a good overview of these aspects of Riegl's work. For a pertinent discussion of Riegl's significance for archaeological discourse, see Naginski 2001. Bann 1995, 198 comments on the 'material vestiges of the past' in the context of Riegl's work. See Reiterman (ch. 6, 161–164) in this volume on the disposition and value of repaired *keimêlia* in archaeological contexts.

18 Riegl 1982, 23. The phrases in German are from the 1928 edition, p. 149; the second one is not translated in the English edition.

19 If this account of reception in Riegl's scheme is somewhat circular, it also challenges his premise that historical value is the purview of the educated classes while age-value is the purview of the uneducated masses. And to be fair, age-value also has a democratic ring in Riegl's work. Olin 1992, 177, notes that, 'the value for age-value, unlike the historical value, aspires to be accessible to all because it takes no special expertise to recognize its signs (*GA*, pp. 164–165).' The passage referred to is on pp. 33–34 of the English edition.

20 On Riegl's 'plea for isolating objectivity' in the history of art, see Olin 1992, 179.

21 Riegl 1982, 24.

> every artifact without regard to its original significance and purpose, as long as it reveals the passage of a considerable period of time.

The distinction made here between intentional and unintentional monuments is clearly not absolute. Unintentional monuments, which are presumably not made to last, can nevertheless express historical value (the singular value of intentional monuments) simply by virtue of their continued if diminishing existence. As Gubser observes, 'Unintentional monuments … have historical value as a result of their ability to register the passage of time, to show the visible traces of origin and age-value'.[22] If this leaves us with a somewhat fuzzy picture of the relationship of intention to value in Riegl's scheme, it also suggests that age-value is the necessary precondition of historical value; only things that have lasted into the present (wherever we locate that present), regardless of the intention of their original makers, can be invested with historical value.

To summarize, Riegl proposes three sets of interlocking concepts combining ontological, temporal and ethical criteria. Beginning with the distinction between their makers' intent at the point of origin, monuments and artifacts are perceived as such by an observer whose own position in time is the basis for judging their age-value or historical value. These values rest in turn on their subjection or resistance to decay where resistance is the particular task of the historian:[23]

> It is the task of the historian (*Aufgabe des Historikers*) to make up, with all available means, for the damage (*Lücken*) nature has wrought in monuments over time. The symptoms of decay (*Auflösung*) which are the essence of age-value must be thoroughly removed for the sake of its historical value. This must be done not to the monument itself, but only to a copy or a mental reconstruction of it.

Here the conservationist aims of Riegl the art historian are in full view. It is clear too that Riegl is interested in preserving the integrity of monuments as actual or visible structures and not in their narrative descriptions. But what the trans-

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22 Gubser 2005, 464. Cf. Olin 1992, 176: 'Memorial values, for their part, are divisible into "intentional" (*gewollte*) and "unintentional" (*ungewollte*) values. Intentional monuments retain their value only as long as the conditions that brought them into being prevail. Unintentional monuments are preserved either for their historical value or for the signs of the ravage of age-value, including the destructive or reshaping human hand.'

23 Riegl 1982, 34.

lators render here as 'mental reconstructions' is, more literally, 'thoughts and words': 'Nur darf dies nicht am Denkmal selbst geschehen, sondern an einer Kopie oder bloß in Gedanken und Worten.'[24] In other words, Riegl suggests that historical value can be realized in verbal descriptions that restore the monument in question to its original and intentional form. And furthermore that while age-value is essential, historical value is gained at its expense.

Thus, even though Riegl's essay is not concerned with narrative history, it provides a useful conceptual vocabulary for assigning value to descriptions of monuments and artifacts in history writing. To return again to Ankersmit's terms, the relationship between age-value and historical value can be understood as loosely analogous to the relationship between 'looking through' and 'looking at' the historical text. The basis of the analogy is the ever-receding image of an object or feature whose essential ephemerality both enables and resists its historical value. The ability to *see* the reality of the past, in other words, is both evoked and resisted by the presence of the text. In what follows, these ideas are the basis for analyzing Herodotus' descriptions of objects and features that exist 'up to my time', including the value of reading history as a mediation between the relentless passing of time and the historian's obligation to preserve what remains of the past.

4 The Fading of the Past

Carolyn Dewald notes that Herodotus is '… the first extant Greek author whose stated purpose is to record *ta genomena*, that is, facts and events'.[25] And in a related article, she remarks on the 'widespread pattern in Herodotus—the vivid but highly ambiguous relationship between material, tangible things and their meanings within the larger narrative'.[26] As a complement to Dewald's insights, Rosalind Thomas suggests that Herodotus' explicit methodological formulation of observable, testable evidence, including his use of analogy from

24 Riegl 1928, 166.

25 Dewald 1981, 91. Cf. Fowler 1996, esp. 62–69, and Boedeker 1998, 197–199. For a wholly different approach to objects in the *Histories*, see Rosenmeyer 1982, 251–253 on the *kypselê* or chest in which the baby Cypselus is hidden in Herodotus' story of the tyrant (5.92): 'It remains at the level of gadgetry, a mere object which has a distinct function within a sequential tale.'

26 Dewald 1993, 56. Dewald takes a broad view of the category of objects in this article, in which she includes bodies and corpses. On the function of 'signs' in Herodotus, see Hollmann 2005.

visible to invisible data, owes much to the Hippocratics.[27] Both scholars allude to the fact that Herodotus' narrative verifies past events through its attention to objects, bodies, architectural features and descriptive facts, i.e., to the material or visual phenomena that those events have left behind.[28] Thus, whatever we believe to have been Herodotus' influences for the authority of visible evidence (the Hippocratic texts, for example) his method of inquiry is indebted to that authority even or perhaps especially when what is visible is often ambiguous in the *Histories*, a fact that Dewald demonstrates.

And yet the fallibility of visible evidence is implicitly acknowledged at the very beginning of the *Histories* in Herodotus' well-known programmatic statement (Hdt. *praef.*):[29]

> This is the exposition of the inquiry of Herodotus the Halicarnassian, so that the past actions of men may not fade with time, and so that the great and marvelous deeds brought forth by the Hellenes and the barbarians may not be without fame, and especially the cause for which they went to war with each other.
>
> Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

What distinguishes the facts and events about which Herodotus writes is epitomized in the phrase with which the purpose clause culminates, i.e., so that these past actions 'may not fade with time' (μήτε … τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα).[30] The

27 See esp. Thomas 2000, ch. 6. See also Lateiner (1986) and, on Thomas' argument, Bakker 2002, 8–11.

28 On the significance of the wall of the Pelasgians in the Athenians' understanding of their distant past, see McInerney (ch. 2, 35–37) in this volume.

29 A detailed analysis of the proem is provided by Bakker 2002, with particular attention paid to the phrase ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε. Bakker concludes that 'it is obvious that no accomplishment or achievement whatsoever *precedes* the *apodexis*. The *apodexis* of great deeds *is* their accomplishment, their enactment, not their display or showing' (25; emphasis in the original). See also Bravo and Weçowski 2004.

30 The adjective ἐξίτηλος seems to be derived from ἔξειμι, meaning 'to go out'; the verb is used in time constructions to mean 'to come to an end'. But metaphorically, as translated here, the adjective means to fade or to become less visible. It is found only one other time in Herodotus, where it refers to the potential disappearance of the *genos* of Eurysthenes

idea that the *genomena* of human beings can fade with time may seem only natural. But what seems natural is most in need of critical attention and analysis. To begin with, the phrase is uncommon in the literary sources and most later combinations of ἐξίτηλος and χρόνος seem to be indebted to Herodotus.[31] Thus, the metaphor of fading with time emerges with the writing of Herodotean *historiê* where it implicitly equates *ta genomena* with visible evidence for the past and acknowledges or establishes the corrosive effect of time upon that evidence.[32]

Herodotus' references to things that exist 'up to my time' (as the phrases are commonly translated) constitute a particular instance of this corrosive effect in the *Histories*. It will be immediately recognized, of course, that the English translation of the phrases ἐς ἐμέ or ἐπ' ἐμέο as 'up to my time' emphasizes their implicit temporal content over the personal pronoun.[33] A more literal translation recognizes the past as a series of receding viewpoints relative to a 'me' that establishes a contemporary baseline.[34] I use 'viewpoint' here to emphasize the fact that these phrases are often used in the *Histories* to refer to

(5.39.9). Based on this shared use-value, Moles 1999, section 8 presents the evidence for taking *exitêla* in the proem as 'inscriptional in two ways', i.e., as a 'genealogical term' in the sense of 'extinct' and as a reference to the fading of an inscription. Cf. the remarks of Sauge 1992, 11–12 on the relationship between ἐξίτηλα and ἀκλεᾶ.

31 Pausanias uses the adjective twice, both times to refer to explicitly visible phenomena: 8.34.6 and 10.38.9. See also Xen. *Oec.* 10.3. *Exitêlos* is not found in Homer, is rare in extant tragedy and comedy and is not used by Thucydides. Similar expressions with *amudros* ('dim', 'indistinct') are found in Pausanias (6.15.8) and Thucydides (6.54.7). Cf. Nagy 1990, 225 and Kurke 2000, 138.

32 Cf. the extended and figural meanings of *histôr* and *historeô* which, as Nagy and others have argued, are founded in literal acts of seeing or witnessing in a juridical context. See Nagy 1990, 250 with reference to Snell's 1924 doctoral dissertation. See also Thomas 2000, 164; Crane 1996, 79 with n. 31; Connor 1993, 3–4; Bakker 2002, 8 and 13; Hartog 2000, 394. See Hartog 1992, 87, with reference to Sauge 1992, on the distinction between the *histôr* as one who sees (the eye-witness) and one who knows (the judge): 'Thus between what the historian may see [*voir*] and what he may know [*savoir*], there develops a gap in which the relation between the two becomes increasingly complex.'

33 German and French translations follow suit. Marg 1973 translates 'zu meiner Zeit'; Legrand 1970 translates 'de mon temps'.

34 Herodotus does make absolute calculations in time, of course, chiefly expressed in a given number of years (*etea*). Such calculations are not unique to history writing but appear in archaic poetry as well. So, for example, Hesiod calculates the number of days and nights (9) it would take an anvil to reach the floor of Tartarus (*Theog.* 720–725).

the visual remains of material objects or architectural features; it is therefore no surprise that they are also common in Pausanias' *Periêgêsis*.[35]

Noting that these phrases are most often used with a past tense (usually the imperfect) in Herodotus, Wolfgang Rösler suggests that 'the writer's "own time" seems to be set both in the present and in the past.' And as a consequence, he concludes that Herodotus historicizes his own time, i.e., he presents it from the point of view of a future reader. In fact, Rösler takes this temporal framing as further evidence that the *Histories* were intended to be read rather than heard:[36]

> The writer's glance back at himself coincides with the perspective of a future reader, whose perception of the *Histories* as a work from the past is anticipated in the text. One hardly needs to add that this would have been quite impossible in an oral delivery.

Rösler's conclusion that this sort of anticipation is impossible in a work meant for oral delivery is, I think, overstated.[37] Of greater significance, however, is the

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35 Fehling 1971, 98 thinks that the phrase *es eme* always refers to fictional objects. Cf. Bakker 2002, 26. On the use of the phrase 'in my time' in Pausanias, see Habicht 1985, app. 2. That these phrases are rare in Thucydides may be an example of the difference between his evidentiary criteria and those of Herodotus. As an anonymous reader points out, it may also reflect Thucydides' comparative proximity to the events he records. Immerwahr 1960, 281 comments that the phrase 'up to my time' in Thucydides is 'more commonly used of customs than of buildings, and for proofs of intellectual arguments rather than to express the idea of permanence.'

36 Rösler 2002, 91–93; the quotation is on p. 92. His examples are Hdt. 2.182 and 5.45. Cf. Rösler 1991 for a more detailed argument in support of the same conclusions. Grethlein 2009 discusses Xerxes' role as an 'embedded writer' in the *Histories*. The *Histories* include many examples of reading (*epilegô*), of course, including the quoted inscriptions that embed the activity of reading in a *mise en abîme*.

37 Rösler seems to mean that the use of the first-person in these phrases would compromise the authority of the speaker/reciter whose 'own time' would be contemporaneous with the members of his listening audience. Arguing against Rösler, an anonymous reader of this essay concludes that 'Herodotus rather reports what he himself saw at an earlier point in his career to a contemporary audience of hearers who may conceivably still go and see for themselves.' If the perception that a work is 'from the past' means that it is meant to be read rather than heard, moreover, then the destruction of the Wall of the Achaeans in Hom. *Il.* 12.9–37, which is presented as a past event from the point of view of a projected future, may be further evidence for what have been called the 'writerly' effects of the oral epic; on these effects in the *Odyssey*, see Saussy 1996. The points here are (1) that the writerly effects Rösler identifies in Herodotus' text are also arguably present in the orally-derived

extended if unstated point that visible phenomena are the source of this perception in the *Histories*, including their role in summoning future readers.[38] As a consequence, reading history (as a practice) is an acknowledgement that the past is what is no longer (or only partially) *visible* or, in Herodotus' terms, that the past fades with time. To return again to Ankersmit's terms, if descriptions of visible objects and architectural features that exist 'up to my time' in the *Histories* are singularly addressed to future *readers*, then reading names the necessary if metaphorical relationship between 'looking at' the text (as a rhetorical construct) and the impossibility of 'looking through' it (at a past reality).

In sum, descriptions of material objects or remains that exist 'up to my time' in the *Histories* position Herodotus' readers at the intersection of the past (the time of the object's chronological point of entry into the narrative), the present (the time of writing) and the future (the time of reading). Rösler's compelling point that Herodotus historicizes his own work from the point of view of a future reader demonstrates how this temporal trajectory is relative rather than linear and establishes reading as its mediating practice. As a consequence, these descriptions raise the question of how we can know the past as an effect of reading history and, by extension, how we can assess the value of that knowledge. At stake in descriptions of visible remains that exist 'up to my time', in other words, is the ethical potential of narrative history.

5 Croesus' Offerings and the Value of the Past

In Herodotus' account of Croesus' offerings in Greece, he includes one hundred and seventeen gold ingots, a lion made of ten talents of gold, numerous gold and silver vessels and a golden shield and spear that he says still existed in Thebes 'up to my time' (ἐς ἐμέ, 1.51–52).[39] Here, of course, the value of the offerings can be initially measured in the sheer quantity of gold and silver out of which they are made. But while the offerings' intrinsic value is pertinent to assessing the value of the past in the Lydian *Logos*, it is neither a necessary nor sufficient

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epic, and (2) that they are manifested in descriptions of architectural features. I discuss the Achaean Wall in these terms in Bassi, forthcoming.

38 Cf. Dewald 1993, 57 who comments on the fact that visible objects in Herodotus are 'prominently presented to the mind's eye of the reader.' She goes on to suggest on the same page that 'Only the historian and his readers see the object as the charged and potent conveyor of meaning that it is.' I emphasize the fact that such objects define readers by the fact that they (the objects) *cannot* be seen.

39 Cf. Minchin 2008 on objects in the Homeric epics.

measure of temporal value, i.e., of either age-value or historical value, in Riegl's terms. Coming at the end of the account, moreover, I take the phrase 'up to my time' to refer not only to the shield and spear in Thebes but to all the enumerated objects. In other words, the phrase divides the offerings into two categories: those that exist 'up to my time' and those that do not.

This second category, consisting of objects that were known about but had disappeared by the time that Herodotus was writing the *Histories*, sounds a cautionary note to scholars who accept the fact that Croesus' offerings actually existed. Parke and Wormell, for example, state that 'The overwhelming bounty of Croesus to Delphi must be accepted as a fact'.[40] Leaving aside a logic that implicitly equates quantity with existence, this conclusion exemplifies the kind of archaeological positivism elicited by the description of physical objects in historical narrative.[41] Figured in the trope of hyperbole, the equation of material existence with historical reality, in other words, exemplifies the appeal of 'looking through' the historical text at the expense of 'looking at' it. It also raises the question of the historical value of objects and features that have disappeared over time; archaeological positivism founders on what might be called negative autopsy.

Regardless of whether we think the offerings actually existed as described by Herodotus, however, the inclusion of the list at this point in the narrative is explained by their mediating role between the two oracles that lead to Croesus' disastrous decision to go to war against the Persians. As Hartog has observed, the oracles help structure the narrative of Croesus' fall from power:[42]

> The repeated interventions of the Pythia are the leading threads of the plot or, to use a different image-value, play the role of a periodizing principle (the oracles succeeding one another). So the oracle functions as an organizing pattern of the narrative, as a reservoir of meaning and as a principle of intelligibility, with the familiar phrase: 'Since it was necessary that misfortune befell him.'

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40 Parke and Wormell 1956, I, 131. On pp. 111–112, they further conclude that 'Since Croesus unquestionably made rich offerings to the Delphic Apollo, he may very well have consulted the oracle.' See also Flower 1991, 66 with n. 64 and the sources cited there. As Flower notes, Fehling 1971, 98 doubts the material reality of objects in Herodotus but is ambivalent about Croesus' dedications.

41 Cf. Elsner 2006, 757–758 on the accumulation of empirical examples as the precondition for constructing the grand narratives of the natural sciences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

42 Hartog 1999, 191.

If the oracles lay down an organizing pattern, they also direct our attention to what it means to write and read history. It is within this context that Croesus' elaborate offerings achieve their proto-archaeological effect. Or, in Riegl's terms, it is in the interplay between the oracles as utterances and the objects as offerings that their age-value, determined by their existence up to the time of the *histôr*, is the source of their historical value.

The principal variable in the presentation of the offerings is time, including both how the objects themselves are affected by time and their placement in the chronology of events in the Lydian *Logos*. Between the time they were dedicated and the time Herodotus describes them, they have been moved, their origins have become obscured, or they have undergone some physical change.[43] The large gold and silver bowls have been moved due to the burning of the Temple of Apollo.[44] The dedication inscribed on the golden sprinkling vessel has been falsified.[45] The maker of the mixing bowl is left to an uncertain oral tradition (φασί, Hdt. 1.51.3), as is the identification of the *eidôlon* of the woman said to be Croesus' baker (λέγουσι, 1.51.5).[46] Finally, and most significantly, the

43 Parke 1956, 209–232 speculates that Herodotus was the first to describe Croesus' offerings and that his visit to Delphi happened sometime in the 440's (209).

44 On the rearrangement of statues in sanctuaries, see Keesling 2005, 48–49 with n. 22. Croesus is last mentioned in the *Histories* (8.122.1) in connection with the silver bowl mentioned at 1.51.

45 Cf. Keesling 2005, 41 on 'iconatrophy as a process by which oral traditions originate as explanations for objects that, through the passage of time, have ceased to make sense to their viewers'. She concludes (47) that 'information that could not be obtained by reading dedicatory inscriptions, such as the subject the statue represented or the occasion for its dedication, was supplied over time by oral traditions'. Adding to this conclusion, Herodotus' story of the golden sprinkling vessel shows that oral tradition could correct an inscription as well as fill in the gaps. Of course, we do not know whether the correction is itself correct. Flower 1991, 64 suggests that the correction shows that Herodotus could challenge Delphi, although not openly. This does seem like an open challenge to something like Delphic honesty in the public display of the shrine's dedications. But perhaps the act is mitigated by the fact that the false inscription was the work of a single individual and Herodotus' 'challenge' is softened by his refusal to name the perpetrator.

46 The subject of both verbs of saying is the Delphians, of course. But a formal feature of 'they say' statements, even when an agent is named, is their susceptibility to refutation. In this particular instance, the fact that Herodotus makes a point of agreeing with the Delphians about the maker of the bowl (καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, 1.51.3) signals the existence of counter claims. What the Delphians 'say' about the *eidôlon* has generated a number of responses in the scholarly literature; Garrett and Kurke 1994, 82–83 argue convincingly that 'bread baker'

golden lion has been substantially reduced in size and has been moved, again due to the burning of the temple (Hdt. 1.50.3, trans. Godley):

> When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base on which it stood; and now it is in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.[47]
>
> οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἵδρυτο) καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

By the time Herodotus makes his list, in other words, the objects he describes have become more (or less) than Croesus' offerings.[48] Gregory Crane suggests that, 'every Greek who visited Delphi after the fall of Sardis and gazed upon the spectacular dedications of Kroisos must have, at some level, been sensitive to the problem which Kroisos' fate posed'.[49] Presumably, this sensitivity has to do with the knowledge that great wealth and ostentatious piety are not the sources of *eudaimoniê*. More to the point, if the dedications had already been ravaged by fire or otherwise moved or altered, the meaning of Croesus' fate would be expressed not so much in the spectacular nature of his dedications as in their mutability, their portability and their ephemerality.

Thus, the overall effect of quantifying and qualifying Croesus' offerings in the *Histories* is not simply to verify their historicity or, by extension, to verify

is a term for 'courtesan' that was no longer in use in Herodotus' time. In doing so, they present another 'iconatrophic' aspect of oral tradition, on which see Keesling 2005, 41. On the story of this *eidôlon*, see also Parke 1984, 219–220; duBois 1988, 115–116.

47 See Parke 1984, 223–224 for the hypothesis that the gold the fire had 'melted away' was turned into the objects Herodotus describes as 'without an inscription' at 1.51. Parke also argues (224) that the gold lion may have been the only object dedicated in response to the test of the oracle.

48 Cf. Flower 1991, 70 on what has happened to the offerings over time: 'This type of information is not very interesting in itself, and is not the kind of thing which it is likely that someone would feel the need to invent later. Herodotus' careful attention in recording this type of detail reflects his own belief in the reliability of these particular traditions.' The idea that what seems superfluous in a given narrative can be taken for proof of its overall historicity seems logical. But it also begs the question of what is superfluous (or uninteresting).

49 Crane 1996, 76.

the authority of the *histôr*.[50] Rather, they verify the contingencies, notably if somewhat ironically that of time itself, that beset such notions as historical veracity and authority. Moreover, while the list of Croesus' offerings may be said to lend empirical weight to Herodotus' account of the oracles given to Croesus and to their interpretation, it also demonstrates that the interpretation of objects has something in common with the interpretation of oracles; the meaning of both comes with time. Or, more fatally for Croesus, it comes too late.[51] If, moreover, the implied promise of oracles is that the future is knowable, then the implied promise of physical remains is that the past is knowable. Positioned between the deferred consequences of divinely inspired prediction and the inevitability of decay, however, Croesus' offerings stand as proof that the fulfillment of each promise, as the effect of writing and reading history, is equally conditional.

This conclusion can be further explored in the intertextual context that frames the fate of the 'great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron' that Croesus' father Alyattes dedicated at Delphi (κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, Hdt. 1.25.2, trans. Godley, modified):

> This is a thing worth seeing of all the offerings in Delphi, it is the work of Glaucus the Chian, who alone of all men discovered the welding of iron.
>
> θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

Centuries later, Pausanias will report that 'nothing was left of the dedications sent by the kings of Lydia' with the exception of this iron stand which he describes in great detail (Paus. 10.16.1–2, trans. Jones and Ormerod, modified):[52]

> Of the offerings that the kings of Lydia dedicated, there was nothing except the stand of iron for the bowl of Alyattes. This is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the man who discovered the welding of iron. Each plate of the stand is fastened to another plate, not with bolts or rivets, but

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50 See Kurke 1999, 152 on the Lydian envoys' 'easy assumption of equivalence between the material and oracular economies' at 1.53.2.

51 On the belatedness of meaning, see Bielik-Robson 2000, esp. 72–76.

52 On Alyattes' offering, see Parke and Wormell 1956, I.128–129 with n. 8, and in this volume Miles (ch. 5, 113–114). Other references to the bowl include Hegesander Delphus (*FHG* IV, p. 421), *frg*. 45 = Ath. 5.210b, Plut. *Def. orat*. 436a. Philostr. *VA* 6.11. Other objects that are 'worth seeing' in the *Histories* include Midas' throne (ἀξιοθέητον, 1.14.3).

> only the welding holds it together and this is the fastening for the iron. The shape of the stand is very much like a tower, wider at the bottom and rising to a narrow top. Each side of the stand is not solid throughout but strips of iron are turned sideways, just like the rungs of a ladder. And the plates of iron that are straight up and down are turned outwards at the top, and this was the seat for the bowl.
>
> Τῶν δὲ ἀναθημάτων ἃ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Λυδῶν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν αὐτῶν εἰ μὴ σιδηροῦν μόνον τὸ ὑπόθημα τοῦ Ἀλυάττου κρατῆρος. τοῦτο Γλαύκου μέν ἐστιν ἔργον τοῦ Χίου, σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἀνδρὸς εὑρόντος: ἔλασμα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ὑποθήματος ἐλάσματι ἄλλῳ προσεχὲς οὐ περόναις ἐστὶν ἢ κέντροις, μόνη δὲ ἡ κόλλα συνέχει τε καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη τῷ σιδήρῳ δεσμός. σχῆμα δὲ τοῦ ὑποθήματος κατὰ πύργον μάλιστα ἐς μύουρον ἀνιόντα ἀπὸ εὐρυτέρου τοῦ κάτω· ἑκάστη δὲ πλευρὰ τοῦ ὑποθήματος οὐ διὰ πάσης πέφρακται, ἀλλά εἰσιν αἱ πλάγιαι τοῦ σιδήρου ζῶναι ὥσπερ ἐν κλίμακι οἱ ἀναβασμοί· τὰ δὲ ἐλάσματα τοῦ σιδήρου τὰ ὀρθὰ ἀνέστραπται κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐς τὸ ἐκτός, καὶ ἕδρα τοῦτο ἦν τῷ κρατῆρι.

Pausanias is clearly indebted to the *Histories* for his description of the stand and the missing bowl. But what exactly is the effect of this debt? When Pausanias states that the stand is all that is left of the offerings of the Lydian kings, he seems to corroborate Herodotus' statement that of all the offerings in Delphi, the stand is something worth seeing (θέης ἄξιον). Indeed, Pausanias' detailed description of the stand's unique physical appearance constitutes the proof of that visual worthiness. But when Parke and Wormell suggest that the stand may have survived because it was not made of a precious metal (and therefore had not been melted down) they complicate this debt. For according to this modern hypothesis, the stand survived not because it was a thing worth seeing, i.e., not for its aesthetic or craft value, but because it was not worth very much at all.[53] Here, in a kind of inversion, the stand's intrinsic value is the basis of an archaeological positivism based on the ironic conclusion that its worthlessness is the source of its age-value.

The question raised here however is not about what Pausanias actually saw but about the effect of what he reports to have seen as a consequence of having read Herodotus' text. To begin with, the statement that, with the exception of Alyattes' stand, nothing of the offerings of the Lydian kings was still in existence (οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν αὐτῶν, Paus. 10.16.1) is the corollary to the fact that virtually nothing

53 Parke and Wormell 1956, I 128.

about the kings' activities in Greece is recounted in Pausanias' work.[54] This lacuna has been explained by Pausanias' desire to distance himself from his ancestors' unjust acts against the Greeks.[55] This explanation, which posits a defensive attitude on the part of the geographer, seems plausible. But since Pausanias' readers are expected to be familiar with Herodotus' work, his silence about the kings constitutes a rather weak defense.

This kind of biographical explanation also deflects attention from the fact that as an object and a Herodotean quotation, the stand is simultaneously synecdochic with respect to the Lydian offerings and to the *Histories* itself.[56] Because the stand survives as the base for an object that no longer exists (καὶ ἕδρα τοῦτο ἦν τῷ κρατῆρι, Paus. 10.16.2), its use value has also been supplanted by its age-value, measured in the fact that it has lasted up until the time of Pausanias. That nothing else was left of the offerings of the Lydian kings is therefore an example of a kind of negative autopsy that finds its analogue in the suppression of Herodotus' Lydian *Logos*. In both instances, Pausanias' account of this fragmentary remnant of the offerings of the Lydian kings epitomizes his position as a reader of Herodotus caught between the epistemological claims of autopsy, on the one hand, and those of narrative history, on the other. At the same time, the stand qua stand occupies a metonymic relationship to *Herodotus*' dictum that 'human prosperity (*eudaimoniê*) never remains in the same state' (τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τὠυτῷ μένουσαν, 1.5.4).[57]

To return to Croesus' offerings, if their enumeration helps to structure the chronology of the Lydian *Logos* at large, this structure is complicated by the

54 Alyattes is referred to only one other time in the *Periêgêsis* where he is a temporal marker (Paus. 5.10.3). Pausanias also says almost nothing about Croesus although he knows and refers to the account of Herodotus (Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖσον, κτλ., 3.2.3). Croesus is also mentioned at Paus. 3.10.8; 4.5.3; 8.24.13; and 10.8.7.

55 Hutton 2005, 212–213.

56 Herodotus calls the stand a ὑποκρητηρίδιον; Pausanias calls it a ὑπόθημα.

57 As Hutton 2005, 212–213 also points out, Pausanias' reference to the Lydian Adrastus in book 7 recalls and inverts Herodotus' introduction to the story of Croesus: Croesus was a Lydian man who was the first that Herodotus personally knew of (τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον, Hdt. 1.5.3) to initiate hostile acts against the Greeks. The irony of the passage is due to the implied substitution of Adrastus for Croesus (at the level of content) and of Pausanias for Herodotus (at the level of form). But the fact that Adrastus the 'good' Lydian shares a name with Adrastus the Phrygian who, in Herodotus' narrative, killed the son of Croesus (Hdt. 1.34–45) also results in a chiastic structure: Adrastus is to Pausanias as Croesus is to Herodotus. Like the stand of Alyattes, the anecdote about Adrastus refers both to the existence of Herodotus' Lydian *Logos* and to its suppression in Pausanias' text.

fact that the list is split in two, and that the second account comes after Croesus' defeat at the hands of Cyrus and the Persians (Hdt. 1.92.1, trans. Godley, modified):

> There are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those which have been spoken of. There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Proneia at Delphi, a great golden shield. All these survived up until my time (ἐς ἐμέ), but other offerings were utterly destroyed.
>
> Κροίσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἵ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε [τὰ] τῶν ἀναθημάτων.

Why does Herodotus go back in time to the story of Croesus' rise to power after narrating his singular and disastrous defeat? Or, to put the question another way: Why aren't all of Croesus' dedications described at 1.51–52? Here the utter destruction of objects (ἐξαπόλλυμι) is corollary to the fact that they have not been spoken about (τὰ εἰρημένα) or, more accurately, that they have not been written about; here I refer to Rösler's argument that Herodotus uses both γράφω and λέγω to mean 'to write' and add ἐρῶ to this list.[58] Such objects are defined in this context by the fact that they do *not* survive 'up to my time'.[59] Here the meaning of the past is measured not in relation to still visible evidence in the present but to its absence and loss. At the same time, the fate of Croesus' offerings serves to negate his hubristic faith in the permanence of his wealth and his empire just as their preemptive potential (πρότερον κατιρώσας, 1.92.4) is denied by their retrospective placement in the narrative.

58 Rösler 2002, 88–91.

59 The verb ἐξαπόλλυμι is rare in general and appears only five times in the *Histories*, always in an emphatic sense. See, in particular, 6.37.2 where Croesus' threat to destroy the Lampsacenes 'like a pine tree' is interpreted to mean that he will destroy them utterly (πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται) since a pine tree, once cut down, never sends out any shoots.

6 Conclusions

Calling attention to the distinction between what Hal Foster has called 'the datum of vision and its discursive determinations' or between an empirical or physical reality and its linguistic representation, the narrative of Croesus' offerings envisions the past as a receding visual field.[60] Expressed in the interplay between the offerings' materiality and their ephemerality, this distinction extends to the principal if elusive aim of narrative history, namely, to preserve what happened in the past or, in Herodotus' words, to prevent the past actions of humans from fading with time (1. *praef.*).[61] As singular features within the *Histories*, the offerings exemplify the fact that evidence for the past in all its forms is subject to decay and may eventually disappear. This fact points in two directions; it demonstrates why history is important and why it can only be selective and incomplete.

As I've tried to show, the sources of this conclusion are illuminated by the general concepts presented in Ankersmit's philosophy of history and Riegl's history of art. In introducing these modern concepts into the argument, I am not suggesting that the *Histories* anticipate them. Rather, they provide a useful means of thinking about the ways in which the fate of Croesus' offerings reflects on what it means to write and read history. In Ankersmit's terms, that fate responds to the implied assumption that history can provide readers with a transparent window onto a past reality. The changes undergone by the offerings over time and up to the time of the historian both invoke this metaphor—literalized in the offerings' visual survival—and expose its limitations. In the process, what Ankersmit calls looking *at* the historical text becomes an effect of the reader's realization that she cannot look *through* it.

Comprising both historical value and age-value as Riegl defines these terms, the fate of Croesus' offerings also illuminates the relationship between the passing of time and the ethical content of the *Histories*. As essential features within the Lydian *Logos* (the source of their historical value) and defined by the fact that they are subject to the effects of time (the source of their age-value),

60 Foster 1988, ix, cited by Nelson 2000, 2.

61 Cf. Hartog 2000, 394: 'The shift from *kleos* to *aklea* indicates that the historian refers continually to the epic, but also makes more modest claims than the bard.' I am not convinced that the historian's claims are 'more modest', however. Cf. Moles 1993, 91–98 and, on the semantic convergences between Homer and Herodotus, Nagy 1990, 215–273. Hartog 1999, 186 provides a summary of Nagy's argument, as does Bakker 2002, 8–9. See also Immerwahr 1960, who argues that *erga*, referring to both deeds and monuments in the *Histories*, signify human greatness or fame.

the offerings constitute a concrete analogue to the events that lead to Croesus' downfall. Introduced by the dictum that human prosperity (*eudaimoniê*) never remains in the same state (1.5.4), those events are emblematic of the ethical framing of the *Histories* overall.[62] Within this framework, Croesus' misguided confidence in what the future will bring is prefigured in what happens to the offerings he dedicates in response to the oracles. As a means of signaling the value of the past, the assertion that the offerings were still visible (or weren't) up to Herodotus' own time extends the force of the dictum to our own.

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62 On the significance and persistence of the theme of the mutability of human fortune in Herodotus, see Shapiro 1996, and the remarks of Bravo and Weçowski 2004, 156.

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PART 3

Persons Seeming to Embody an Ancient Ethos

CHAPTER 8

The Creation of Anachronism: Assessing Ancient Valor in Sophocles' *Ajax*

Sheila Murnaghan

1 An Anachronistic Hero?

With its spectacularly modern staging of ancient legends, Athenian tragedy was a natural medium for assessing traditional values, and much tragic criticism of recent decades has focused on tragedy's reconception of the legendary past in fifth-century, often specifically democratic, terms. The pointed juxtaposition of past and present has been located in tragic language, which may combine archaic and colloquial diction, and in tragedy's fictional world, in which fifth-century institutions, such as democratic decision-making, may be incorporated into a heroic setting.[1] Critics have also suggested that some characters in a play may be portrayed as more or less ancient, more or less steeped in the values of an earlier time, than others. Thus Jean-Pierre Vernant claimed that historical difference was built into the formal distinction between tragedy's two types of performer:

> This debate with a past that is still alive … is expressed, in the very form of the drama, by the tension between the two elements that occupy the tragic stage. One is the chorus, the collective and anonymous presence embodied by an official college of citizens. Its role is to express through its fears, hopes, questions, and judgments the feelings of the spectators who make up the civic community. The other, played by a professional actor, is the individualized character whose actions form the core of the drama and who appears as a hero from an age gone by, always more or less estranged from the ordinary condition of the citizen.[2]

1 This phenomenon is surveyed by Easterling, who finds that the blending of past and present is often unobtrusive, allowing the tragedians to address contemporary issues through heroic experience without fanfare; it is Euripides, in particular, who deploys this form of anachronism to 'complicate the effects of the heroic stories by reminding the audience of the clash between the time of the story and their own present time' (Easterling 1985, 9).

2 Vernant 1988, 33–34.

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Vernant's specific formulation has not been widely accepted, largely because most tragic choruses actually represent people at the margins of society, such as women, slaves and foreigners, who would not have gained admittance to the Athenian 'college of citizens'.[3] But the kind of actor to whom Vernant opposes the citizen chorus, the 'individualized character', who is 'estranged' from ordinary people, corresponds to a figure who has maintained a steady place in tragic criticism: the Sophoclean hero. This discussion considers tragedy's engagement with old-fashioned values through the particular Sophoclean hero who is most often viewed as belonging to an 'age gone by', namely Ajax. Ajax is often interpreted as an anachronistic figure whose treatment by Sophocles illustrates Vernant's broader point, that tragedy expresses a new historical consciousness, reflecting the moment 'when myth starts to be considered from the point of view of a citizen'.[4]

The view that Sophocles presents Ajax as an anachronistic figure has been prominent in discussions of the *Ajax* for at least a half century. It received an influential statement in Bernard Knox' essay, 'The *Ajax* of Sophocles', first published in 1961. For Knox, the play is fundamentally about historical change:

> A heroic age has passed away, to be superseded by one in which action is replaced by argument, stubbornness by compromise, defiance by acceptance. The heroic self-assertion of an Achilles, an Ajax, will never be seen again …[5]

In this respect, Ajax is opposed to Odysseus, and the difference between them is mapped onto a distinction between the Homeric world and the fifth-century *polis*, and between aristocratic and democratic values: Ajax belongs to the world in which the play is set, Odysseus to the modern *polis* in which the play is performed. As Knox puts it, 'Ajax belongs to a world which for Sophocles and his audience has passed away'.[6]

This view has been restated by many scholars, including R.P. Winnington-Ingram, Charles Segal, David Konstan and most recently Peter Burian.[7] Critics vary in their understanding of how the transition from the values embodied by Ajax to the values embodied by Odysseus should itself be evaluated. While

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3 For an influential critique, see Gould 1996, 217–224.

4 Vernant 1988, 33.

5 Knox, 1979, 127.

6 Knox 1979, 148.

7 Winnington-Ingram 1980, 57–72; Segal 1981, 142; 1995, 17; Konstan 1998, 297; Burian 2012. Cf. also Sorum 1986.

Knox asserts that 'the world is a smaller, meaner place because of [Ajax'] death' and denigrates 'the humane and compromising temper of Odysseus' as merely 'the best the new world has to offer', Segal takes a more positive, less nostalgic view of the cultural change involved. Discussing the play's ending, in which Odysseus intervenes to assure Ajax' burial, Segal finds Sophocles showing that 'the tragic *apolis* needs the cooperative virtues of a *politikos*, a man with the skills of the city'.[8]

An interestingly muted version of this view of Ajax is found in an essay on the general phenomenon of anachronism in literature by the Renaissance scholar Thomas Greene. For Greene, a sense of anachronism, which he defines as 'a clash of period styles or mentalities',[9] is essentially a modern phenomenon, first articulated by Petrarch, but he does acknowledge a few classical precursors to the human anachronisms that he locates in works of such authors as Turgenev and Proust. The clearest of these is Andromache in book 3 of the *Aeneid*, but Greene also mentions two tragic precedents: the Eumenides in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, who 'find themselves outmoded by a new praxis of justice at Athens', and, with considerably less certainty, Ajax, of whom he writes, 'There may be a touch of the obsolescent tingeing Sophocles' Ajax'.[10]

Although this impression of Ajax has been registered by many distinguished critics, it by no means represents a clear consensus. The claim that Ajax is portrayed as anachronistic also has many dissenters—among them experts on the history of Greek values, such as Douglas Cairns and Graham Zanker and the author of the most recent commentary on the play, Patrick Finglass—and it meets with some strong objections.[11] Since all the characters in the play come from the Troy legend, in what ways can Ajax be said to be more heroic or more Homeric than the others? It is true that Ajax is vehemently at odds with the other Achaean leaders, and he is juxtaposed to Odysseus in ways that make the two of them seem very different, but why should that mean that he is necessarily more old-fashioned than they are? He is not marked as different in terms of the kinds of specific traits that often mark people as belonging to an earlier period, such as habits of dress or musical taste, like the wearing of linen chitons and golden cicada hair pins that Thucydides says had until recently been the habit of older rich Athenians (Thuc. 1.6.3) or the preference for the poetry of Simonides and Aeschylus that distinguishes Strepsiades from

8 Knox 1979, 126; Segal 1981, 150.

9 Greene 1986, 205.

10 Greene 1986, 211.

11 Cairns 1993, 240–241; Zanker 1992; Finglass 2011, 44–46.

his Euripides-loving son in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (Ar. *Nub*. 1353–1376.). Those might seem like overly particular, even trivial markers, but the values that supposedly identify Ajax as archaic and Odysseus as modern—action, stubbornness and defiance versus speech, compromise and compassion—are conversely too broad to serve as meaningful signs of belonging to a particular period or society. Anger and inflexibility are threats to the well-being of any community, and self-control, empathy and the ability to compromise are necessary for any community's well-being; as critics who question the view that Ajax and Odysseus represent different historical moments often point out, tensions between these qualities are as much of an issue for the warrior communities of the Homeric epics as for the fifth-century *polis*.[12]

The self-assertive, individualistic aristocrat was a problem for democratic Athens, but no less for the Achaean army of the *Iliad*, where flexibility is also recognized as a necessary virtue. In *Iliad* 9, Ajax himself, as Odysseus' confederate in the embassy to Achilles, articulates the importance of giving up anger even in the face of irremediable insult. His speech is often characterized primarily as an appeal to friendship, in accord with a view of Ajax as a man of feelings rather than ideas,[13] but he does also offer a prescient and sophisticated argument for compromise mediated through the communal institution of the blood price (Hom. *Il*. 9.632–636, trans. Lattimore):[14]

> And yet a man takes from his brother's slayer
> the blood price, or the price for a child who was killed, and the guilty
> one, when he has largely repaid, still stays in the country,
> and the injured man's heart is curbed, and his pride, and his anger
> when he has taken the price.

> καὶ μέν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆος
> ποινὴν ἢ οὗ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος
> καί ῥ' ὃ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ πόλλ' ἀποτείσας,
> τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
> ποινὴν δεξαμένῳ·

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12 Furthermore, as Grethlein (ch. 13, 345–350) points out in his contribution to this volume, the classical Greeks had a less developed sense of earlier eras as markedly different in character from each other or from the present than is found in modern conceptions of the past.

13 E.g., Zanker 1992, 20–21.

14 On the Iliadic Ajax as 'an exemplary figure, associated with *mêtis*, with *noos*, and … with *aidôs*', see Bradshaw 1991, 105–113.

In the *Ajax*, Ajax does himself harbor unremitting anger towards the Atridae in particular, but he also describes himself as having softened in response to Tecmessa's appeal to him to stay alive, even if he cannot comply with it (Soph. *Aj.* 650–652). However he may be differentiated from Odysseus, he does not inherit Achilles' position in a strict opposition based on *biê* and *mêtis*. Ajax' own capacity for deception is seen in his famous, difficult 'Trugrede' or 'deception speech'. His attack on the Achaean flocks has taken place at night, like Odysseus' night raid on the Trojan Camp in *Iliad* 10; in recounting that episode, Athena labels Ajax 'stealthy' (δόλιος, Soph. *Aj.* 47). In his deceptive speech, Ajax presents himself as yielding to a process of change over time, but he conceives of that process as cyclical rather than linear: the natural models that he invokes include the seasons, night and day, and sleep. In terms of linear time, he is much concerned about his failure to live up to his father Telamon; from that perspective, he does not stand for ancient heroic behavior, but falls short of it, in a trajectory of generational decline.

In these and in other ways, a close reading of Sophocles' text makes the claims of critics who see Ajax as essentially anachronistic hard to sustain in the terms in which they are generally stated, and those claims come to seem rather impressionistic. That does not necessarily mean, however, that they should be dismissed out of hand, and it is worth asking how this impression has been transmitted to such sensitive readers of Sophocles as Knox, Segal, Konstan, Burian and Greene. As I hope to show, that impression is based on elements of the play's political, religious and poetic context that Sophocles evokes but also plays down, with a degree of restraint that corresponds to Greene's sense of Ajax as only touched or tinged with obsolescence. Further, the play's identification of Ajax as belonging to the past does not signify his possession of an inherently archaic nature, but is driven by the utility for civic self-definition of associating certain qualities, and certain figures who are deemed to embody those qualities, with the past.

2 Valuing the Dead

Sophocles' play presents Ajax as belonging to the past in the most obvious and literal sense, through its distinctive plot structure and stagecraft. After the sharp division created by his unusual onstage suicide, Ajax remains before the audience's eyes in a new form, as a dead body, no longer as a person living in the present. During this phase of the plot, a debate develops over how Ajax should be valued, focused on the question of whether that body should be buried. The eventual decision that it should, which brings the play to a close, is the

outcome of a process that is frequently characterized in the critical literature as Ajax' 'rehabilitation'. Having been valued negatively for his anti-social attack on the army's livestock during the first part of the play, when he was still alive, Ajax is now seen in a different light and valued positively. Odysseus, who is responsible for bringing Ajax' burial about, makes it clear that a new, more respectful treatment of Ajax is warranted precisely because Ajax is dead. He tells Agamemnon that 'it is not just to harm a good man, *if he dies*, even if you happen to hate him' (ἄνδρα δ᾽ οὐ δίκαιον, εἰ θάνοι, / βλάπτειν τὸν ἐσθλόν, οὐδ᾽ ἐὰν μισῶν κυρῇς, Soph. *Aj.* 1344–1345) and goes on to add that he himself hated Ajax during the period of time, now past, when it was appropriate to do so, 'I hated when hating was right' (ἐμίσουν δ᾽, ἡνίκ᾽ ἦν μισεῖν καλόν, Soph. *Aj.* 1347). In the same speech, he also acknowledges Ajax' value by identifying him as next after Achilles in *aretê* (Soph. *Aj.* 1336–1342):

> This man was once for me the most hateful in the army,
> ever since I got hold of Achilles' arms,
> but even though that's what he was,
> I would not do him the dishonor of denying
> that I saw him as the single best man of the Argives,
> of all of us who came to Troy, except Achilles.
>
> κἀμοὶ γὰρ ἦν ποθ᾽ οὗτος ἔχθιστος στρατοῦ,
> ἐξ οὗ 'κράτησα τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὅπλων,
> ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔμπας ὄντ᾽ ἐγὼ τοιόνδ᾽ ἐμοὶ
> οὔ τἂν ἀτιμάσαιμ᾽ ἄν, ὥστε μὴ λέγειν
> ἕν᾽ ἄνδρ᾽ ἰδεῖν ἄριστον Ἀργείων, ὅσοι
> Τροίαν ἀφικόμεσθα, πλὴν Ἀχιλλέως.

This comment appears to repudiate the negative judgment of Ajax that initiated this period of Odysseus' justified enmity, the award of the arms of Achilles to Odysseus himself instead of Ajax, although the suggestion is subtle enough that there is considerable dispute among critics about whether that is actually what he is saying.[15]

15 Against the view that Odysseus here calls his own victory into question, Finglass 2011, 507. The identification of Ajax as next best after Achilles is itself traditional (cf. *Il.* 2.768–769, 17.279–280, Alcaeus frg. 387, Pind. *Nem.* 7.27). Odysseus expresses regret for his own victory while affirming Ajax' next-best status at *Odyssey* 11.548–551 (to be discussed below).

Odysseus' speech locates both the beginning (with the Argives' arrival at Troy) and the end point (the Judgment of the Arms) of an earlier phase of Ajax' career, before the action of the play, when Ajax was the army's dependable and valued defender. Recollections of this earlier time are deployed throughout the play to cast Ajax in a more admirable light. Teucer brings up Ajax' courageous service to the army as he advocates for Ajax' burial (Soph. *Aj.* 1266–1289), and Ajax himself makes a point of associating the sword he uses to kill himself with Hector, who gave it to him after an inconclusive duel, which is recounted in *Iliad* 7, rather than with his own later slaughter of the animals (Soph. *Aj.* 815–820). This, along with many other Homeric allusions, serves to place Ajax' most honored achievements in a past defined by literary history as well as by the hero's biography, as a feature of Homeric epic seen through the lens of contemporary tragedy, a genre marked both by its extensive debt to Homer and by its many innovative differences.[16]

Ajax' identification as a figure who is properly condemned when alive but honored when dead also suggests his status outside the play as a recipient of hero cult.[17] Heroes who received cult honors in the Greek world often engaged in transgressive, criminal, impious behavior while alive, especially just before they died, but then became objects of veneration. Ajax' transformation into a cult hero is indicated in such an understated way that there is an ongoing debate about whether an Athenian audience would have connected what happens onstage with the cult of Ajax with which they were familiar.[18] Certainly Ajax' future in cult is much less explicit than that of Oedipus in the *Oedipus at Colonus*. One of the main proponents of hero cult as a significant factor in the *Ajax*, Albert Henrichs, puts the difference this way: Sophocles explores the protagonist's incipient hero cult 'tentatively, almost reluctantly, in the *Aias* and dramatizes it openly and in slow motion in the *Oidipous at Kolonos*'.[19] The strongest hint of Ajax' heroization comes in a speech of Teucer, in which he instructs Ajax' son Eurysaces to sit by his father's corpse as a suppliant, treat-

16 For an overview of the *Ajax*' close intertextual relationship with the Homeric epics, see Hesk 2003, 24–34.

17 On hero cult in Sophocles, see Currie 2012; in the *Ajax*, Jebb 1896, xxx–xxxiii, Burian 1972, Henrichs 1993; on Ajax' transformation into a cult hero as bearing on tragedy's role in reinforcing communal solidarity within the *polis*, Seaford 1994, 129–130, 399–405, Hesk 2003, 20–24; on Ajax' future cult as creating 'continuity between past and present', Easterling 1987, 53.

18 On the understated treatment of Ajax's heroization, see Finglass 2011, 46–51 (with a list of scholars who find no traces of its presence in the play, 47 n. 138).

19 Henrichs 1993, 165.

ing Ajax' body as 'a kind of sacred object'.[20] But the connection that Odysseus spells out between Ajax' right to be honored and his being dead can be recognized as another.

While any cult hero would qualify as a figure of the past from the perspective of a fifth-century audience, the antiquity of Ajax was of particular importance for the Athenians for political as well as religious reasons, since the longstanding presence in Athens of cult to both Ajax and Eurysaces was a factor in their dispute with Megara, going back to the sixth century, over control of Salamis, Ajax' home (as the play's many allusions to Salamis and Salaminian chorus strongly emphasize). Staking a claim to Salamis was most likely behind Ajax' status as one of the eponymous heroes for whom the Cleisthenic tribes were named, represented by a statue in the Agora, the only one of the ten who was not originally Athenian (Hdt. 5.66). The Athenians called on Ajax' aid before the battle of Salamis in 480 and dedicated a captured trireme to him after their victory (Hdt. 8.64, 121). So, far from being alien to the democratic *polis*, Ajax is an essential player in it, as long as he is displaced to the past as an ancestor and cult hero.[21]

3 Continuity and Change in the Judgment of the Arms

A further context for the action of *Ajax*, which is also treated in a muted way, is the mythical episode that precedes the plot and motivates Ajax' assault on the Greek army, the competition for the arms of Achilles. This story had a long pre-Sophoclean history, both in poetry and in the visual arts, most of which is now fragmentary or lost. The competition offers an especially apt vehicle for addressing the issue of anachronism, since its outcome can be read as a vindication of change over time: now that Achilles is no longer present, his armor is passed on, not to the living hero who resembles him most, Ajax, but to the one who is notably differentiated from him, Odysseus, who might therefore be construed as more suitable for a new, post-Achillean world. Whether the episode functioned that way in any particular instance would, of course, depend on the criteria on which the judgment was made.

Though the competition for Achilles' arms was included in two of the poems that became part of the epic cycle, the *Aithiopis* and *Little Iliad*, we only know

20 Taplin 1978, 108.

21 On Ajax as an Athenian cult hero, see Shapiro 1989, 154–157; Kearns 1989, 46, 80–91, 140–141; Kowalzig 2006, 85–89; Kron 1976, 171–176, Parker 1996, 118–119.

details about the *Little Iliad* version, where the decision turns on a narrowly focused and rigged assessment of the two heroes' actions on a single telling occasion, the rescue of Achilles' corpse from the battlefield (Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1056a = frg. 2 West). Following a recommendation by Nestor, the Judgment is based on an overheard conversation between two Trojan girls, who are discussing the question. One points out that Ajax lifted up Achilles' body and carried it out of the battle (a famous achievement that was commemorated in numerous visual representations),[22] which Odysseus did not want to do, implying that Ajax should be the winner. But the other—'through Athena's planning' (Ἀθηνᾶς προνοίᾳ)—responds that even a woman could carry a burden, if a man put it on her, but she could not fight (as Odysseus did while Ajax was carrying off the body). And that, apparently, settles it.[23]

In later versions of the myth, in the odes of Pindar and in vase-painting, we begin to see indications that Odysseus' victory might be tied to qualities plausibly construed as modern. As an especially skilled speaker and proponent of *mêtis*, Odysseus was easily associated with the growing rhetorical sophistication that fifth-century Greeks saw as a feature of their period, for some of them a troubling one, and Odysseus does indeed have a rich life in the fifth century as a disreputable representative of cynical sophistry, especially in tragedies from the last decades of the century, such as Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.[24] The idea that the Judgment of the Arms was decided through a rhetorical contest in which Odysseus' victory was gained by dubious verbal skill appears in Pindar's several allusions to the myth. Thus in *Nemean* 8, Ajax' loss is said to show how speech can work against good men: in a dire contest, the obscurity of defeat comes to the one who is 'not given to speech, but steadfast at heart' (ἄγλωσσον μέν, ἦτορ δ' ἄλκιμον). Odysseus was preferred by the Danaans in their 'secret ballots' (κρυφίαισι … ψάφοις), even though the wounds suffered in the battle over Achilles' corpse told a different story (Pind. *Nem.* 8.23–33). Here the grounds for the judgment are shifted from performance on the battlefield to performance in debate, and the decision is made through voting by the Greek leaders.

While the replacement of the battlefield by the assembly as the site of judgment is presented negatively from Pindar's aristocratic perspective, these

22 Burgess 2009, 143–144.

23 The preeminence of Odysseus, which Athena here assures, is a general feature of the *Little Iliad*; there, as in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is the key figure in the Achaean effort at Troy after Achilles' death. See Holt 1992, 327.

24 Montiglio 2011, 1–12.

same developments appear in a more positive light on a group of red-figured Attic vases dating from the period of about 490 BCE to about 475 BCE.[25] A cup by Douris, now in Vienna, is one of several that depicts the competition between Ajax and Odysseus in such a way that voting appears as a beneficial alternative to violence. On one side (Figure 1a), the two competitors are about to fight each other and are being held back by other warriors; on the other side (Figure 1b), Athena is presiding over a vote, which is out in the open, and is going better for the figure on the left, presumably Odysseus, than for the figure on the right, presumably Ajax. The voters are carrying spears, but they are also wearing peacetime clothing, long chitons. Here it seems that, whatever criteria the decision is based on, Odysseus' victory over Ajax could be associated with historical progress, in particular the development of a superior method of dispute resolution in the form of the Athenian lawcourt, much as we see at the end of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Whether or not a full-scale trial is envisioned in these scenes, they are certainly consistent with the tradition that Odysseus and Ajax competed for the arms by giving speeches; we have seen already that this was suggested by Pindar; there is a depiction of this speech-making on an earlier vase, from the 520's BCE, and we have sample speeches written for that occasion, probably in the last decades of the fifth century, by the philosopher Antisthenes.[26] It is very likely that both voting and speech-making figured in the *Hoplôn Krisis*, 'Judgment of the Arms', the play devoted to this episode that formed the first part of Aeschylus' lost Ajax trilogy.[27] Aeschylus introduces scenarios involving voting into the heroic world in three of his extant plays,[28] and this myth would have provided an obvious occasion for doing that as well. Our very few fragments suggest both that speeches were made and that speech-making was an issue: one contains an attack on Odysseus' paternity (frg. 175 Radt), another the claim that 'the words of truth are simple' (frg. 176 Radt).

Given this rich tradition, it is notable that Sophocles keeps the Judgment of the Arms vaguely in the background of the *Ajax*. The event is alluded to

25 Spivey 1994 identifies eleven versions of this episode on Athenian vases dating from ca. 490 to ca. 475 and suggests that they are designed to legitimize new democratic procedures involving open voting by attributing those procedures to heroes of the past. Williams 1980 speculates that the interest in Ajax shown on vases of this period may stem from a literary source reflecting Athens' consolidation of control over Salamis in the late sixth century.

26 Discussed at Montiglio 2011, 24–36.

27 On the trilogy and its possible impact on Sophocles' *Ajax*, see Jebb 1896, xix–xxiii; Finglass 2011, 33–34.

28 Spivey 1994, 40.

FIGURE 8.1 *Cup by Douris, red-figure, c. 490–474 BCE. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; ANSA IV 3695.* 1a*: Odysseus and Ajax;* 1b*: Athena, Odysseus and Ajax. Photo Credit: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*

by several characters in the course of the play, but it is impossible to reconstruct it in any detail from their passing and partisan references.[29] We know that it involved voting and *dikastai* (Soph. *Aj.* 1135–1136), but not who the judges were. Ajax himself blames the Atridae for a verdict that discounted his

29 Finglass 2011, 37–38. For a survey of the various conclusions drawn by scholars, see van Erp Talmaan Kip 1996, 524–531.

'shows of strength' (*kratê*): 'Now the sons of Atreus have procured [the arms] / for a rogue, thrusting aside my shows of strength' (νῦν δ' αὔτ' Ἀτρεῖδαι φωτὶ παντουργῷ φρένας / ἔπραξαν, ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ' ἀπώσαντες κράτη, Soph. *Aj*. 445–446). Here, then, there is the suggestion of the trial as an occasion of speech in lieu of action, such as might be taken as a progressive invention of the *polis*, but it is unclear whether Ajax is objecting to the trial itself as a medium of judgment or complaining (as Teucer later does at 1135) that the process was corrupt in this instance. And while Ajax implies that the criterion for victory should have been *kratê* when it was not, Sophocles does not present him as *aglôssos*, as Pindar does. Ajax speaks at length and eloquently, and sings, while Odysseus' speeches in this play are relatively few and short.[30] Ajax is not lacking in the rhetorical abilities by which victory may have been won, even if he does not match up to Odysseus.

4 Ajax and the Erinyes

While we lack the *Hoplôn Krisis*, we can turn for further understanding of the background of the *Ajax* and the impression it promotes of an anachronistic hero, to the *Eumenides*, following up on Greene's intuition that there is an affinity between Ajax and the Eumenides and that what is hinted at in the *Ajax* is spelled out there. In the *Eumenides* we also find a dispute settled through a vote overseen by Athena, with a cult established in Athens for the losing party, and with the losing party identified as worthy of honor but belonging to the past.[31] The Erinyes are strongly marked as more archaic than their opponents, the human hero Orestes and his supporter Apollo, a god from a younger generation, and they embody one of the qualities that in Ajax is often identified as anachronistic: inflexible, vengeful hatred. The Erinyes are not only themselves older, but they are overcome through a process, the legal trial, that is a modern innovation, which—whatever one thinks of the arguments made—represents an advance, in that it replaces violence and puts an end to ongoing vengefulness.

30 On Ajax' eloquence, see March 1991–1993, 18–22; on his lyric voice, Nooter 2012, 31–55.

31 On the relationship between Athena's roles in the *Eumenides* and the *Ajax*, see Murnaghan 1989, 180–181. A suggestive connection between the Judgment of the Arms, as envisioned by Sophocles, and the trial in the *Eumenides* is made by a scholiast on *Ajax* 1135, who claims that Menelaus broke a tie to decide the Judgment of Arms in Odysseus' favor. See van Erp Tilmaan Kip 1996, 527–528.

At the end of the *Eumenides*, the Erinyes are superseded as the enforcers of justice, but they do not disappear. They remain as honored and essential, if ideally unseen, denizens of Athens, silent guardians of a community that flourishes by directing its violent enmity outward, towards external enemies (Aesch. *Eum.* 858–865). They are treated as belonging to the past, but they never really go away. The violent and retaliatory justice that they stand for cannot be forever consigned to the past. It will necessarily surface again under certain conditions, and awareness of that possibility is essential to the ongoing social order. Although marked as older, the Erinyes are not ancient in the sense of belonging exclusively to an earlier time that can never recur. Their antiquity is related to their place in a cultural dynamic that involves managing disruptive forces by placing them at a distance, optimistically defining them as belonging to the past, construing them as honored anachronisms.[32] Thus Athena, in a speech in which she outlines the Erinyes' position in the new order, begins by honoring them for their antiquity (Aesch. *Eum.* 848–850, trans. Lloyd Jones):

> I will bear with you in your anger; for you are more ancient than I
> and so far you are indeed wiser.
> But to me too Zeus has given good understanding.
>
> ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σοι· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ.
> καὶ τῷ μὲν εἶ σὺ κάρτ᾽ ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,
> φρονεῖν δὲ κἀμοὶ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

In the *Eumenides*, all of this is explicitly spelled out in a dramatized charter myth that depicts a defining moment of cosmic history that is also a defining moment in Athenian history. The Erinyes are quasi-allegorical figures whose identity is coextensive with the qualities they represent, and they participate in a negotiation with Athena over their future role. In the *Ajax*, a similar civic process is dramatized, but in relation to a human character, Ajax, who in common with other Sophoclean heroes acts, reacts and gropes for understanding in a situation that he does not fully understand, much more like the Oedipus of *Oedipus the King* than the better-informed Oedipus of *Oedipus at Colonus*. In contrast to Aeschylus, Sophocles has chosen here to foreground that expe-

32 As Richard Seaford puts it, 'It is paradoxical, but for the polis essential, that the ancient agents of private violent revenge become, through public cult, the means of excluding it' (1994, 105).

rience, and so to keep the religious and civic paradigms of hero cult and legal trial that inform the play's action in the background. Ajax struggles to makes sense of Athena's hostile exploitation of his disappointment in the contest and her mysterious investment in his death. And Athena stays out of the final *agôn*, which remains a messy ad hoc negotiation among human antagonists, without the paradigmatic clarity or the final unanimity of the trial in the *Eumenides*; it is left to her surrogate Odysseus to break the impasse and facilitate the institution of cult.

In the speech leading up to his suicide, Ajax does himself identify strongly with the Erinyes, in a passage that may well allude to the *Eumenides*,[33] calling on them to take vengeance against the Atridae on his behalf (Soph. *Aj.* 835–838):

> I call as helpers, the everlasting virgins,
> who ever witness the sufferings of humans,
> the holy, long-striding Furies, to learn how I
> am destroyed in wretchedness by the Atridae.
> And may they overtake those evil men with evil
> and total destruction …
>
> καλῶ δ' ἀρωγοὺς τὰς ἀεί τε παρθένους
> ἀεί θ' ὁρώσας πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς πάθη,
> σεμνὰς Ἐρινῦς τανύποδας, μαθεῖν ἐμὲ
> πρὸς τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ὡς διόλλυμαι τάλας.
> καί σφας κακοὺς κάκιστα καὶ πανωλέθρους
> ξυναρπάσειαν …

But, unlike the goddesses he calls on, Ajax is no more essentially a figure of implacable anger than most other epic heroes, rather a warrior with a spectrum of characteristics seen at a moment when he is overcome by anger. He may be harsher and more arrogant than some, but like Homeric warriors in general, and like Achilles in the *Iliad* in particular, he is at times compassionate,

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33 Since Aeschylus was probably the first to identify the Semnai with the Erinyes: Sommerstein 1989, 10–11. The resolution of the *Eumenides* may also be recalled when Teucer curses the Atridae for wishing to leave Ajax unburied and calls on a trio of aligned forces, encompassing 'the father who rules over Olympus, and the mindful Fury, and Justice which brings fulfillment' ('Ολύμπου τοῦδ' ὁ πρεσβεύων πατὴρ / μνήμων τ' Ερινὺς καὶ τελεσφόρος Δίκη, Soph. *Aj.* 1390–1391).

community-minded and flexible, but also deeply invested in a sense of honor and, when that honor is violated, quick to anger. That anger is terrible, but aberrant, and there is no reason to doubt that it would run its course if Ajax did not find himself in such a strange and humiliating situation that death is his only option.

Within the limited span of the action, Ajax is captured while in the grip of anger, and permanently fixed in that condition by the timing of his death—a feature of the plot that is reinforced by the motif that Athena's hostility to Ajax lasts only for a day (Soph. *Aj.* 756–757).[34] In the opening episode, Athena stages for Odysseus an exhibition of Ajax in his unremitting vengefulness, but she is also gleefully clear that this is not a full or fair portrait of Ajax' character, but rather a skewed snapshot (Soph. *Aj.* 118–120):

> Do you see, Odysseus, the greatness of the gods' power?
> Who would you have judged to be more prudent
> than this man, or better at doing the right thing at the right time?
>
> ὁρᾷς, Ὀδυσσεῦ, τὴν θεῶν ἰσχὺν ὅση;
> τούτου τίς ἄν σοι τἀνδρὸς ἢ προνούστερος
> ἢ δρᾶν ἀμείνων ηὑρέθη τὰ καίρια;

Athena contrives a situation in which Ajax is inescapably branded by the revelation of his murderous impulses towards the Atridae. In this context it is worth recalling how differently she manages Achilles' similar impulse to kill Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1, talking the hero out of his violent purpose rather than egging him on.[35] Through maneuvers that suggest the ritual process of scapegoating, Athena frames Ajax as a figure who cannot find a home in civilized society unless he dies; in this way, she masterminds his afterlife in Athenian cult and, as it turns out, in the responses of many distinguished modern critics, who have concluded, as we have seen, that Ajax is, like the Erinyes, an archaic figure unsuited for active participation in the modern *polis*.[36] Yet, like them, he is as essential to its successful functioning as the anonymous jurors of the *Eumenides* or the diplomatic, flexible Odysseus of the *Ajax*. Here we might

34 For the opposite view, that Ajax' death on that day evades rather than fulfills Athena's purposes, and for a survey of other interpretations of the one-day stricture, see van Erp Tilmaan Kip 2007.

35 For a comparison of the two episodes, see Barker 2009, 286–290.

36 On Ajax as scapegoat, see Tyrrell and Brown 1991, 93–98.

return to the statement by Vernant quoted earlier and note that, in his formulation, the 'hero from an age gone by' allows debate with 'a past that is still alive'.[37]

By depicting the hero's responses to his entrapment by Athena, Sophocles shows Ajax being turned into an honored figure of the past in ways that reflect the specific religious and political institutions of classical Athens. Athena's traditional partisanship for Odysseus, which already works to Ajax' disadvantage in the *Little Iliad*'s version of the Judgment of the Arms, takes on new significance in connection with Ajax' transformation into an Athenian hero, for which her active enmity is a precondition.[38] One consequence of this shift is a more positive portrayal of Odysseus than is found anywhere else in tragedy. He is not only Athena's favorite in a contest in which neither side is wholly defeated, but also her agent in a subtle replay of the *Eumenides*, in which he succeeds at persuasion and brings about a wary reconciliation between the living and a vengeful spirit of the past.

5 The Resentful Dead

While the classical Athenian resonances of the *Ajax* are clear, the dynamic of constructed anachronism is not tied to that particular time or place; the interplay of past and present at work in Sophocles' play does not pertain only to its specific historical context but to the perennial project of at once acknowledging and disavowing the phenomenon of violent conflict.[39] In the particular case of Ajax, his strategic consignment to the past relative to Odysseus, the perennial survivor who readily represents modernity, predates his identification as an Athenian hero. It is anticipated in his concluding appearance in the Homeric epics, one of the many Homeric episodes that closely inform the *Ajax*: the underworld encounter between Odysseus and Ajax in *Odyssey* 11. This comes

37 The ongoing significance of a figure from the distant past in tragic poetry and civic cult is consistent with Jonas Grethlein's analysis of classical oratory in this volume (ch. 13): the orators regularly appeal to mythological events in genres, such as the *epitaphios logos*, that stress communal identity and exemplary behavior, even while they avoid such material in forensic and symbouleutic contexts.

38 Evidence for the after-death coordination of hero and divinity that typically follows on such enmity is provided by Pausanias (Paus. 1.42.4), who mentions a temple of Athena Aiantis ('of Ajax') at Megara. Seaford 1994, 130 n. 21; Garvie 1998, 6.

39 Cf. Agamemnon's rebuke of Achilles at *Iliad* 1.171, 'strife is always welcome to you, and wars and battles' (αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε) and Zeus' rebuke of Ares in exactly the same terms at *Iliad* 5.891.

after the *Ajax* in terms of the storyline, so that Sophocles is in effect supplying a 'prequel' for the *Odyssey* scene, which is earlier in terms of literary history.[40] In doing so, he portrays Ajax' death in a way that anticipates the *Odyssey* scene, not just by detailing the event, but by subjecting Ajax to a similar process of definition, for Ajax is already in the *Odyssey* pigeonholed as an angry figure from the past.

Like the *Ajax*, the *Odyssey* is often thought to describe the end of the heroic age, particularly in the Nekyia, where Odysseus, the versatile survivor about to enter a more ordinary peacetime world, reencounters other great figures of the Troy legend and appears to advantage against them. Odysseus' meeting with Ajax is reminiscent—or, more accurately, anticipatory—of the ending of Sophocles' play. As in the final scene of the *Ajax*, Odysseus is alive and Ajax is dead. In light of Ajax' death, Odysseus now disavows their rivalry and pronounces that Ajax was the next best hero after Achilles, confirming, but only after the fact, the basis of Ajax' claim to Achilles' arms (Hom. *Od.* 11.543–552, trans. Lattimore):

> Only the soul of Telamonian Aias stood off
> at a distance from me, angry still over that decision
> I won against him, when beside the ships we disputed
> our cases for the arms of Achilleus. His queenly mother
> set them as prize, and the sons of the Trojans, with Pallas Athene,
> judged; and I wish I had never won a contest like this
> so high a head has gone under the ground for the sake of
> that armor, Aias, who for beauty and for achievement surpassed
> all the Danaans next to the stately son of Peleus.
> So I spoke to him now in words of conciliation …

> οἴη δ' Αἴαντος ψυχὴ Τελαμωνιάδαο
> νόσφιν ἀφεστήκει, κεχολωμένη εἵνεκα νίκης
> τήν μιν ἐγὼ νίκησα δικαζόμενος παρὰ νηυσὶ
> τεύχεσιν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος· ἔθηκε δὲ πότνια μήτηρ.
> παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
> ὡς δὴ μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιῷδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ
> τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἕνεκ' αὐτῶν γαῖα κατέσχεν,
> Αἴανθ', ὃς πέρι μὲν εἶδος, πέρι δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο
> τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.
> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπέεσσι προσηύδων μειλιχίοισιν·

40 Hesk 2003, 27.

Odysseus invites Ajax to put aside his anger and speak with him, but Ajax famously does not answer, walking silently away. Ajax' silent departure establishes him as a perennial figure of unyielding resentment, a status reinforced by Longinus' pronouncement that Ajax' silence is 'more sublime than any speech' (*Subl.* 9.2), and by Vergil's use of Ajax as a model for unyieldingly resentful Dido in *Aeneid* 6. Less often noticed are the lines that follow Ajax' departure (Hom. *Od.* 11.565–567, trans. Lattimore):

> He might yet have spoken to me there, despite being angry, or I might
> have spoken to him, but the heart in my inward breast wanted
> to see the souls of the other perished dead men.
>
> ἔνθα χ' ὅμως προσέφη κεχολωμένος, ἤ κεν ἐγὼ τόν·
> ἀλλά μοι ἤθελε θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι
> τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἰδέειν κατατεθνηώτων.

In her narratological commentary on the *Odyssey*, Irene de Jong shrewdly suggests that Odysseus is here covering up his own failure to engage Ajax in conversation,[41] but these lines might also be read as self-serving in a different way. Ajax' legendary silence turns out to be the result of a deliberate choice by Odysseus. Odysseus prevents Ajax' voice from being heard in the narrative that he controls, with Athena's backing, both as its protagonist and, in this section of the poem, as its narrator. Like the *Ajax*, the *Odyssey* turns Ajax into a figure of implacable anger while also showing that he is effectively maneuvered into that characterization. Who knows what Ajax might have said if Odysseus had allowed him a voice. Maybe his words would have reflected a spirit of compromise such as he himself urges in his speech to Achilles in *Iliad* 9. Maybe he would have revealed himself as someone capable of being at home in the modern, post-heroic world.[42]

41 De Jong 2001, 293.

42 My thanks to Pat Easterling for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

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CHAPTER 9

Long Ago and Far Away … The Uses of the Past in Tacitus' *Minora**

Christina S. Kraus

1 Forward, into the Past

Each of Tacitus' works is concerned with the place and value of antiquity, both in its own terms and, more particularly, in how it informs our understanding of and affects our conduct in the present. In a famous and well-studied digression, Tacitus theorizes the values of the past (*Ann.* 4.32–33):

> That much of what I have recorded, and of what I shall record, seems perhaps insignificant and trivial to recall I am not unaware; but no one should compare my annals with the writing of those who compiled the affairs of the Roman people of old (*ueteres populi Romani res*). Mighty wars, stormings of cities, routed and captured kings … it was these which they recalled and had the freedom to explore. My work, on the other hand, is confined and inglorious: peace was immovable or only modestly challenged, affairs in the city were sorrowful, and the *princeps* indifferent to extending the empire. … Yet, though likely to be advantageous, these matters afford very little enjoyment. It is the localities of peoples, the fluctuations of battles, and the fates of brilliant leaders which rivet and reinvigorate readers' minds … Then there is the fact that ancient writers attract only an occasional disparager, nor does it make a difference to anyone whether you delight more in exalting the Punic or Roman lines; but many who during Tiberius' rule suffered punishment or infamy have descendants remaining, and even if the actual families have now been extinguished, you will discover persons who, owing to a similarity of behavior, think that the misdeeds of others are being imputed to themselves (*ob <u>similitudinem morum aliena</u> malefacta sibi obiectari putent*). Even glory and courage receive a

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> ferocious response, as being critical of their opposites from too close at hand (*ut nimis ex propinquo diuersa arguens*).[1]

Comparatio, which judges both similarity and difference (e.g., Cic. *De or.* 3.117), is an inveterate historiographical mode which Tacitus deploys liberally here to distinguish his own history—in both senses—from that of past history—also in both senses (*qui ueteres populi Romani res composuere*).[2] That deep (or plu-) past offers both pleasure and *utilitas*.[3] Tacitus' current subject also lies in the past, of course—but that is the recent imperial past, which poses particular challenges to the author and his readers, who may take offense at the implied comparison between Tiberian characters and men of the present. Tacitus' paradoxical formulation in *Ann.* 4.33.4 both holds the terms of contrast at arm's length and by means of verbal juxtaposition (underscored above) insists on their proximity. Even difference (*aliena*, *diuersa*) implies likeness (*ob similitudinem*, *ex propinquo*) and entails resentment.

Sailor has persuasively argued that passages such as this enhance Tacitus' status: by suggesting that his work puts him in mortal danger, he arrogates to himself the social prestige of the 'republican' senatorial class.[4] The value he puts on antiquity in these passages does a lot of this status-enhancing work: not simply a guide to the present, as often in exemplary history (a point to which I will return), the past, however profitable it might sometimes be of instruction, can serve either as a safe haven or as a threat.[5] As Cremutius Cordus immediately thereafter explains, it is not so much the historian's praise or blame of events that matters but what events he chooses to bring to life (*Ann.* 4.35.2): 'For surely it is not the case that, by my having Cassius and Brutus armed and holding the plains of Philippi, I am inflaming the people in public address with civil war as my motive?' (*num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos obtinentibus belli ciuilis causa populum per contiones incendo?*).[6] As Tacitus well knows, the historian does not have much control of how history is used: his evaluation of past data is only one strand in their

1 Translations from the *Annals* are from Woodman 2004.

2 On *comparatio* in Tacitus, see Kraus 2009; more generally in narrating a life, Pelling 2011, 25–35.

3 For the concept and study of the 'plupast' see Grethlein and Krebs 2012.

4 Sailor 2008, 249–275. Though Tacitus does not claim mortal danger at *Ann.* 4.32–33, the juxtaposition of this authorial digression with the death of the historian Cremutius certainly suggests the risks run by writers under the principate.

5 On the educational value of the past in Tacitus see Luce 1991 and Woodman 1995, both on *Ann.* 3.65.1

6 The precise meaning of the sentence is debated: cf. Martin and Woodman 1989, 182–183.

reception and interpretation. Even more, perhaps, than Livy, Tacitus sets the perceptions of readers and audiences both internal and external to his text against one another, inviting us to grapple with how the perception and performance of time form crucial interpretative channels in the historical record.[7] This essay considers the related ways in which the 'minor' works—*Agricola, Germania* and *Dialogus*—bring different times into play with one another, investigating particularly how generic modes configure time, and how those modes invite and interact with readerly response. The question ultimately addressed is: what is the value, in Tacitus, of time past for time present and time future?[8]

2 *Recentiores, non deteriores*

From its opening words the *Dialogus* overtly interweaves temporal strands and explicitly discusses their relationship.[9] The text begins in a repeating present (*saepe … requiris*) but quickly takes us to the deep past (*priora saecula*) and back to 'our lifetime' (*nostra potissimum aetas*) before settling more precisely in the author's own youth (*iuuenis admodum*).[10] Those strands of time form a continuous backdrop to the discussion of the place and nature of poetry and oratory.[11] Well knowing Messalla's habit of praising oratory's golden age and

7 On Livy's audiences see Kraus 1994, 13–15; Feldherr 1998; on the channels of histori(ographi)cal narrative and interpretation see the absorbing analysis of Serres 1991.

8 There are many more things to say about each of these monographs: what I offer is an introduction to the issues only. Nor can I discuss the *Histories* or *Annals*, for lack both of space and expertise.

9 I address the minor works in reverse order of composition (and, presumably, 'publication'); for the date of the *Dialogus* see Mayer 2001, 22–27.

10 Cf. *Dial.* 1.1–2: '*You often ask me*, Justus Fabius, why, while *earlier periods* are brightened by the lustre and talent of so many orators, *our own times* should find themselves barren … I have set myself to recount a conversation between men as eloquent as you may find nowadays, whom I heard discussing this very question *when I was still quite young*.' (*Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta … si … disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantis iuuenis admodum audiui*); translations of the *Dialogus* are from Russell and Winterbottom 1972. The *Agricola* opens with a similar contrast of the present and the past (but adds the future-in-the-past): see now Woodman 2014 *ad Agr.* 1.1 and 1.4; for the 'blurred temporalities' of the *Dialogus* see Whitton 2012, 358.

11 The *Dialogus* 'presents the case for and against forensic oratory' (Mayer 2001, 16); for the

lamenting the quality and purpose of contemporary public speaking (cf. *Dial.* 15.1: 'You are always showing your admiration only for the old and antique, Messalla', *non desinis, Messalla, uetera tantum et antiqua mirari*), Aper uses the '*Vergilium uidi tantum*' topos[12] to demonstrate the flaws in rigid, *aetas*-based periodization (*Dial.* 17.3–6):

> That makes a hundred and twenty years from the death of Cicero up to this year: a single lifetime—for I myself once saw a man in Britain who volunteered that he'd been present at the battle in which they tried to keep Caesar from British shores and drive him away when he invaded. If this man who stood in arms against Caesar had found his way to Rome because of captivity or his own choice or some chance, he could perfectly well have heard speeches by Caesar himself and by Cicero, and yet also attended orations given by us. At the recent largess you yourselves saw plenty of old men who told how they had received money once or twice from Augustus as well. The inference is that they could have heard Corvinus and Asinius speaking … You can't split up time like this, and go on using 'ancients' and 'old-timers' of men whom the same hearers could have recognized and thus joined to us in a single life-span.
>
> *centum et uiginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. nam ipse ego in Britannia uidi senem qui se* ***fateretur*** *ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanni arcere litoribus et pellere aggressi sunt. ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restitit, uel captiuitas uel uoluntas uel fatum aliquod in Vrbem pertraxisset, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem* ***audire*** *potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. proximo quidem congiario ipsi uidistis plerosque senes qui se a diuo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium* ***narrabant****; ex quo colligi potest et Coruinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse … ne diuidatis saeculum et antiquos ac ueteres* ***uocitetis*** *oratores quos eorundem hominum* ***aures*** *agnoscere ac uelut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.*

According to this logic, the past has no absolute value, nor do the traditional hierarchies of excellence that Messala will build with his reading of the oratorical past, and that Aper anticipatorily demolishes: neither is there a 'single

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structure of its speeches see Mayer 2001, 31–44, and for a general discussion with extensive bibliography see now van den Berg 2014.

12 'Vergil I only saw' (Ovid *Tr.* 4.10.51); cf. Sen. *Contr.* 1. *praef.* 11 for just missing Cicero.

face of eloquence' (*unum eloquentiae uultum*), nor is something 'automatically worse because it's different' (*nec statim deterius esse quod diuersum est*, 18.3). Using as a basis the span of human life together with the possibility of physical proximity and sight, Aper stresses conjunction (dotted underlined above: *colliguntur*, *colligi, coniungere*, *copulare*), resisting the (potentially) divisive *comparatio* that will underpin Messalla's elaborate *laus temporis acti* in chapters 25–26, 28–32 and 34–35. For Aper, present and past can inform and challenge each other—and, indeed, the past can be redefined as the present (*ne diuidiatis saeculum*, 17.6), collapsing chronological distance to serve an argument's needs.[13]

Yet this preference for plurality and flexibility entails a relativism that challenges Aper's inference that the orator can control his material.[14] Repeated words for seeing and presence (underscored above) tie his argument together, stressing the importance of autopsy; but at the same time, that sight is challenged by distance (the old man is in Britain, famously an example of the edge of the world)[15] and by the differentials introduced by language, as marked by repeated words for speech and hearing (emboldened above: the old Briton *claims* to have been there during Caesar's battles and could have *heard* Cicero; the old men in Rome *tell the story* of having had largess from Augustus, etc.). This interweaving of sight and sound harkens back to the primal scene of histor(iograph)y at Herodotus 1.8.2—where they are, of course, revealed to be unequal bases for judgments;[16] their pairing here sets in motion the same sort of oscillation between opposites as does the discovery, at *Ann.* 4.33.4, that difference (*diuersa*) implies likeness (*ex propinquo*). The *com-* in *comparatio* can indicate either. It is not clear that the orator or his audience can negotiate or control the tension between far and near, old and new, that results from Aper's flexible take on the past.

In the end the *Dialogus* remains dialogic: that is, it does not resolve its contradictions about time or distance, any more than it does about anything else. Time, both cyclical (the diurnal rhythms that necessitate departure today but enable reconvening later) and linear (the promise of the future), returns as a structuring device in the final chapter (*Dial.* 42.1):

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13 For a contrasting use of past models in Greek deliberative oratory, see Grethlein (ch. 13) in this volume.

14 This is not to say that Aper himself is a relativist: see Levene 2004, 177.

15 E.g., Cat. 11.11–12, Tac. *Agr.* 10.2, 10.6, on which see Kraus in Woodman 2014, ad loc.

16 On the passage see Asheri et al. 2007, ad loc.; on *opsis* in Herodotus see Thomas 2000, Index s.v. and especially the bibliography cited 237 n. 63.

> Messalla said: 'I should have liked to contradict some things and hear more about others. But the day is over.' 'Let that be later on, as you like,' said Maternus, 'and if anything seemed obscure in what I said, we can discuss it again.'
>
> *cum Messalla: 'erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici uellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus.' 'fiet' inquit Maternus 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone uisa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.'*

The final word not only points toward the future, however, but invites a return to the slippery comparisons that Aper had deconstructed early in the dialogue. And as a parting shot to Aper, Maternus sketches a commonality between poetry and the antique which explicitly returns us to the text's opening chapters (42.2): 'I will tell on you to the poets, and Messalla will to the antiquarians' (*'ego' inquit 'te poetis, Messalla autem antiquariis criminabimur'*).

Introducing the dialogue (though subsequently abandoned) is the famous discussion of the value of oratory versus poetry. The latter, the ironic Aper insists, requires for its creativity a place far away from forensic life (*Dial.* 9.6):

> Poets have to leave the society of their friends and the pleasures of the city, throw up all their other responsibilities, and withdraw, as they put it, 'to the woodland groves'—that is, to a life of solitude.
>
> … *relinquenda conuersatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.*

In the dialogue that figurative, secluded world is represented (or substituted for) by the *cubiculum* (3.1) in which Maternus composes the 'eloquence that better deserves my respect and reverence,' i.e., poetry (*sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam*, 4.2). But the aristocratic *cubiculum* was hardly a place of seclusion: it is more analogous to the public arena to which Maternus consigns his *Cato* and *Thyestes* than it is to the *nemora et luci* of Aper's imagination.[17] I want to linger here, however, on the distance that seems ideally suited to poetry, and that inheres in Maternus' tragedies in more than one way. On the

17 On the *cubiculum* see Riggsby 1997; for the recitation of Maternus' tragedies see Goldberg 1996, 273; Mayer 2001, 92 *ad* 2.1 *recitauerat*.

one hand, they are introduced as the means by which Maternus separates himself from the active Roman world, as if he had been born in Greece (*ut si in Graecia natus esses*, 10.5), preferring *quies* and *securitas* and the mythical past (the move from the *Cato* to the *Thyestes* is significant) to struggles and rewards in the here-and-now of the forum. On the other, though according to Secundus the tragedies are possessed of very real political effect, it is soon clear that their relationship to that political reality is oblique, as their message is communicated not directly but via explanation or a kind of translation, *interpretatio*.[18] That is true of all written work, of course, but especially of poetry, which is built of rhetorical, non-ordinary language that requires special understanding—even different styles of dress (cf. 'your tragic style and the thunder of epic', *cothurnum uestrum aut heroici carminis sonum*, 10.4).[19] The opening discussion of the relationship between oratory and poetry, then, is complicated by these reminders that poetic language produces not transparency and presence but distance and complexity—a complexity recalled by Maternus' final tease at 42.2, which refocuses us on poets and puts them in parallel with Messala's antiquarian past.

Between entering the *cubiculum* and the end of the dialogue, much time and many topics pass. We depart from chamber and text having seen three different but related kinds of remoteness played off against the present: (1) the linguistic distance of poetic language; (2) the physical distance both of poetry's rural solitude and of the (shifting) boundaries of Roman history; and (3) the chronological distance of antiquity. Within each, Tacitus demonstrates the possibilities both of separation and of the collapse of opposites.

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18 Cf. *Dial.* 3.2: 'Or perhaps you've taken the book in hand to give it a thorough revision and cut out the parts that have given a handle to misrepresentation: so that *Cato* on publication may turn out if not better, at least safer?' (*an ideo librum istum adprehendisti, ut diligentius retractares, et sublatis si qua prauae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres* Catonem *non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?*). *Interpretatio* is associated above all with rhetorical explication of the poets and with interpretation of omens and other signs: *OLD* s.v. 1, 2, 5, and on *interpretatio* elsewhere in Tacitus see Hardie 2012, 275.

19 See also Goldberg 1999, 229 on the language of *Dial.* 12.3: 'Maternus' poetic temperament perhaps gets the better of him'. For dress ~ literary style see Kraus 2005b with bibliography, for rhetoric and performance Gunderson 2000, especially 111–148. Herein lies a great deal of the *Dialogus*' wit: that we are never sure whether the distance of poetry—which may bring very real dangers—or the presence of oratory—which may be perfectly safe in a world where all agree—is better suited to life under the (which?) Empire. Sailor 2008, 289–291 has an illuminating discussion of how Maternus inhabits/becomes his *Cato*.

3 Over the River and through the Woods

The *Germania* is an ethnographical rather than dialogic project, but is equally preoccupied with the challenge of the remote both in time and in space. Its language is saturated with the conventional, formal elements of an inherited tradition that mark it off from other kinds of prose.[20] Its strong generic markers bring the ethnographic mode's literary tradition to the fore, extending the writer's temporal and intellectual range backward. In *Germania*, that range is explicitly epicized—and hence brought into the remote poetic past—by the catalogue that comprises its second half (chapters 27–46).[21] Though the verbs of the treatise are overwhelmingly in the present tense, its temporal setting is not exclusively the here-and-now. Instead, beginning with a sharp separation from the rest of the world (see below), the space and time of *Germania* become ever more distant. As they do so, the present tenses may be felt to mark not what is happening now, but a kind of aoristic present, an existence on a different plane. As the message of Maternus' *Cato* would be capped by that of his *Thyestes*, a movement from the republican past into deep mythical time, so the *Germania* moves from the borders with the Roman world outward to the fabulous, beings unknowable to research (*Germ.* 46.4): 'The rest is the stuff of tall tales: the Hellusii and Oxiones who have human faces and features, but the bodies and limbs of beasts. This, as something not yet ascertained, I shall leave open' (*cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum uoltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam*).[22] At the end of the treatise Tacitus' readers, like his Germans, step off into space. Tacitus' last word, *relinquam*, leaves the edges of this world for others to demonstrate, in sharp contrast to his opening sentence, in which the division of Germania from its neighbors (and, by implication, of Tacitus' treatise from at least one of its strong precursors, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*) leaves nothing to the imagination (*Germ.* 1.1): 'Germany as a whole is separated from the Gauls

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20 I will be very brief here: the *Germania* has been much studied recently, especially in its relationship to the *Bellum Gallicum*: cf. Schadee 2008, Krebs 2011a and 2011b.

21 For ethnography's intricate relationship with poetry, especially epic, see Thomas 2009, 62–70. I am here borrowing from and extending Grethlein and Krebs' discussion of the past in the past, in which they argue that 'the plupast … is … to be found embedded in … literary *topoi* [their example is the Scythian *topos* from the *Germania*] … and formal aspects' of language, such as the epic catalogue (2012, 4–5).

22 All translations of the *Germania* are from Rives 1999. For *comperio* of historiographical autopsy or 'research' see Kraus *ad Agr.* 10.1 in Woodman 2014 and *OLD* s.v. *comperio* 1; for the ends of the earth see Romm 1992 and above n. 15.

and from the Raeti and the Pannonii by the Rhine and Danube rivers, and from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutual fear or mountains' (*Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuuio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur*).[23] Tacitus' ethnography, then, is of a people whose past—glimpsed, for example, in 2.2 *carminibus antiquis* and 8.1 *memoriae proditur*—gradually yields place to the far away, as the text itself accumulates poetic character in its concluding catalogue, and ultimately, with *in medio* ('available to all'), defers authority at the moment where closure is most expected.[24]

But ethnography, like Maternus' tragic poetry, is a performative mode of thinking: it generalizes at the same time as it particularizes and presents on the geographical stage type-cast characters who act out their ethnicity.[25] *Germania* pulls us into the world of the fantastic, suggesting that these ethnographical types are entirely *sui generis* (or, better, *sui loci generis*, that is, a match only for their own common-place identity); but it also offers uncanny reflections of traditional Roman values, many of them now lost in time just as the Germans are lost in space.[26]

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23 For the echo of Caes. *B Gall.* 1.1.1 see Rives ad loc. Note also that Germany is marked off not only by physical features but also by its character, which makes it quite separate from whole continents and appealing only to its own (*Germ.* 2.1): 'Moreover, quite apart from the danger of a rough and unknown sea, who would abandon Asia or Africa or Italy and seek out Germania, with its unlovely landscape and harsh climate, dreary to inhabit and behold, if it were not one's native land?' (*quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit?*).

24 The openness of the ending is marked especially by the ambiguous *relinquam*, which—whether it is future indicative or present subjunctive—marks not an establishment of something in perpetuity (as the last words of the *Agricola*) nor a departure (*Dialogus*), but a kind of closure under erasure. In this respect the *Germania* differs strikingly from the other shorter works. We are hampered here by the loss of many historiographical endings; see in general the essays in Roberts, Dunn and Fowler 1997.

25 There is an enormous bibliography on performance and ethnicity; for a start, see Johnson 2003.

26 See further O'Gorman 1993, Thomas 2009 and in this volume Farrell (ch. 4) on the *suburbium* as a 'zone of virtual antiquity' (105) and Leemreize (ch. 3) for 'stereotypes about Egyptians [which] are usually a vehicle for messages about Romans' (57).

4 Agricola the Old-Fashioned Hero

We come finally via the overlap of distance and time, to the *Agricola*. Readings of this text have tended to focus either on the outer chapters—which feel very fresh and raw—or on the proconsular narrative, seven years that take up more than half of the biography, and are narrated in an elevated historiographical style. Those who do make links between them tend to pick up on big political words such as *libertas* or *silentium*, whose repetition knits the monograph together in complex ways.[27] It is recognized, furthermore, that conquering Britain—the great island at the edge of the world—is a panegyric *topos* of long standing;[28] and that enhancing Agricola's performance there is a primary means by which Tacitus performs the very juggling act that he attributes to his hero, of achieving greatness even under bad emperors through 'compliance and modesty supported by industry and energy'.[29] Just as Agricola's behavior (should have) made him not a threat to Domitian during that emperor's reign, so Tacitus' praise of his actions in the distant north, the special place that is Britain, should make neither Agricola nor Tacitus himself a threat to any current ruler.[30] In what follows I would like to add to this picture in the light of what I have suggested is happening in the *Dialogus* and *Germania*. How, in other words, do the distance-markers of poetic format/language, place and time operate in *Agricola* to value the past, and to put it in counterpoise with the present and future?

Tacitus sets the British stage with the ethno-geographical excursus at chapters 10–13.1. Its opening rubric adds a further formal element to the *Agricola*'s already rich generic constellation, an element highlighted by the accompanying authorial intervention (*Agr*. 10.1, 3):

27 For *libertas* see Liebeschuetz 1966, for silence, Strocchio 1992; on the repetitions see especially Rutledge 2000, Whitmarsh 2006; for some strong reservations and further bibliography see Woodman 2014, Introduction.

28 Above n. 15.

29 Cf. *Agr*. 42.4: 'Those who are accustomed to admire unlawful conduct should know that even under evil *principes* there can be great men, and that compliance and modesty, if supported by industry and energy, can reach the same level of praise as do many by precipitous routes; but the latter, with no benefit to the commonwealth, have achieved their distinction by an ostentatious death' (*sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos uiros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac uigor adsint, eo laudis excedere quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt*). All translations of *Agricola* are by A.J. Woodman, used by permission.

30 Sailor 2008, 71–72, 78–80 ('Britain is marked as a special space', 78).

> Although Britain's lay-out and peoples have been memorialised by many writers, I shall report on them not for the sake of comparing carefulness or talent but because that was the first time it was tamed. Hence the features to which, though not then verified, my predecessors devoted the most eloquent treatment will be transmitted with confidence in the material. ... The shape of the whole of Britain was likened by Livius and Fabius Rusticus—the most eloquent of old and recent authors respectively—to an elongated shieldlet or double-axe.
>
> *Britanniae situm populosque*[31] *multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniiue referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est. ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere rerum fide tradentur. ... formam totius Britanniae Liuius ueterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongo scutulo uel bipenni adsimulauere.*

The jump into a new, highly self-conscious literary mode puts us slightly off balance and associates the past evoked by the literary tradition with the spatially distant world we are entering. As in the other two monographs, there is a threefold temporal organization: the past of the ancients (*Liuius ueterum*), that of the more recent, who are in fact closely contemporary with Agricola himself (*Fabius Rusticus recentium*), and Tacitus' and the reader's own present (*referam, tradentur*).[32] The slight imbalance is enhanced by the fact that this is not the first time we have heard of Britain in the biography, nor indeed the first time that Agricola has been there.[33] But instead of positioning the ethnography at the point of Agricola's first posting to Britain (5.1), Tacitus waits until he is sent there as proconsular governor, a structural delay that allows the formality of the ethnographic mode—which we have already seen operating in *Germania*—to

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31 *Situs* and *populi* are buzzwords of ethnography: see Kraus in Woodman 2014 *ad* 10.1.

32 For the future tense of historiographical writing cf. *Agr.* 3.3 with Woodman 2014, and compare Livy 7.1.1 (*annus hic erit insignis*) with Henderson 1989, 76–82. The historian Fabius Rusticus lived at least until 68 CE; it is sometimes assumed that Tacitus relies here on his narrative of the Claudian conquest of southern Britain (but see Syme 1958, 291).

33 He is posted there in both early and mid-career: *Agr.* 5.1, 8 with Woodman 2014, and on Tacitus' career in general see Birley 2000. Ethnographies typically mark an entry into a country on a march (e.g., in Herodotus) or signal an invasion (e.g., in Sallust's *Histories*), serving as a kind of textual substitute for the necessary reconnoitering that a general would do (e.g., Rutledge 2000 on 'textual colonization', Schadee 2008). Its position here tells a reader that this, not Agricola's earlier visits, is the crucial military beginning in Britain, and is thus deliberate stage-setting.

elevate Agricola's achievements, and to mark off the relatively elevated 'historical' sections to come as distinct from the more strictly 'biographical' sections which precede.[34]

The ethno-geography as a whole engages intensively with the past, particularly the literary past. Tacitus first uses that past as background to his own present knowledge about the shape of Britain (see text cited above), then seeks an origin for the inhabitants by comparing them to their already familiar neighbors on the continent, stressing those neighbors' former strength (*Agr.* 11.4):

> The Britons nevertheless display more defiance, as is to be expected of those whom a long peace has not yet softened. For we have been told that the Gauls too thrived in war; but then indolence made an entry simultaneously with peace, and prowess was lost along with freedom. This is happening to those Britons conquered in the past; the others remain like the Gauls once were.
>
> *plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intrauit, amissa uirtute pariter ac libertate. quod Britannorum olim uictis euenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.*

The reader's familiarity with the Gauls comes not from personal experience but from books, particularly from Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (note *Gallos … in bellis floruisse accepimus*). And when Tacitus makes a transition back to the main Agricolan narrative, he does so by joining the Britons' habits of obedience to the early beginnings of their acquaintance with Rome and that same, first Caesar (*Agr.* 13.1): '… being by now tamed to obey but not yet to be slaves. The first Roman of all to enter Britain with an army was Divine Julius' (*iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut seruiant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum diuus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus*). There follows a chronological sketch of the various Roman commands in Britain (13–17), ending with Agricola's arrival at 18.1, reprised from chapter 9.[35] As ethno-geography yields to historical

34 For the complex relationship between *uita* and *historia* in the Tacitean biography of *Agricola* see Woodman 2014, Introduction.

35 Cf. *Agr.* 9.6: 'It was as consul that he betrothed his daughter, now of exceptional promise, to me in my youth, and after his consulship he married her to me; and immediately he was placed in charge of Britain' (*consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuueni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocauit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est*) and 18.1: 'Such was the

narrative, then, the author inscribes Agricola into a storyline that makes him part not only of his own life, but of the chain of Romans in Britain, moving back well beyond 77 CE, when he became governor, to 55 BCE. Back, that is, to the (for Roman involvement in Britain) distant past, to the founding figure, *primus omnium*.[36]

Caesar is present in the biography on many levels. His Gallic *commentarii* are pervasively evoked in *Agricola*, both in detail[37] and in the larger structure of the biography, whose seven campaign seasons invite comparison with the seven books of the *Bellum Gallicum*.[38] Caesar the author is a model for Tacitus the author, particularly in the colonizing gesture of ethnography, wherein writing equals/reflects conquest.[39] But *imitatio/aemulatio* of Caesar, though staking a claim to forward-moving intertextual and imperial superiority, also suggests a regression to a lost time, when successful leadership in the field was still part of Roman aristocratic glory-making.[40] Agricola himself is also following in Caesar's footsteps—and beyond. His distance from Rome and his conquering advance into an increasingly uncivilized wilderness, chasing the elusive *terminus Britanniae* (*Agr.* 23, 27.1, 30.3, 33.3 [*finem*]), evoke the 'good old days' of the republican military system—though Agricola himself makes no explicit claim to interest in or affiliation with the past.[41] As Katherine Clarke says, 'Britain ...

condition of Britain, such the succession of wars, that Agricola discovered on crossing in what was already mid-season,' (*hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum uices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola inuenit*).

36 Tacitus' word order, *primus omnium Romanorum diuus Julius ... ingressus* magnifies the 'firstness' of the action. On being first in Roman culture and panegyric see Cooley 2009, 31–32, 37; Woodman 2014 ad loc. On the erasure of the Britons from this historical sketch see Rutledge 2000, 79–80.

37 Woodman 2014, Index. For detailed quotation and emulation of Caesar in Tacitus and Livy see Kraus 2015.

38 Woodman 2014, Introduction; see also Pitcher 2015.

39 Cf. above n. 33; on *Agricola* in particular see Rutledge 2000.

40 Cf. *Ann.* 4.32, quoted above; already by Horace's time an empire built on the conquest of barbarians could seem a distant dream: see, e.g., *Epod.* 16.3–10 with Watson 2003.

41 Agricola does recall events (see *Agr.* 4.3 with Woodman 2014), so to that extent he is—though only briefly—presented as hearkening back to the past. That Tacitus' Domitian worries about Agricola as a potential usurper suggests that in some ways this character is very forward looking, indeed. For '[h]ow easily Agricola might slot into the role of emperor' (Hardie 2012, 278) see Sleeman (quoted by Woodman 2014) *ad* 39.3: 'Agricola, with four legions at his back, might have imitated the example of previous provincial governors, like Vitellius and Vespasian, and aspired to become emperor'. For a vigorous challenge to the idea that Domitian was hostile to Agricola see Dorey 1960.

provides an appropriate setting for the playing out of the *res gestae* of Agricola, a hero of the old style'.[42]

Agricola's proconsulship is capped by the battle of Mons Graupius, a historiographical narrative which, more than any of the rest of the British campaigns, veers away from biography into literary *historia*, with its conventional, enargeic description of a battle in the northern wilds, its paired speeches and its *peripeteia*. In stylistic register, placement and inclusion of a full-dress barbarian salvo against Rome, the account lives up to and even surpasses its most important literary model, Caesar's battle of Alesia in *Bellum Gallicum* 7.[43] The scene answers well to Tacitus' sketch of the *ueteres populi Romani res* in *Ann.* 4.32–33 (above). Its remoteness is brought home especially by its aftermath, in which the Caledonians evaporate into the landscape (*Agr.* 37.5, 38.2):

> [S]traggling and mutually evasive, they made for distant and trackless areas. … The next day revealed more widely the face of victory: an eery silence everywhere, deserted hills, houses smoking in the distance, no one visible to the scouts. They had been sent out in every direction and—when it was found that the tracks of the fugitives were aimless and that there was no massing of the enemy anywhere …
>
> *rari et uitabundi inuicem longinqua atque auia petiere. … proximus dies faciem uictoriae latius aperuit: uastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obuius. quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae uestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum …*

Once again, distance suggests temporal remoteness, which Tacitus' language compounds with *uestigia* and *compertum*, words that adumbrate not only physical inaccessibility but the difficulty of historical understanding.[44] As if to ringfence the proconsulship, 'he instructed the prefect of the fleet to sail round Britain' (*praefecto classis circumuehi Britanniam praecipit*, 38.3) echoes 'which a Roman fleet then sailed around for the first time' (*tunc primum Romana classis circumuecta*, 10.4). The remoteness of Caledonia, which teases us with its *Germania*-like distance (see above on (*in*)*compertum*), seals the deal with the expedition that—as we readers had already learned—brought knowledge (10.1

42 Clarke 2001, 108.

43 It has also been argued that he based the battle on Caesar's Pharsalus: see Nutting 1929 with Woodman 2014 on *Agr.* 36.2. On Caesar in Tacitus see above n. 37.

44 For *comperio* see above n. 22; for *uestigium* see *OLD* s.v. 7.

comperta), the textual ring matching and confirming the physical circumference of the now-recognized island, and assuring Britain's place in History.[45]

We have seen in the *Agricola*'s formal introduction to Britain an ethnographical doorway whose conventional elements set up a plupast, and in the final campaign narrative a deployment of temporal and spatial distance which complements and valorizes that feeling of antiquity. But if we are tempted to see the Roman circumnavigation of Britain as Agricola's and Tacitus' way of framing the proconsulship, tidying its achievement up for posterity both scholarly and military, we should note that even the apparent solidity of that ringfencing derry-do has already been revealed to be entirely relative. Agricola's fleet was not the first to sail round Britain, after all—not even the first in the *Agricola*. If Aper shows that chronological distance is potentially collapsible, and the *Germania* problematizes the divide between Roman and barbarian, present and past, Tacitus in his first work is already exploring the fixity—and especially the lack thereof—of past *res gestae* and the stories that are subsequently told about them.

As he describes his hero's push northward, Tacitus listens in on the soldiers (*Agr.* 25.1):

> … with the result that often in the same camp infantryman and cavalryman and naval soldier, joining together delightedly in their supplies, would each extol his deeds and adventures, and in soldierly boasting sometimes it was the depths of woods and mountains, sometimes the adversities of storms and billows that were compared, on the one side victory over the land and the enemy, on the other over Ocean.
>
> … *ut saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus adtollerent, ac modo siluarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum aduersa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc uictus Oceanus militari iactantia compararentur.*

The fantastic nature of the soldiers' tales, clearly signaled by the paradoxographical and panegyrical vocabulary,[46] is picked up again at the end of the same (textual) year by the *magnum ac memorabile facinus* of the Usipi (*Agr.* 28):

45 Almost everything about Tacitus' claim for Britain's island status is problematic: see especially the discussion of Clarke 2001 with Kraus on *Agr.* 10.4 in Woodman 2014.

46 For parallels see Woodman 2014, *ad locc.* and cf. *Ann.* 2.24.4 (also of Britain); for paradoxographical elements in historiography see above all Gabba 1981.

> In the same summer season a cohort of Usipi … dared a great and memorable deed. Slaughtering the centurion and soldiers … they boarded three Liburnians … and … coasted along—a kind of marvel—before any rumor became public. Subsequently, whenever they diverted for water and to seize supplies, they joined battle with many of the Britons … finally reaching such a level of shortage that they fed on the weakest of their number and then on those chosen by lot. Having sailed round Britain in this way … they were regarded as pirates and captured first by the Suebi and then by the Frisii. And there were some who, sold by way of trade and brought as far as our bank by an exchange of buyers, achieved the limelight on the evidence of their great misadventure.
>
> *Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum … magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione ac militibus … tres Liburnicas … ascendere. … nondum uulgato rumore ut miraculum praeuehebantur. mox ad aquam atque utensilia rapt⟨um ubi deuert⟩issent, cum plerisque Britannorum … proelio congressi … eo ad extremum inopiae uenere ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos uescerentur. atque ita circumuecti Britanniam; … pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. ac fuere quos per commercia uenumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustrauit.*

This is often seen as a 'lively hiatus' (in Ash's words) in the narrative before the big finale.[47] But it can also be seen as a kind of *mise en abîme* of the British campaign as a whole; particularly relevant here are its emphasis on the *miraculum* of the circumnavigation—itself presented as a kind of historiographical moment, suggesting with *nondum uulgato* the astonished eyes of an audience[48]—the descent *ad extremum* (cf. 'land at what is now its furthest shore', *extremo iam litore terrarum*, 10.3; 'the last in the land and in freedom', *nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos*, 30.3), and the mix of action on land and sea (cf. 25.1, quoted above). And the Usipi are unabashedly elaborated, as fitting in a work of exciting historiography.[49]

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47 Cf. Ash 2010, 275; see her illuminating discussion (with bibliography), as well as Clarke 2001, 109–111. I am grateful to Kyle Khellaf for showing me his unpublished MA (Georgia) dissertation on the episode.

48 For the place of *miracula* in ancient historiography see the discussion of Gabba 1981.

49 For *inlustro* (the final word of the chapter) used in a context of historical ups and downs cf. especially Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.1 (to the historian Lucceius): 'You won't believe how much I want you to celebrate my name in your writings … For my experiences will provide you

Immediately following the episode of the Usipi is the climactic battle at Mons Graupius. The density, variety and literary detail of the story thus increase from *Agricola* 25, with the story-telling Romans, on through Mons Graupius; the particular concentration of meta-narrative elements in chapters 25–28 appropriately builds up to the last, most elaborated panel of Tacitus' military narrative.

But these chapters not only remind us that we are reading a constructed narrative, they also give us possible alternative versions: the legionaries as their own historian, in chapter 25,[50] and the *indicium* of the Usipi's autobiographical story (*Agr.* 28.3). And indeed, even Tacitus' version of the Usipi adventure makes a claim to non-Roman military success with *ita circumuecti Britanniam* (28.3), which challenges the Roman circumnavigation (textually) foreshadowed at 10.4 and performed at 38.3. We can perhaps see in these intratextual responsions a nagging uncertainty about *which* past is, if not the true one, at least the important one. Did the Roman fleet or the Usipi mutineers perform the *res gestae* that deserve to be commemorated for posterity?[51] As the proconsulship concludes, then, we have been sent deep not only into space and time (Caledonia) but also into story (the sailors and soldiers) and legend (the Usipi) via Tacitus' rhetorical *exaedificatio*. And we are repeatedly reminded not only of that *exaedificatio*—and indeed of the historiographical techniques that in the *Annales* he associates with 'the good old days'—but also of the problematic basis of such constructions. Agricola, in fact, may remind us of the old Briton in the *Dialogus*—simultaneously belonging to an ancient world and to our own.

When Agricola and Tacitus return to the world of politics at Rome, we see that *exaedificatio* in a very different light. Tacitus plays the biographer's writing off against Agricola's own narrative austerity (*Agr.* 39.1):

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with plenty of variety when you come to write—variety mixed with the kind of pleasure which can hold the attention of your readers. For nothing is more calculated to entertain a reader than changes of circumstance and the vicissitudes of fortune' (*ardeo cupiditate incredibili neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis inlustretur et celebretur tuis … Multam etiam casus nostri uarietatem tibi in scribendo suppeditabunt plenam cuiusdam uoluptatis, quae uehementer animos hominum in legendo tuo scripto retinere possit; nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam temporum uarietates fortunaeque uicissitudines*). The translation is by Woodman 1988, 71–72.

50 See Horsfall 1999 for this and other examples.

51 Cf. Clarke 2001, 110: 'The final triumphal act instigated by Agricola after the battle involve[s] still further use of the Ocean as a means of asserting control … Thus two Roman voyages around Britain frame that undertaken by the Usipi, and the Romans emerge as the masters of Britain's waters and hence of its insularity.'

> This course of events, though magnified by no boasting words in Agricola's letters, was received (as was his custom) by a Domitian delighted in appearance but tense in heart … [n]ow a real and great victory, with many thousands of the enemy slaughtered, was being celebrated to mighty acclaim!
>
> *Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla uerborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut erat Domitiano moris, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. … at nunc ueram magnamque uictoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari!*

Iactantia echoes the soldiers' tales of 25.1 (quoted above); Domitian understands that *ingens fama* is celebrating these deeds. But that *fama* comes to us not from Agricola, who consistently eschews both *fama* and boasting (e.g., 'he sought nothing for the purposes of boasting', *nihil adpetere in iactationem*, 5.1; 'because neither by truculence nor by the empty flaunting of freedom did he invite his fame and his fate', *quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque prouocabat*, 42.3).[52] Instead, Domitian understands—without, obviously, having read Tacitus—that the local *fama* that accrues to Agricola through the reaction of witnesses to his deeds will inevitably be changed into lasting reputation.[53] What he refuses to understand, however, is that those deeds may compete with others through stories. To the imperial ego, the past must be confined and narrated in one way only.[54]

The emperor Claudius could, and did, explicitly challenge Caesar's record in Britain,[55] but a non-imperial swashbuckling 'Caesar' was no longer possible. Though Agricola keeps the volume down, his biographer keeps trying to turn it up, through echoes of Caesar's text and by deploying *topoi* of conquest, especially marking Agricola's 'first', 'most' and 'only' moments.[56] It is not only

52 See Hardie 2012, 273–284 for an incisive discussion of *fama* in the *Agricola*.

53 I thank Christoph Pieper for this point; he draws a parallel with Assmann's notions of communicative and cultural memory (e.g., Assmann 2008).

54 As John Matthews once pointed out to me, emperors hate events; for the change in narrative habits cf. Woodman 1977, 28–56 (history to biography), Gowing 2005 (memory), Kraus 2005a (exemplarity).

55 See Braund 1996, 96–108.

56 See, e.g., *Agr.* 18.4: 'he sent in … so suddenly that the stunned enemy, who had been fully expecting a fleet of ships by sea, believed that nothing was too steep or invincible for men whose approach to war was such' (*ita repente inmisit ut obstupefacti hostes—qui classem, qui nauis, qui mare expectabant—nihil arduum aut inuictum crediderint*; 22.1: 'The

their talents that make Agricola, Corbulo and their like so dangerous, but (paradoxically) their extended absence from Rome, an absence that clothes them not only in distance but in a nostalgia for a lost time that is easily read in political terms, and that becomes unambiguously and threateningly present when the conquerors face their emperor. That separation between the deeds' *actor* and their receivers—'people', Domitian, Tacitus—throws the *res gestae* farther into a layered past, again tripartite: Agricola's deeds, the more recent Domitianic past and the time of writing, with its insistence on looking forward.

5 The Future at Your Back[57]

Before Tacitus, Agricola's *fama* is a threat to himself because a threat to the emperor. It is only long afterward that *fama* can bring something unambiguously good, only in Tacitus' present reflections on what has come before. These reflections bring the past into the present and future, charging the engine of exemplarity (*Agr.* 46.4):

> Whatever we loved in Agricola, whatever we have admired, remains and will remain in the spirits of men, just as the fame of his deeds in the eternity of time: for oblivion has obliterated many of the ancients, as if inglorious and ignoble; but Agricola, having been described and transmitted for the benefit of posterity, will be a survivor.
>
> *quidquid ex Agricola amauimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, ⟨ut⟩ in aeternitae temporum fama rerum: nam multos ueterum uelut inglorios et ignobiles obliuio obruit; Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.*

In the preceding scenes of death and lamentation, we see a mix of closure (*obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum*, 45.1), blocked contact (*non uidit Agricola* 45.1, *nobis tam longae absentiae condicione … desiderauere aliquid oculi tui*, 45.5), and inappropriate openness (Domitian's intrusion on the death, and its currency among even the *extranei* and *ignoti*, 43.1); but here at the end of the monograph Tacitus is able freely to open Agricola up to the world via

third year of campaigning opened up new races' (*Tertius expeditionum annus nouas gentes aperuit*); cf. Woodman 2014 *ad locc.* and n. 36 above.

57 Bettini 1991, 151.

commemoration, in which Agricola's survival will escape the *obliuio* met by so many 'of the ancients'. Though Agricola is not himself one of the *ueteres*, he will one day become so: what is present will one day be after (*posteritate*); only the biography will keep him present. The feeling of remoteness evoked by the British narrative, and the interiority of the scenes of mourning,[58] give way to a present and future (*manet mansurumque*) fuelled, paradoxically, by the preservation of the past.

This complex interaction among time periods is not simply a function of Agricola's *res gestae* and their reception by a hostile emperor and a passionate biographer. It is, rather, embedded in the genre of biography itself. Tacitus presents the very present form of this text as always already associated with a practice of antiquity that the present both courts and fears (*Agr.* 1.1, 1.4):

> Distinguished men's deeds and behaviour were transmitted to posterity as a routine practice in antiquity, and not even in our own times did the age, though indifferent to contemporaries, neglect it in instances where a person's great and notable prowess overcame and surmounted a defect shared by communities both small and great—the ignorance and resentment of rectitude. … But, when *I* was now about to describe the life of a *deceased* individual, I required a reprieve which I would not have sought had I been about to criticise: so savage and hostile to prowess were the times.
>
> *Clarorum uirorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus* (*quamquam incuriosa suorum*) *aetas omisit quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis uirtus uicit ac supergressa est uitium paruis magnisque ciuitatibus commune: ignorantiam recti et inuidiam. … at nunc narraturo mihi uitam defuncti hominis uenia opus fuit quam non petissem incusaturus: tam saeua et infesta uirtutibus tempora.*

And of course, whether written in times friendly to or savage against *uirtutes*, as the record of a completed life, from birth to death, biography is always a way-back machine. But as with other Tacitean prefaces, we do not remain in the past. Like his other works, the *Agricola* constructs a literary genealogy of which Tacitus is the latest descendant.[59] This *interim liber* is at the time of writing a

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58 I thank James Ker for this observation.

59 The explicit reading list comprises the autobiographies of Rutilius and Scaurus (*Agr.* 1.3) and the biographies of Thrasea and Helvidius (2.1); the implicit one includes Cato and Xenophon: see Woodman 2014, *ad* 1.1, 1.3, 2.1.

very present work, the first words that Tacitus speaks after emerging from a long silence.[60] And it expects a future, already anticipating the reviews: *aut laudatus erit aut excusatus* (3.3). This interweaving of past, present and future on the one hand defers significance: as Sailor argues, the *Agricola* prologue can be read as a 'take it or leave it' gesture.[61] If the book makes Tacitus famous, good; if it flops, well, he said it would. But on the other hand, the interweaving suggests how to speak truth to the present, that is, how to talk about a live emperor: and that is, by comparison to and in contrast with past ones.

If we are to read the *Agricola* as Tacitus' first attempt to write historiography in Rome, then it is also—like Pliny's *Panegyricus*—one of the first celebrations of the new principate of Trajan.[62] The *Panegyricus* offers Trajan a cautionary tale (in Domitian) and praise for behavior Pliny hopes he will exhibit, couched as description of behavior he already does.[63] Perhaps more subtly, the *Agricola* displays not simply a man who tried to operate like a proper Roman under bad emperors, but one whose like a good emperor could make good use of. In that, the *Agricola* performs a similar relationship with the multi-layered past as do the *Germania* and the *Dialogus*, exploring ways in which time and distance both construct and defer similarity and difference.

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60 Cf. *Agr*. 3.3: '[M]eanwhile, this interim book, intended to honor Agricola, my father-in-law, will be praised or excused for its declaration of devotion' (*hic interim liber, honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus*).

61 Sailor 2004.

62 On Tacitus and Pliny see especially Marchesi 2008, Whitton 2012.

63 See the full discussion of Cordes (ch. 12, 318–319) in this volume.

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CHAPTER 10

M. Atilius Regulus—Making Defeat into Victory: Diverse Values in an Ambivalent Story

Eleanor Winsor Leach

1 Introduction

Within the traditions of Roman exemplarity, the case of M. Atilius Regulus, consul for 267 BCE and suffect consul in 256 BCE who invaded Carthage during the First Punic War, is singular. Any person who, like myself, first encountered this monolithic figure in Horace's fifth Roman Ode, urging fellow senators to oppose a 'disgraceful treaty', before striding resolutely from the senate house toward an anticipated cruel punishment in Carthage, can be surprised, even shocked, to discover the extent of ambiguity and uncertainty that underlies Horace's poignant image. According to Polybius' sober record (1.25–34), two aspects of Regulus' military activity are certain: that he won an initial victory, leading troops to capture Tunis, but, in a second bold essay, was disastrously defeated by Carthage's Spartan ally, Xanthippus, and captured and imprisoned in Carthage where, for lack of further information from the historian, we might assume that he simply died. Had Polybius' word on his fortunes been the last, Regulus would scarcely have been remembered, for death in prison is no good ending for a Roman consul; the majority of commanders who suffered catastrophic defeats had the grace to die on the field with their soldiers, but post-Polybian tradition gives Regulus a chance to redeem his survival and even ennoble his captive status through his hypothetical mission to Rome. As Chris Kraus has observed in her paper with Tacitean acuity,[1] reception frequently overtakes factuality where the memory of past deeds comes into play, and the very ambiguity of Regulus' ultimate fortunes allows for a contextual malleability that builds his exemplary status incrementally until it quite surpasses that of the victorious Roman commanders in the First War. This valuation of Regulus will be the subject of my investigation, as positive interpretations come to replace negative, reaching a high point in Cicero and Horace. Likewise Livy, by witness of Florus, would seem to have told an

1 Cf. Kraus (ch. 9, 221) in this volume.

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ennobling story whose reflections we see in Valerius Maximus and Seneca, among others. Finally Regulus reemerges in full heroic regalia in that massive work of historical revival that Ben Tipping has called Silius' 'exemplary epic'.

I will begin with a return to that doubtless most familiar image of Regulus as we see him in the final verse of Horace *Ode* 3.5, which I consider among the most remarkable closures in Latin poetry (Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.53–56):

> Than [as] if, with contention put to rest, he were leaving behind the prolonged transactions of clients, making his way toward Venafrian terrritory or Lacedaemonian Tarento.

> *quam si clientum longa negotia*
> *diiudicata lite relinqueret*
> *tendens Venafranos in agros*
> *aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.*

In itself the language is striking in its contrast between vexation and calm. With a prolonged disputation among clients put to rest, the patron has done his part and may leave;[2] going home, we infer, his destination the *Ager Venafer*—or maybe Tarentum—but Venafrum has in its favor the many *iugera* of olive orchards whose oil Varro celebrated in his litany of superior Italian products.[3] With its implied transition from city to country, Horace's picture is in itself a compact celebration of the Roman aristocratic life with the demands of responsibility set against the canonical rustic background, but the figure who

2 Certainly there is an obligation here to the lines Hom. *Od.* 12.471–479, in which Odysseus describes his success in escaping Charybdis with the timbers of his shipwrecked boat: 'But I held on, dead set ... waiting for her / to vomit my mast and keel back up again—/ Oh how I ached for both! And back they came, / late but at last, at just the hour a judge at court, / who's settled the countless suits of brash young claimants, / rises, the day's work done, and turns home for supper—/ That's when the timbers reared back up from Charybdis' (trans. Fagles 1996). But recollecting this very different scene only enforces the pathos of Regulus, for the simile that enfigures Odysseus' salvation marks Regulus' turn toward death.

3 Cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.6: 'What spelt can I compare with Campanian? What wheat with Apulian? What wine with Falernian? What oil with Venafrian?' (*quod far conferam Campano? quod triticum Apulo? quod vinum Falerno? quod oleum Venafro?*) Tarentum is less easy to explain because it had become by Horace's time a resort, but as Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 82 point out, its Spartan foundation may have seemed appropriate to Regulus' severely disciplined act.

stands out against this background is one for whom the aristocratic life is ending and whose actual destination is a cruel torture, of whose nature he is fully aware (Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.47–52):

> And through the midst of his saddened friends the remarkable exile made haste, all the same knowing what the barbarian torturer had in store; however not otherwise did he move aside kinsmen blocking his way and the populace delaying his return.
>
> *interque maerentis amicos*
> *egregius properaret exul.*
>
> *atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus*
> *tortor pararet; non aliter tamen*
> *dimouit obstantis propinquos*
> *et populum reditus morantem.*

The preceding stanza has shown the normal structure of the life that Regulus is leaving behind—family, *familiares*, popular support—but the entire scenario takes its poignant effect from the coincidence of our proleptic knowledge with the subject's own state of knowledge. It is the conclusion, but simultaneously the beginning of an *exemplum*, and its force derives from the insertion of Regulus' historically fabricated speech into a timeless scenario, and the enlargement of its significance from a single figure to encompass the essence of *Romanitas*. But let us look a little further at Regulus.

Reception bears witness to the two points of Regulus' return. I begin with Benjamin West's historical departure from the senate house, painted, it is said, at the behest of King George III in 1769 (Figure 1). The king, who was no mean classicist, suggested the subject as one that had not yet been well represented and the painter took it up as an opportunity to indulge his well-liked grand style. My source said that the king read to the painter from Livy[4]—it would be a singular volume that the royal library housed, but no matter, because the details of West's painting correspond nicely to Horace; I note the pointer figure who calls attention to the stricken matron on whose emotion Regulus turns his back. Opposite in every respect to West's full-figured historical drama is the vision that Turner gives in his 1828 'Regulus', reworked in 1837 and now at the Tate (Figure 2). Although its subject links it with Turner's Carthage series, it

4 Von Erffa and Staly 1986, 47–49.

FIGURE 10.1 *Benjamin West,* The Departure of Regulus *(1769); oil on canvas; RCIN 405416. Photo Credit: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2013*

comes ten years later than the two that show the city in its glory and decline. The place of course is not Carthage, but Rome; the flooding luminosity I have seen not inaptly described as 'one of the most uncompromising depictions of light Turner ever attempted'.[5] The human figures are small, and only partially articulated as in many of Turner's large historical scenes, but one may raise the question, Where in the painting is Regulus? To this I have seen two answers given, one being that he is a small figure in white being led down steps at the right—perhaps not alone, but the companions are hard to identify. A more radical interpretation, however, asserts that Regulus is not in the picture at all, but rather we look with Regulus' own vision at the focused white glare that stands at once for Carthage, his destination and his torture.[6] Given the narrative moment, I think the meaning must be both destination and destiny, which of course the viewer supplies, but Regulus knows full well.[7] Consequently one

5 Smiles 2007, 99.
6 Brown 2002, 136.
7 I'm curious as to where Turner took his conception from. Smiles 2007, 94 also mentions Livy

FIGURE 10.2 *Joseph Mallord William Turner,* Regulus *(1828, reworked 1837); oil on canvas; Tate Gallery, London. Photo Credit: Tate, London / Art Resource, NY*

might think that Turner fills out wordlessly that indeterminacy of Horace's ode which is the meeting point between Regulus' knowledge and that of the reader.

But ambiguity or doubleness is nothing unusual in the story of Regulus, as we can see in turning back to *Ode* 3.5 where Horace has made him an exemplar in the fullest sense, which is to say not only that he performs a publically visible and memorable act but also that his act is deployed for the sake of contrast and exhortation. As Augustus, it appears, is aiming a campaign toward Parthia, the poem questions the state of the Roman captives of Carrhae, soldiers who suffered defeat under Crassus in 53 BCE. Have they subsequently, so to speak, gone native, shaming their Roman masculinity by taking wives as they grow old in their captor's service,[8] forgetting the toga, the Roman divinities, the still

but additionally a *History of the Romans* by Oliver Goldsmith that Turner had in his library, which seems a likely possibility.

8 Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.6–8: 'grown old in the fields of their enemy fathers-in-law' (*hostium consenuit socerum in arvis*). In justification for *arvis* (which I prefer) as against the more common

unharmed city itself?[9] Rather than answering this politically charged question, Horace turns to the past. Once glimpsed, these Roman captives disappear behind the figure of Regulus, who foresaw such losses of Roman identity when his own soldiers at Carthage underwent a similar fate and argued that they should not be ransomed or redeemed. Horace's lines of transition between present and past show Regulus looking to the future exactly as an exemplary figure should do; he foresees the long-lasting consequences of setting mistaken precedent (Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.13–18):

> The far-seeing mind of Regulus was wary of this in disagreement with disgraceful conditions and a precedent dragging disaster into time to come if the captured youth did not perish without compassion.

> *hoc cauerat mens prouida Reguli*
> *dissentientis condicionibus*
> *foedis et exemplo trahenti*
> *perniciem ueniens in aeuum,*
>
> *si non periret inmiserabilis*
> *captiva pubes.*

Indeed Regulus' statement 'let the captive youth perish undeserving of pity' would seem bloodless were it not the case that their mere degradation of status stood in stark contrast to his own voluntarily elected fate. The expatriation of the prisoners may be humiliating to them and to Rome, yet Rome itself is redeemed by his own unyielding act.

Why should Regulus do it? Needless to say not only the analogy with Carrhae, but even the perception and the arguments are entirely Horatian, as their disagreement with parallel sources can show. But Horace's innovated analogy

armis Bailey cites line 23 where the captives in Carthage are indisputably working the fields, to which it may be added that there is no evidence that Crassus' soldiers actually fought as Parthian soldiers. Nisbett and Rudd 2004, 79–84 find arguments why such conscription might have occurred. But historical validation is of less importance than contextual symbolism; whichever reading is preferred, the point is service or enslavement.

9 Lowrie 1997, 243–244 addresses the potential indirect implications as a critique of Crassus' soldiers who allowed themselves to be conquered, but with a notion that their failure can be redeemed by Augustus' pending recovery of Crassus' lost standards. Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 79–82 propose the opposite: that Horace's aim was to dissuade Augustus from pursuing a Parthian campaign for the purpose of recovering the standards.

shows one striking omission. In virtually all other literary representations, Regulus has given an oath to return to Carthage should he fall short of effecting a prisoner exchange; but no oath appears in Horace's poem, and peeling back sources to look for it gives us other singularities in a notably different account of Regulus' mission and its meaning. For in Cicero's *De officiis* 3.99–115 which contains his most extended treatment of Regulus, an oath not only figures but is also the central tenet of exemplarity as embedded within different circumstances and offering a different rationale from that of Horace's Regulus. In Cicero's account it is not a contingent of Romans up for ransom, but a posse of noble Carthaginians who are to be exchanged for Regulus himself. Here Regulus' arguments have less to do with Romans held prisoner in Carthage than with the value of these captive enemy stalwarts to the Carthaginian offensive should they be sent back in contrast with his own aged self. I'll come back later to the variants of this event. For the moment let me focus on the contrasting configurations of the parties proposed for ransom: Romans or Carthaginians. Both Horace and Cicero have elaborated specific components of the Regulus mission which other historical sources, as for example Florus, (representing Livy?) call simply a *commutatio captivorum*, 'prisoner exchange', presumably of one side for another, which might even be seen as a move toward a treaty (Flor. 1.18.23–26):

> But he was indeed equal to such a disaster; for he was neither broken by the Punic prison nor coopted by his mission. For he thought otherwise than the enemy had mandated that a truce should not come about nor should he be received in a prisoner exchange. But neither in his voluntary return to the enemy nor in the final punishment, whether it was of prison or of cross, was his dignity lowered; but rather for all these was the more admirable; how other did he triumph than as a victor over the victorious, indeed he triumphed over fortune, since Carthage had not surrendered. However the Roman people were far keener and more insistent on behalf of vengeance for Regulus than on behalf of victory.
>
> *sed ille quidem par tantae calamitati fuit; nam nec Punico carcere infractus est nec legatione suscepta. quippe diversa quam hostis mandaverat censuit ne pax fieret, ne commutatio captivorum reciperetur. sed nec illo voluntario ad hostis suos reditu nec ultimo sive carceris seu crucis supplicio deformata maiestas; immo his omnibus admirabilior quid aliud quam victor de victoribus atque etiam, quia Carthago non cesserat, de fortuna triumphavit? populus autem Romanus multo acrior intentiorque pro ultione Reguli quam pro victoria fuit.*

2 Problems of Historicity

Let this for the moment be Regulus' finest hour, for, as I have already mentioned, the question can be raised whether this aftermath of his capture ever happened at all. Polybius' very critical presentation includes no mission to Rome and no oath leading to torture. Regulus simply falls out of the narrative and Drummond in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* suggests that he may have died of natural causes in the obscurity of a Carthaginian prison.[10]

Given this blackout one wants to ask: where did the exemplarity of Regulus originate? As Matthew Roller has demonstrated, virtually any exemplary paradigm entails multiple variations,[11] but this seems to be a singular transformative case. Into this lacuna let me insert what I might call the dark side of Regulus with a look at versions of his capture and a number of other associated details very much out of keeping with the nobility of the stalwart oath-keeper. Assuredly Regulus the personage is no fabrication. Following Polybius' straightforward historical account of his activities in the First Punic War, we see him in 256 BCE as suffect consul, invading Carthage and capturing two cities for which he celebrated a triumph. Returning shortly afterward, in a second bold essay he pushed his success to the gates of Carthage where he was advantageously positioned to negotiate a treaty that might even have ended the war save that its conditions were so harsh that the Carthaginians preferred to continue fighting, and Regulus was captured in a trick by Carthage's Spartan ally Xanthippus (Polyb. 1.25–29.10). So the battles of Regulus are no less real than the two significant naval victories of the war by C. Duilius at Mylae and Q. Lutatius Catulus at the Aegates Islands which did turn the tide toward a final truce. In a recent article Gendre and Loutsch contrast Regulus' posthumous elevation to exemplarity with the comparative neglect of his coeval Duilius whose victory brought him material honors but no such lasting fame.[12] More recently Roller

10 Drummond 1996, 207. Likewise Dyck 1996, 619 cites 'a consensus of historians' to the effect that Regulus' mission never occurred, yet 'consensus' does not include Livy who, as transmitted by Florus (above, 249) is obviously not following Polybius yet may well have taken his cue either from Cicero or from Horace. Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 80–82 note Polybius' omission, while suggesting that it might well have derived from an unfriendly source so that it seems best to 'suspend judgment' about Regulus' death.

11 Roller 2004.

12 See Gendre and Loutsch 2001, 136 on Duilius: 'His only claim to glory consists in his having been the first to bring home a naval victory; this exploit has paid out its worth for him in *gloria*. But Duilius has no outstanding mark of individuality and his personality has escaped posterity. If succeeding generations have not forgotten him, it is because the statue erected in the forum to honor him, is there to recall his achievement.'

has shown from historical treatments that Duilius was in fact recognized and rewarded as a far more standard exemplary figure. As a 'first person who …' he invented a nautical grappling technique that destroyed the enemy fleet with a victory appropriately enfigured by the *columna rostrata* which gained a conspicuous place in the Forum.[13] Additionally he was furnished with an honorary dinner retinue comprising a flute player and torch bearer, which according to some sources he retained for the remainder of his life.[14] Unlike Regulus he was inducted into the company of Augustan *summi viri*. As for Catulus, the evidence for whose successful battle undersea archaeology has recently brought to light,[15] he has the conclusive treaty to his credit, but also a monument in the form of Largo Argentina A, the Temple of Juturna.[16] But each of these successes has its slight failing. For Duilius it might be the lifetime retention of the pretentious dinner procession.[17] Catulus has a more serious mark against him in that his actual responsibility for the victory was challenged by his praetor, Q. Valerius, who claimed to have commanded the vessel while Catulus lay sick.[18] Nevertheless, as naval victors they stand out against Publius Claudius whose calamitous defeat at Drepanum was the first Roman setback of the war, and even attributed to typical Claudian arrogance in his having sailed into battle in defiance of the auspice of the sacred chickens (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.7).[19] So Regulus' permutations may situate him in between these three contemporaries

13 Roller 2009, 219–229, discusses the concept of 'firstness' in actions that go beyond others, but are rendered 'exemplary' because of their ultimate reaffirmation of traditional values.

14 This too, as Roller 2009, 221 observes, constitutes a distinctively unparalled form of monumentality which, for viewers, might be cross-referenced with the material column to create a network of information and reception.

15 Curry 2012, 32–37. Most conspicuously the evidence recovered includes bronze battering rams from the prows of the warships, but there are also bronze helmets and other weapons.

16 Champeaux 1987, 157 n. 18.

17 Roller 2009, 219–229. Details of the elaborateness and the duration of the tribute vary from a one-time occasion to a life-long institution, but so do responses. Cicero's Cato, who claims to remember seeing the ego-gratifying procession in his boyhood, calls it extravagant (Cic. *Sen.* 44: 'so obligated to license is glory', *tantum licentiae debet gloria*) but Florus is even more sharply critical of this 'everyday triumph' (1.18.10).

18 Val. Max. 2.8.2 gives a detailed account of the legal contest over the credit for this victory between C. Lutatius, consul, and Q. Valerius, praetor, as a milestone in the adjudication of triumphal law.

19 Notoriously ordering them thrown overboard with the remark, 'If they won't eat, let them drink'. But *Div.* 1.29, 2.71 says simply that he defied the auspices, although 1.28 does mention augury by the sign of the chickens.

with his climactic failures ascribed to military arrogance, over-confidence and a craving for glory. Livy's Hannibal himself makes this point in a speech on the verge of his own defeat as he recalls how Regulus' unacceptable peace terms had given his own nation its second chance (Livy 30.30.23):

> And formerly M. Atilius Regulus would have been among rare examples of *virtus* in this same country if he, as victor, had granted peace to our ancestors, but by establishing no limit to his success and not restraining the fortune rushing him forward, the higher he was borne upwards, so much the more severely he descended.
>
> *inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam quanto altius elatus erat eo foedius corruit.*

This speech may well echo Polybius, but several sources underscore the error of Regulus' bold conduct and his arrogant conditions for surrender. As Polybius (2.31.8) put it, he got what he deserved.[20] In similar vein but even more condemnatory is Diodorus Siculus, who portrays a victor so carried away with his success as to forget human fortune, imposing conditions tantamount to slavery, in a manner that 'failed to observe the *ethos* of his country and to guard against divine retribution' (Diod. Sic. 23.12). But such retribution as he describes it in lurid terms combined physical with psychological torture.[21] And continuing with the dark side of Regulus, even his mission to Rome when we first seem to encounter it in Gellius' citations from Sempronius Tuditanus (Gell. *NA* 7.4) is tainted, for along with his arguments that captive Carthaginians should not be exchanged he accuses the Carthaginians of having pre-determined his death by a slow-acting poison that would allow him to live only until the exchange could be brought about. When he dies in Carthage of sleep-deprivation, his two sons take their requital by torturing noble Carthaginians held at Rome with the same cruel sleep-deprivation that their *paterfamilias* had suffered, in a chest lined

20 Minunno 2005, 219–221 calls the entire story of the embassy and its consequences plausible within the historical context of events and gives possible reasons for Polybius' omission and unsympathetic judgment such as, e.g., his having followed a source written by a member of a family inimical to the Atilii; but he also speculates a beginning for the legend in a drama of Livius Andronicus.

21 Cf. Zonar. 8.13: Not only is he imprisoned and kept on a minimal food allowance, but also terrorized by repeated confrontation with an elephant.

with murex shells.[22] Diodorus (24.12) adds Regulus' loving wife to the avengers with punishments so inhumane that a tribune had to intervene. Drummond has even suggested that it was this action that gave rise to the story of Regulus' own torture.[23] But Livy, at least by Florus' evidence, seems to have omitted this debacle, moving directly from Regulus' mission to the popular admiration and favor that his sacrifice gained (Flor. 1.18.17–26). In this reflection of popular acclamation can be seen a valuation of Regulus that ultimately stands comparison with the two successful commanders of the war because their victories were self-contained achievements within particular circumstances, whereas his action formed a precedent for imitation or a standard by which to measure failures of imitation.[24]

3 Accretions of Exemplarity

Therefore, whereas the historical probability of Regulus' actions may not offer positive models of Roman conduct, the afterlife of his story, whatever the grounding, shows exemplarity in action—that is to say, instances of interaction between the figure and his world, making it seem as if it might be the very open-endedness or uncertainty of his story that effects his canonization in fulfillment of a number of paradigmatic categories whose sum total serves to invest our reconfigured hero with a personality as well as a legend. To outline these, irrespective of sources, and then consider their dynamics:

1. Question of keeping a sworn oath to an enemy.
2. Formulating a Roman philosophy on the ransom of prisoners.
3. Possession of loyal family members, and especially an interaction of father and son.
4. Paradigmatic simplicity in association with cultivating the land.
5. Overcoming a force of nature.
6. Endurance of adversity to become not only a model of courage but also a paradigm of the blessed or happy life.

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22 Gell. *NA* 7.4.4.

23 Drummond 1996, 207.

24 On the principle that reception furthers exemplarity, Roller 2009, 221–222 sees an explicit imitation of Duilius' victory in Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompey at Naulochus and the erection of a rostral column and gilded statue in commemoration.

In the remainder of this chapter I wish to examine a few places in which these items occur and then end with a glance at the connected narrative/digression in which Silius Italicus pulls all the items together to unite levels of time in what Tipping has called his 'exemplary epic'.[25] This indeed it is, in its exploitation of the many ways in which *exempla* can be interpreted and applied.

If the specifics of Regulus' torture appear to have taken shape in the late republic with Tuditanus and Quintus Tubero, the source of his oath remains less clear, but Cicero's multiple references appear reliant upon its being something commonly known, even though Horace could construct Regulus as an exemplar without it. Important in the representation of Roman conduct is the fact that the oath is given during legitimate warfare (*iustum bellum*) but also to the very enemy notoriously known for violations of *fides*, though that imputation is something that Livy's Hannibal protests (Livy 22.30.30). For historiographical purposes, the oath acquires its exemplary value within the context of an infamous failure of imitation that occurs during the Second War involving Hannibal's prisoners of Cannae, a bevy of some 8.000 survivors who had escaped the slaughter and returned to their camp, where they were taken. Ten negotiators sent to Rome to arrange for ransom with an oath to secure their return fail to persuade the senate; nevertheless, some or all find excuses to capitalize on their momentary liberation to remain in Rome. Cicero, Livy and Valerius Maximus are the primary Roman sources for this incident. Both Cicero and Livy appear to have consulted multiple sources seeking the truth of what really happened, discovering discrepant information as to the number who violated their pledge, the grounds on which they did so and their future fortunes in Rome. Their efforts to ascertain the historical truth reveal the instability of even recent reports and sources.[26] In naming two sources, Cicero attributes to Polybius the more honorable version in which only one of the legates defected, the others returning to Hannibal, but Acilius has them all remaining in Rome. Livy who does not name sources apparently found the same alternative versions, but provides a lengthy dramatization of two speeches in the ransom debate whose issues involve not only courage and policy but also finances, since the inequitable count of prisoners from each side would greatly enrich Hannibal's

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25 Tipping 2010.

26 Livy 22.61: ten went; all found excuses to stay in Rome; nine returned willingly; tenth sent back. Cic. *Off.* 1.39–40: ten made excuses and stayed; nothing like Regulus' oath. *Off.* 3.113–115: Polybius says ten went to Rome; nine returned to Hannibal; Acilius says ten stayed. Val. Max. 2.9.8: ten stayed but were disgraced by the censor M. Atilius Regulus, M. f.

war-chest should the exchange be carried out (Livy 22.60–61). But the failure of the embassy is the victory of the senate, whose severe judgment against prisoners is transferred from the members of the ambassadorial mission to the senators who refuse their request. The positive outcome, as related by Cicero on the word of Polybius (*Off.* 3.114), is that Hannibal himself suffered discouragement when this event gave him to recognize the spirit of the society with which he was dealing.[27]

Within the sections of *De officiis* 1.34–41 that set forth the parameters of 'legitimate warfare' (*iustum bellum*) and the sacrosanctity of fetial law (*ius fetiale*) Cicero contrasts Regulus' honor in keeping his oath even to an enemy with the dishonorable subterfuge of the prisoners of Cannae. More amply in 3.99–115 he positions Regulus as the pivotal figure in an ethical debate on the true meaning of *utilitas* that weighs selfish personal benefit against benefit to the state. As we may discover in a letter written to Atticus at about the same time that the *De officiis* was in progress, Panaetius had made controversy of this example in his comments on duty, setting out two categories of right vs. wrong and expediency vs. inexpediency and debating the guidelines for judgments when circumstances bring ethical values into conflict, as exemplified by Regulus' dilemma: 'To return is honorable, but remaining is advantageous' (*redire honestum, manere utile*, Cic. *Att.* 16.11.4)[28] As Dyck points out in his commentary, Cicero's analysis of the matter first shows Regulus with a choice between virtue and pleasure,[29] but goes on to explore the implications of his choice by untangling honorable *utilitas* from its false appearance (*utilitatis species*) in dialogue with some anonymous interlocutor (*quispiam*) who wants to defend the case for personal advantage. Given the ever-presence of young Marcus as addressee it is not hard to imagine whose likely interventions the conversation extrapolates.[30] From this point of view Regulus might simply have remained comfor-

27 Cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.114: 'Indeed the same [author] writes that hearing this matter broke Hannibal's spirit because the Roman senate and people even in desperate circumstances had been so high-minded' (*Qua quidem re audita fractum animum Hannibalis scribit idem, quod senatus populusque Romanus rebus adflictis tam excelso animo fuisset*).

28 But Cicero finds his discussion falling tantalizingly short on this matter which he believes that Posidonius has taken up more explicitly, hoping that Atticus can help him secure a copy of the book.

29 Dyck 1996, 623. Cicero prefaces Regulus' case with the example of Ulysses who kept, under duress, despite his attempted subterfuge, the oath he had sworn to join in support of Menelaus' marriage.

30 Cf. Cic. *Off* 3.100: 'It is the intrinsic quality of these virtues to fear nothing, to disregard all human concerns, to think nothing unbearable that can happen to a man … And

tably reunited with his family in Rome (*Off.* 3.99). Regulus argued against the exchange of prisoners because of their relative values to their states. Courage and greatness of spirit were his virtues. His self-sacrifice united honor with benefit to the state. At the center of his argument, Cicero nails the exemplarity of Regulus' action by placing it within the ethical code of prisoner negotiations as represented by fetial law (*Off.* 3.108):

> Indeed Regulus had the obligation not to overturn by oath-breaking the agreed-upon warlike and hostile terms. Since the war was being waged with a sanctioned and legitimate enemy, against whom there exist the entire fetial law and many common rights. Because if this were not the case, never would the senate have rendered back distinguished persons in chains into enemy possession.
>
> *Regulus vero non debuit condiciones pactionesque bellicas et hostiles perturbare periuro. cum iusto et legitimo hoste res gerebatur, adversus quem et totum ius fetiale et multa sunt iura communia. quod ni ita esset, numquam claros viros senatus vinctos hostibus dedisset.*

Commenting on this passage, Dyck points out that Regulus could not honorably have remained in Rome where capture had diminished his status.[31] Cicero himself knows the truth of this stipulation, as he says that Regulus could not have done otherwise in keeping with the ethical integrity of the times in which he lived when oaths were regarded as the most sacred of bonds (Cic. *Off.* 3.111: 'Consequently this praise is not for the man but for the times'; *itaque ista laus non est hominis sed temporum*) but he bypasses this mild depreciation in his final celebration of his subject's nobility (*Off.* 3.115):

> For it is obvious that those things which are done with a pusillanimous mentality, that is lowly, debased and fractured, such as would have been

thus ("Oh foolish man", someone might say, "repelling his own advantage") he denied that returning the captives was useful; they indeed were youthful and good leaders, he himself already wearied with age. When his authority prevailed, the captives were retained.' (*Harum enim est virtutum proprium nihil extimescere, omnia humana despicere, nihil quod homini accidere possit intolerandum putare ... Atque illud etiam ('o stultum hominem' dixerit quispiam 'et repugnantem utilitati suae') reddi captivos negavit esse utile; illos enim adulescentes et bonos duces, se iam confectum senectute. cuius cum valuisset auctoritas, captivi retenti sunt*).

31 Dyck 1996, 623–626.

> Regulus' deed if it had seemed good to him to state as opinion concerning the captives what was needed for himself and not what was needed for the *res publica*, or if he had wanted to remain at home, are not useful since they are reprehensible, foul and shameful.
>
> *Perspicuum est enim ea quae timido animo, humili demisso fractoque fiant, quale fuisset Reguli factum si aut de captivis quod ipsi opus esse videretur, non quod reipublicae, censuisset aut domi remanere voluisset, non esse utilia, quia sint flagitiosa foeda turpia.*

Here, he declares, is the conclusion of the matter, yet the climactic summary of the book's content returns to repudiation of that form of pleasure that can be given the false face of utility, but is wholly absent from any alignment with honor (cf. *Off.* 3.120: *sin autem speciem utilitatis enim voluptas habere dicetur, nulla potest esse ei cum honestate coniunctio*). Immediately afterward at the opening of the final paragraph, Cicero packages *De officiis* as a paternal gift (*a patre munus*) to young Cicero, and dependent upon reception for its value (*sed perinde erit ut acceperis, Off.* 3.121). Sending this bundle of *exempla* to Athens, the father notes its substitution for an intended visit (*Off.* 3.121: 'Which indeed would have been completed had not the country called to me with a clear voice in mid-course'; *quod quidem esset factum nisi me e medio cursu clara voce patria vocasset*). Because this clear-sounding call from the *patria* carried resonances of Antony's hostility, the resemblance to Regulus seems retrospectively not accidental.

The historical Regulus had sons, the children of Horace's *Ode* 3.5, of whom his namesake reached the consulship and censorship during the Second War,[32] but nevertheless in some accounts carries out the inglorious role mentioned by Tuditanus and Diodorus of torturing Carthaginian prisoners in reprisals that approximate the manner of their father's death. But Valerius Maximus allows revenge of a nobler and more elevated sort in the episode of the prisoners of Cannae (Val. Max. 2.9.8). As he tells the event, all ten of the legates, despite the failure of their mission, chose to remain in the city, but received a censorial note from M. Atilius Regulus *filius* in the name of his father ('whose father thought it better to breathe his last through extreme tortures rather than play the Carthaginians false'; *cuius pater per summos cruciatus exspirare quam fallere Carthaginienses satius esse duxerat*). Although the reference is probably owing

32 Whether he fought, and where, are uncertain, but he was in fact suffect consul in 225 and in 214 censor.

to Valerius rather than the younger Regulus, the pairing in which noble father creates a precedent for noble son could not be more Roman.

Four testimonia make Regulus the owner of a farm, whose modest dimensions place him within the idealized category of republican simplicity. Columella cites his own word of bitter experience that he has acquired land that is both pestilent and infertile (*Rust.* 1.4.3). Look before you lay down your cash. The poverty of the farm becomes a public issue when the general in the field hears news that his bailiff has died leaving his small family in extreme distress. Frontinus' account emphasizes the poverty which leads Regulus to petition the senate for a release from his command (Frontin. *Str.* 4.3.2). Valerius Maximus, who incorporates his story into the section *de paupertate* gives him a pedigree in the traditional inter-association of military and agricultural activity, citing another Atilius on the model of Cincinnatus who, when called by the senate to a command was found sowing seeds (Val. Max. 4.4.5). Our Regulus is of the 'same blood'. According to Pliny's *Natural History* (*HN* 18.20) an old family cognomen, Serranus, was derived from this activity (*serentem*, 'sowing'). Valerius' account makes Regulus' family beneficiaries of state welfare with a generous provision for wife and children and public restitution of lost goods.[33] Through this monetary valuation of a hero's worth, as Valerius implies, the senate itself establishes an *exemplum virtutis* of which Rome long after may be proud. Consequently this welfare grant to Regulus might seem not unlike the ceremony accorded to Duilius as a token of exemplarity.

Roman armies and commanders contend not only against human enemies but sometimes the forces of nature. The nature that confronts Regulus and his soldiers rises out of some darkly primitive time. As they approach the Bagradus River their progress is blocked by a gigantic serpent which cannot be killed by single weapons but requires a full-force attack with catapults and ballistas. Where does this serpent come from? Although the first chronological reference is that of Cicero's contemporary Tubero, it is unlikely to have been his invention. Beneath literary variations, the shape of the *fabula* suggests the early traditions of the War. Whatever its origins, the story appears strangely at odds with the norms of Roman military campaigning. As transmitted by Gellius *NA* 7.3, Tubero's account is only mildly sensational in terms of the effort required but specific in noting the serpent's size, for all testimonies agree that the creature

33 Val. Max. 4.4.6: 'At so high a valuation from our treasury was the *exemplum virtutis* of Atilius established of which Rome throughout every age will be proud' (*tanti aerario nostro virtutis Atilianae exemplum, quo omnis aetas Romana gloriabitur, stetit*). Sen. *Dial* 12.12.5 repeats essentially the same story.

when skinned was 120 feet in length. Even Livy, if we take it from Florus, includes the serpent, but Valerius elaborates with gusto (Val. Max. 1.8.ext.19). Now the snake blocks the path of the army; crunches a couple of soldiers in its mouth; bashes others with its tail. Unable to be killed by a weapon, it requires a barrage of missiles to lay it flat. Even the Carthaginians find it terrifying. The poisonous run-off so pollutes the neighborhood that the Romans must move their camp. In Zonaras' hand-me-down version the serpent devours a few soldiers (Zonar. 8.13). All sources agree that the 120-foot skin was sent to Rome, making this material item a verification of the story. Pliny recounts this detail noting that it remained on display until the time of the Numantine War—an interesting time for a relic of the Carthaginian Wars to go out of sight—but he calls it believable because of the large boas known in Italy (Plin. *HN* 8.37).

Puzzling as the event may seem, it is worth noting that its appearance in Tubero and transmission by later sources makes it coordinate with the unheroic versions of Regulus' captivity. Its growth through narrative embellishments might seem to answer to what Kraus, citing Cic. *Fam.* 5.12, calls 'exciting historiography', with reference to Tacitus' battle of Mons Graupius.[34] Asking about the tenacity of this improbable feature in Regulus' story challenges one to find meaning in the account. Conceivably it might simply answer a need to temper the commander's final failure with a degree of Roman heroic status. For Cicero Regulus' ethical value is sufficient cause for canonization; no preposterous monsters are needed. When Livy, i.e., Florus brings together serpent and oath-keeping, the physical victory might seem to predicate the psychological. In his comments on Silius' epic version, Tipping suggests that the poet imagines Hannibal as the point of comparison for the monster, but a more specific possibility might be seen as cross-referencing the imagery of Hannibal's reputed dream, as incorporated with variations in several sources, of a serpent monster that foreshadowed the destruction of Italy, but, paradoxically his own.[35] Nevertheless I think that Pliny comes closest to a cultural meaning when noting that the attack which killed the beast was like the storming of a town, the perfect act of a Roman military unit acting with available technology under expert command. As the last writer to recount the incident, Silius embellishes with

34 Cf. Kraus (ch. 9, 234) in this volume.

35 Tipping 2010, 72–73. Sil. *Pun.* 3.183–213 relates the dream with a reprise at 3.426–427. Yet a more recent recollection might also be the tradition of Hannibal's dream, after his destruction of Saguntum, of a serpent signifying the destruction of Italy which is preserved in Cic. *Div.*1.49; Livy 21.22.8–9; and Val. Max. 1.7.ext.1.

recognizable intertext. His reference to Carthage as an Agenorian city might call to mind Ovid's Cadmus episode, which the narrative does in places resemble,[36] but with the difference from all other serpent- or dragon-killings that Regulus does not single-handedly despatch the creature but only by leading a concerted military effort. Like Cadmus, however, his success is followed by misfortune, and—here to anticipate one item from Silius' lurid account—the identification of the serpent with the world of Africa serves as an exculpation of Regulus' ultimate failure, for necessary as it was, still this creature was a presence of the landscape, beloved of nymphs who mourn its death with no good will toward the invading Romans.[37]

4 Regulus Beatified

As transmitted by such post-Ciceronian writers as Gellius and Zonaras from sources contemporary with Cicero, it would appear that Regulus' African campaigns were already layered with elements of legendary status by the time Cicero, with no interest in big snakes or poor farmlands, began to construct his niche within cultural memory as an *exemplum* useful to the state. But what profits the state, is usually of advantage to Cicero. Looking back to the discussion in *De officiis* 3 of honor and utility within the context of Cicero's retrospective analysis of his own ethical decisions during and after the Civil War, we may perceive a deep personal investment in Regulus' example. By following allusions from the time when Cicero had returned to Rome from his exile to the dialogues of the late 40's, one can trace a kind of trajectory of assimilation to the matters much on his mind. A brief mention in *Pro*

36 Soerink 2013 explores the language of Silius' narrative treatment through comparative intertext with Ovid's Cadmus and the serpent of Statius' *Thebaid* 6.

37 Cf. Sil. *Pun.* 6.283–290: 'A heavy moaning broke forth from the river and murmurings poured along its deep waves; suddenly both grove and cavern and the echoing river banks wailed with the forests. Alas with what enormous losses we soon expiated that grim battle and what great penalties and what rages we inhaled. For the godly soothsayers did not hesitate to tell us that we had desecrated with our company a mascot of the sister Nymphs, which Bagrida fostered in a warm stream, and they warned of succeeding dangers' (*erupit tristi fluvio mugitus et imis / murmura fusa vadis, subitoque et lucus et antrum / et resonae silvis ulularunt flebile ripae. / Heu quantis luimus mox tristia proelia damnis, / quantaque supplicia et quales exhausimus iras! / nec tacuere pii vates famulumque sororum / Naiadum, tepida quas Bagrida nutrit in unda, / nos violasse manu seris monuere periclis*).

Sestio 127 suggests that the example of Regulus' selfless mission might even have been charged against Cicero in unfavorable contrast to the violent preliminaries of his own return from exile. Shortly afterward, with *In Pisonem* 43, he has brought the story into alignment with personal experience, when he denies any stigma of punishment to the sufferings of upright men, as witnessed by the plight of Marius in the marshes and Regulus' Carthaginian ordeal. In the dialogues of the late 40's surrounding the composition of *De officiis* Regulus returns to focus problematic relationships between *virtus* and adversity. In *De natura deorum* the Academic spokesman, Cotta raises the question of why gods, if benevolent, should allow harm to virtuous men, as when the Carthaginians tormented Regulus (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.80: *cur Poenorum crudelitati Reguli corpus est praebitum*)—to which the doctrinally characteristic conclusion is that the gods are problematic and difficult to understand. Other dialogues find meaning in the very fact of exemplarity as in *De senectute* 74, where the Elder Cato as ideally well-adjusted *senex* declares that a death followed by immortality is not to be mourned.[38] Two dialogues celebrate the impermeability of goodness in its capacity for transcending physical punishment. Thus in *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 2.16, where *virtus* is blessedness, Cicero as speaker denies ever having considered Regulus as *infelix* or *aerumnosum* on account of his greatness of soul ('Although his body was captured, he himself could not be taken'; *cum corpus eius caperetur, capi certe ipse non potuit*). Arguing this same point in the contest of philosophies staged in *De finibus* 2.65, Cicero calls upon the testimony of Virtue herself to invoke Regulus as a counter to an Epicurean definition of happiness, placing the patriot in his suffering against the physical well-being of a certain inhabitant of Lanuvium who models the *vita beata*:

> Virtue herself will speak for me and will not hesitate to place before your 'blessed man' M. Regulus, when indeed compelled by no force except the oath he had given to the enemy he returned by his own volition from

38 Cf. Cic. *Sen.*73–75: 'He does not think that a death should provoke grieving which immortality follows ... about which there seems no need for long debate when I remember not Lucius Brutus who was killed in the liberation of the nation, not the two Decii who spurred the course of their horses to voluntary death, not Marcus Atilius who set out toward torture in order that he should abide by the pledge given to an enemy' (*Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur ... de qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recordor non Lucium Brutum qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duos Decios qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non Marcum Atilium qui ad supplicium est profectus ut fidem hosti datam conservaret*).

> his fatherland to Carthage. Virtue cried out that he, though tortured by sleeplessness and hunger, was happier than the one drinking Thurian in a rose garden.[39]
>
> *Dicet pro me ipsa virtus nec dubitabit isti vestro beato M. Regulum anteponere, quem quidem, cum sua voluntate nulla vi coactus praeter fidem quam dederat hosti, ex patria Carthaginem revertisset, tum ipsum, cum vigiliis et fame cruciaretur, clamat virtus beatiorem fuisse quam potantem in rosa Thorium.*

Although Regulus is only one among many historical figures whom Cicero calls upon in his dialogues for the purpose, as Matthew Fox has recently put it, 'to produce a picture of Rome in which philosophical understanding can be seen to have a role to play',[40] his capacity for multiple meanings makes him stand out. As a representative of the way in which Cicero had come to be thinking about effort and reward when he turned to philosophy during the months of Caesar's ascendency, it may in the absence of evidence to the contrary seem to be Cicero who created the moral exemplarity of Regulus as we see it handed over to Horace for the exalted conclusion of his *Ode*. But of course Horace's unmistakable alteration of the stakes in his example inevitably directs our attention to immediate political context and provokes a question as to just what he had in mind when he equated Carrhae with Carthage.

5 'Exciting Historiography' in Silius Italicus' *Punica*

In Silius' *Punica* 6 we find all the positive segments of the story interwoven in an extended narrative whose overall framing theme is the transmission of an heroic mentality from father to son. Bypassing the documented son whose censorship during the Hannibalic War Valerius Maximus has celebrated, Silius creates a new son Serranus with that agriculturally based ancient name.[41] This

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39 When Seneca recapitulates this model of happiness in *De providentia* (*Dial.* 1.3.11), the anonymous decadent becomes Maecenas: 'Vices have not so far overtaken the human race that there would be any doubt whether, given the choice, more persons would prefer to be born as Regulus than as Maecenas' (*non usque eo in possessionem generis humani vitia venerunt ut dubium sit an electione fati data plures nasci Reguli quam Maecenates velint*).

40 Fox 2007, 48.

41 As Spaltenstein 1986, 395, *ad* 6.62 indicates, the name, and thereby the person, is fictitious. Regulus' historically documented son is the consul of 227 and the censor of 217 who,

young man is a wounded fugitive from Trasimene, depressingly haunted by his father's ill fate. He comes at once to the house of an old man who knows him from his looks, may even momentarily confuse his identity. His father is consciously a role model whose standard he feels he has fallen short of following, as he regrets that he has not found a worthy death in battle,[42] but his benefactor counsels a different application of the model; the lesson of his father is to endure (Sil. *Pun.* 6.117–119):

> Striving to ease him as he worsened all with his complaint, the old man said, 'In the manner of your father, bravest of men, let us endure whatever hardship and downturns of affairs are present.'
>
> *Cetera acerbantem quaestu lenire laborans*
> *effatur senior: 'patrio, fortissime, ritu*
> *quicquid adest duri et rerum inclinata feramus.'*

Eye-witness indeed, this loyal compatriot not only cast the second spear at the serpent of the Bagradus, but also, as fellow captive, followed Regulus on his mission to Rome and then back to Carthage where he himself suffered at the same time that he witnessed his revered leader's death.

Why should Silius have given so much space to this episode? The poem is shot through with flashbacks linking present time both to mythological and to historical time, but this is the longest episode and the only one that wholly preempts the storyline. As an invented incident it is strategically positioned after the disaster of Trasimene; its message is one of encouragement, not merely of enduring adversity but also overcoming in which it may seem as an early foreshadowing of the end of the protracted war. In this capacity it has a structural function, for the conclusion of *Punica* 6 engages a second set of flashbacks in Hannibal's viewing in an unspecified temple at Liternum a narrative series celebrating the great victories of the First War: Duilius' *columna rostrata* and his nocturnal banqueting retinue (*Pun.* 6.667–670); Lutatius' capture (wholly without compromise) of the fleet at the Aegates (6.684–688); Hamilcar chained in

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according to some sources, refused to allow the captives of Cannae to be ransomed, but Silius has given this one the name belonging to another branch of the Atilii.

42 Cf. Sil. *Pun.* 6.113–116: 'I declare by the shades that are my overseers that I sought by slaughter of the enemy a death worthy of the nobility of my father, had not a malign fate denied this death to me as formerly to my father.' (… *testor, mea numina manes / dignam me poenae tum nobilitate paternae / strage hostis quaesisse necem, ni tristia letum / ut quondam patri nobis quoque fata negassent*).

captivity (6.689–691). Some are speaking pictures, such as the image of Regulus at the very beginning pugnaciously advocating the war 'which he would have vetoed had he known what the fates would bestow.' (6.658–659) But Regulus' land victory also enters in as he marches his army through three cities to the moment of encountering the serpent (6.674–679). A subsequent vignette shows the death of Xanthippus with a slant that reveals a Roman rather than a Carthaginian sympathy (6.682–683):

> And Regulus, for you was Xanthippus paying out the delayed penalty of a deserved death in the sea.
>
> … *et seras tibi, Regule, poenas*
> *Xanthippus digni pendebat in aequore leti.*

The presentation is interesting in what Don Fowler has called its 'play of focalizations', the instability of its point of view with 'shifting patterns of empathy' which seems to vacillate from Hannibalic to Roman,[43] but the conclusion of the viewing leaves no doubt as Hannibal in his own mind formulates a rival sequence of his own major victories—Saguntum, his march into Italy and the defeats of Flamininus and the Scipios (6.700–710)—confidently ending with a burning of Rome (6.711–714), a conclusion that he anticipates by ordering the temple pictures themselves burned (6.715–716):

> Oh young followers by whose right hands so many great deeds have been accomplished for me, consign these remembrances to ashes and envelop them in flames.
>
> *o iuvenes, quorum dextris mihi tanta geruntur,*
> *in cineres monumenta date atque involvite flammis.*

While calling his study exemplary, Tipping does not claim monolithic perfection for the heroes of the Second War, all of whose successful commanders are famously exemplary by tradition yet can be seen to be 'on examination, significantly flawed'. Moving back and forth between Livy and Silius, Tipping notes

43 Fowler 1996, 67 finds legible 'points of view of (at the very least) the characters in the pictures, the artists who made them, the receiving audience of Romans in Liternum, Hannibal and the Carthaginian viewers at the moment described by Silius, Silius himself as narrator and/or author, the contemporary Roman audience of the *Punica* implied and/or real—and ourselves.'

the common strengths of Hannibal and Scipio as well as discomforting parallels with Hercules and Alexander by way of an ongoing tension between ambition for glory and needed self-restraint. As Tipping puts it, 'if Silius parades exemplary Romans, he also raises questions about their value as exemplars. Such representation prompts consideration of the exemplary status of the figures so represented and of the process by which epic poetry establishes heroic models'.[44] By contrast, Regulus can be idealized because he is seen through the eyes of a loyal adherent who even claims a share in his glory.[45] In this story the past assumes an almost uncompromised integrity that even the more successful present does not have. His narrative then matches the temple pictures; the two episodes counterbalance each other not only in their subject matter but also in their subjectivity, with the story of Regulus being a negative event turned to a good example by an engaged narrator, while the positive events of the war are made negative by Hannibal's mistaken interpretation and breed arrogant false confidence in an inversion of the proper workings of exemplarity.

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44 Tipping 2010, 198–199.

45 Augoustakis 2006 counterposes another view of Regulus articulated in the complaints of his widow, here named Marcia, who responds to the return of her son from battle with a tirade against the war (*Pun.* 6.575–588) which echoes her even more intense complaint (6.497–511) at the time of Regulus' embarkation to return to Carthage. Although Augoustakis takes this as seriously detrimental to the heroic image, his interpretation cannot fit the context of the presentation. Considered in the light of Hannibal's hostile response to the pictures at Liternum, Marcia's outburst shows that *exempla* can be understood from different perspectives, but her obstructionist view would also have doomed Rome. Perhaps this is the reason why Silius uses the invented son Serranus instead of the historically documented Roman magistrate of the Second War years.

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PART 4

The Present Distanced from Past Examples

CHAPTER 11

Agrippina the Younger: Tacitus' *Unicum Exemplum*[*]

Caitlin C. Gillespie

1 Introduction

In *Annals* 13, Tacitus recounts a rare occasion of spontaneous gift-giving, on which the emperor Nero presents his mother with objects inherited from his imperial past (*Ann.* 13.13.4):

> By chance during those days Caesar, after examining ornaments with which the wives and relatives of emperors had shone, chose a vestment and gems and sent the gift to his mother, with no parsimony, since he spontaneously offered extraordinary items desired by others. Yet Agrippina proclaimed that her wardrobe was not enhanced by these, but that she was deprived of the rest and that her son was dividing up possessions that he had entirely from her.
>
> *forte illis diebus Caesar inspecto ornatu, quo principum coniuges ac parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas misitque donum matri, nulla parsimonia, cum praecipua et cupita aliis prior deferret. sed Agrippina non his instrui cultus suos, sed ceteris arceri proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex ipsa haberet.*

Nero's gift is freighted with symbolic meaning. His choice of ornamentation owned and worn by past imperial women indicates that his mother should wear these objects in visible imitation of her forebears. The garment and jewelry have intrinsic value as luxurious, desirable items, but their prior ownership and status as part of the collective imperial wealth conveys a more specific message for the recipient. The gifts impart an idea of imperial elegance, while communicating Agrippina's role in the imperial household. Nero considers the objects a part of his inheritance, which includes his sole ownership of

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the most coveted imperial gift: imperial power. By choosing these items, Nero declares his independence from his mother, who guaranteed his succession, while simultaneously asserting his control over her. The historical importance of the gift is embedded within the fabric itself, worn by Agrippina's predecessors, and it retains value in Agrippina's present. She is the immediate recipient, and members of the imperial court presumably provide the audience that might view Agrippina wearing her imperial finery. Nero's gift incites a negative, although not unexpected, reaction from Agrippina. In her response, Agrippina recognizes that Nero, in giving a gift, is also rescinding her improper political authority; the gift widens the growing fissure between mother and son, by implying that Agrippina should not present herself as co-regent, and should, like the former owners of the items, remain within the domestic realm.

Agrippina's dress, an object inherited from the past, is already distanced from its original context. It has value as a mediating tool, and is intended to communicate Nero's position of power relative to his mother. As presented by Tacitus, it signifies the utility of the past for addressing tensions of gender and power in the present: the gifts, while elegant, are an expression of Nero's dominance within his household, and by extension his sole control over the state. This chapter explores the value of the past, as communicated by objects such as Nero's gifts.[1] Such objects may convey different messages to the imperial family and the imperial court, and to Tacitus' contemporary readers.[2] Tacitus' Nero manipulates physical objects connected to the imperial past as tools to convey a pointed message about imperial authority to his mother; Tacitus' characterization of Agrippina shows how and why Nero's gift could communicate this message so concisely. Agrippina draws upon images associated with powerful women more problematically than any other imperial woman in the *Annals*, giving public expression to her false hopes for imperial co-leadership. Tacitus' representation of her actions and appearances in public and private that contribute to Agrippina's imagery as co-ruler provides the focal point for this study.

Tacitus' historical perspective in the *Annals* allows for a constant interplay between past and present. The past both informs and challenges the present, and serves as a useful comparative device. In this volume, Kraus discusses the value of the past as a constant concern of Tacitus, focusing on 'distance-markers of poetic format/language, place and time,' operating in Tacitus' texts as a way to value the past and provide understanding of and guidance for the

1 On the idea of an 'ownable, movable past', communicated by the prolonged reuse of valuable objects known as *keimêlia*, cf. Reiterman (ch. 6) this volume.

2 Cf. Kraus (ch. 9, 221) this volume.

present.[3] Cordes, in her examination of imperial panegyric, provides a counterpoint to Tacitus' overall view that privileges the deep past over the imperial present;[4] however, Tacitus also provides a warning to his contemporaries, by privileging the era of adoptive emperors over the first imperial dynasty.[5] Julio-Claudian material culture provides a reference point for Tacitus' portrayals of members of the imperial family, allowing readers to compare images of the dynasty still visible in the Trajanic present with the actions of its members recorded in Tacitus' text: visual evidence provides another way of distancing the past from the present, and thereby assists in determining the relative value of the past for Tacitus, and for his readers.[6]

This chapter centers on the world of the imperial *domus* under Agrippina the Younger, as represented in Tacitus' *Annals*. I analyze the physical appearance of Agrippina as one way in which the historiographer conveys the empress' engagement with the *exempla* of her past. An overview of the imperial family's focus on portraying themselves and their household as models of Augustan values provides the background to the argument. Agrippina's public imagery in contemporary material culture shows an engagement with various models, although her agency over her appearance on dynastic monuments and imperial coinage is difficult to determine. Tacitus challenges the public representation of Agrippina as a direct imitator of her predecessors, and as a parallel model of similar virtues. Agrippina is the only imperial woman designated as an *exemplum* within the *Annals*: however, she is a singular model for her familial relationship to each of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Tacitus suggests that Agrippina's exemplarity is not intended for imitation. His characterization of the ways in which she inherits or emulates various aspects of her predecessors clarifies why. Tacitus' Agrippina alters her public appearance to match her current role: through her dress, Agrippina demonstrates her relationship with her past, and her perception of her current position of authority. Tacitus' Agrippina fashions herself after women from the republic and women of the imperial family, appropriates the dress of foreign leaders and receives praise and censure from different internal audiences as a result. Tacitus' portrayal of the empress exhibits a marked shift in the concept of female exemplarity and its literary efficacy. This analysis of Agrippina suggests two very different per-

3 Cf. Kraus (ch. 9, 228).

4 Cf. Cordes (ch. 12).

5 Kraus (ch. 9, 239) suggests that Tacitus' *Agricola* may be one of the first texts to celebrate the principate of Trajan.

6 Cf. Bassi (ch. 7, 184) in this volume for a similar discussion in Herodotus.

spectives on the value (and evaluation) of the past—one given by the character of Agrippina, and the other by Tacitus as omniscient narrator. Nero's gift gains additional symbolic power for Tacitus and his readership, given the presentation of Agrippina's appropriation of other models. Tacitus' characterization prompts the reader to reflect on the concept of Roman exemplarity as exploited by members of the imperial household (and presented by Tacitus). Tacitus uses Agrippina to reveal to his readers several ways to engage with their imperial past, and to reevaluate imperial models and anti-models. He thereby demonstrates the relevance of his historiographic project for his Trajanic present, and provides a counterpoint to Agrippina's posthumous image visible in Trajanic material culture.

2 Exemplarity and Images of Imperial Women

During his reign, Augustus presented the women of his family as models of virtue, who fashioned themselves after women of the republic.[7] Augustus publicized the traditional virtues and domestic skills of his wife Livia, sister Octavia, daughter Julia, and granddaughter Julia, including the claim that he wore garments fashioned by these women.[8] Suetonius records that Augustus had his daughter and granddaughters trained in spinning and weaving, and that the emperor advised them against doing or saying anything secretly, that might not be recorded in the daily record.[9] Augustus thereby encouraged conformity to the established connection between domestic arts, a modest appearance and an upright character.[10] Augustus' appearance in clothing woven by the women of his family implied that these women had instilled the virtues associated with female weavers from the time of Penelope onwards. Modesty and a lack of luxury characterized the general appearance of the members of the *domus Augusta*; however, not all women of this household followed the convention. Augustus' daughter Julia famously failed to meet her

7 On Livia's establishment of the new domestic model for imperial womanhood, see Purcell 1986; Jenkins 2009. On Livia's exemplary grief after the death of her son Drusus, see Wilcox 2006.

8 Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 73.1.

9 Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 64.2.

10 On weaving as connected to female virtues, see Fischler 1994, 117 on the epitaph of Claudia (*CIL* VI 15346), or the so-called *Laudatio Turiae* I.30 (*CIL* VI 41062), on which see Wistrand 1976 ad loc.

father's expectations, and her loose morals were connected to her manner of dress. Macrobius, in narrating a series of jokes Julia made at Augustus' expense, records that Augustus repeatedly requested that Julia modify the extravagance of her dress and her entourage.[11] On one occasion, Julia appeared before Augustus in a shocking costume that offended him, an outfit which she later admitted was intended for her husband's eyes, not her father's.[12] The anecdotes of Macrobius and Suetonius attest that a woman's manner of dress and adornment was perceived as an expression of her moral character, especially when this woman appeared in public; the women of the imperial household were meant to give physical expression to a reinvigorated republican domestic ideal, and their clothing contributed to the meaning of their self-display.

Suetonius' biography suggests that Augustus praised the women of his household as *exempla* during their lifetimes, giving public recognition for conventional female exemplarity. However, Julio-Claudian women were public figures, and their positions as such rendered their complete conformity to a private, domestic ideal impossible. As Severy contends, various elements of Augustus' administration and policies, including imperial propaganda and legislation that 'politicized family roles …, all conspired over time to make Augustus' family a state institution.'[13] During Augustus' reign and those of his successors, imperial family members crossed the boundaries of public and private, masculine and feminine, family and state, transforming ideas of where these boundaries lay. In addition to their public appearances and benefactions, imperial women were represented in material culture while living; their actions were not altogether innovative, but their commemoration and associated honors were unprecedented.[14] Women are largely absent from public imagery prior to the imperial period.[15] Augustus introduced public statuary for living women in 35 BCE, when he set up statues of his wife, Livia, and sister, Octavia;[16] Bell notes that this functioned 'as part of his bid to manufacture an

11 Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 2.5.3.

12 Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 2.5.5. On Julia's jokes in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, see Richlin 1992.

13 Severy 2003, 3.

14 Cf. Severy 2003, 31: 'Livia's actions themselves were far from unprecedented among the roles of late republican matrons we have just discussed; what was new, however, was the public recognition and commemoration of these actions.'

15 Kleiner 2000. Cf. Zanker 1988, Ginsburg 2006, 55 on the primary function of the iconography of imperial women as dynastic propaganda.

16 On the origins of imperial women in public material culture see Flory 1993; Hemelrijk 2005.

ideal model of femininity', which was exemplified by members of the imperial family.[17] Images of imperial women in statuary and coinage served as illustrations of specific feminine virtues, such as *pudicitia* or *fecunditas*, and associated these women with goddesses such as Ceres, Venus Genetrix or Cybele; these identifications show that imperial women symbolized ideals connected with family and statehood, including fecundity, modesty and motherhood.[18] The level of agency imperial women had over their sculptural appearances and representations on dynastic monuments and imperial coinage remains a matter of debate,[19] although public benefactions provided one area where an imperial woman could privilege certain imperial virtues. Augustus' wife Livia was praised as the new imperial ideal, and her manner of public self-display, as well as that of her descendants, continued to shift over the course of their lifetimes.

Agrippina the Younger was perhaps the most public and most problematic figure to appear in Julio-Claudian imagery. Agrippina's portrait changed in appearance and frequency of production throughout her lifetime, depending on her relationship to the current emperor. The development of her image is striking: whereas her appearance on dynastic monuments often follows the pattern established by her imperial ancestors, the number of innovations in her imagery causes her to stand out as a unique figure in Julio-Claudian material culture. The innovations in her portrayal run parallel to several imperial 'firsts' during her lifetime. In an early image, she appears on a *sestertius* from the reign of her brother Caligula; her portrait stands alongside those of her sisters, Drusilla and Julia Livilla, and they are identified as Securitas, Concordia and Fortuna, respectively.[20] As Wood notes, these are the 'first living women to be both represented and identified by name on an issue of imperial Roman coins'; they were also the first to have their names included with that of the emperor in public oaths, and to hold rights as honorary Vestals.[21] Agrippina's entitlements may have extended to her manner of public dress, such as the right to wear the *infula*, an adornment of priestesses, long before her eventual role as leader of Claudius' divine cult.[22]

17 Bell 2008, 17. Cf. Ramsby and Severy 2007 on feminization and domestication in Augustan imagery of empire.

18 Mikocki 1995; on coinage with women identified as deities see Giacosa 1977.

19 Cf. Alexandridis 2000.

20 Wood 1995, 461 and 458, Fig. 1.

21 Wood 1995, 458.

22 Wood 1995, 479.

After her marriage to Claudius, Agrippina appears on Roman coinage together with the emperor, and she is identified as the new Augusta on these issues.[23] Agrippina is figured as Ceres on coins and cameos more than any other divinity, and as a new *Mater Patriae*.[24] Ginsburg suggests that these associations served in part to assist in legitimizing her marriage to her uncle, and emphasized her praiseworthy attributes of fertility and nobility.[25] The titles explicitly connect her to Livia, her imperial model *par excellence*. In addition, the monumental arch on the Via Lata commemorating Claudius' victories in Britain displayed four generations of members of the imperial household, and cited Agrippina as Julia Augusta; this title further aligns her with Livia, the first empress to bear that name.[26] In contrast to images of Livia and Augustus, images of Agrippina from this era combine Eastern and Roman motifs, and depict the empress as essentially a co-regent with Claudius. Rose connects numismatic material that depicts Egyptian leaders to images of the Julio-Claudian family;[27] she is the first imperial woman to be seen in jugate profile with her husband on Roman coinage, and the image recalls coins of Antony and Cleopatra produced by Eastern mints in 39 BCE and beyond.[28]

Agrippina is visually aligned with her imperial predecessors in dress, position and sometimes portraiture, especially those of Livia and Agrippina the Elder. All three women appear in the dynastic group found in the Julio-Claudian basilica at Velleia; they wear veils and display postures associated with female modesty.[29] The replication of form implies that all three women espouse an upright moral character and similar feminine virtues, and deserve equal footing on this literal and figurative pedestal. The repeated form aligns Livia with her descendants, and the ideal of the chaste *matrona*, celebrated by Livia, is implicitly repeated as well.[30] The form, dress and posture communi-

23 Ginsburg 2006, 69 on Mattingly and Sydenham I^2 126 nos. 80–81.

24 Ginsburg 2006, 84, 97–105.

25 Ginsburg 2006, 55–105 on 'Visualizing Agrippina,' and esp. 71 on her connection to Ceres as a way to legitimize her marriage to Claudius.

26 The Britannic arch of Claudius on the Via Lata was probably dedicated in 51 CE, on which see Rose 1997, 42; Ginsburg 2006, 84–85.

27 Cf. Rose 1997, Plate 1 (gold octodrachm of Ptolemy II displaying Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II on the obverse, and Ptolemy I and Berenice I on the reverse); Rose 1997, Plate 3 (silver tetradrachm of Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII, c. 125 BCE).

28 Cf. Ginsburg 2006, 58; Wood 1999, Image 8 (tetradrachm from Antioch of Antony and Cleopatra, 37–32 BCE).

29 Cf. Rose 1997, Plates 141, 143, 148.

30 The idea of replication of form as a way to communicate social identity and power is discussed in Trimble 2011; she focuses on around 200 examples of the Large Herculaneum

cate a similar character, displaying each woman as a positive model of feminine virtues, whose character may be venerated and imitated by other women. Individual portrait features, by contrast, differentiate the women of the imperial household, and become a way to visualize dynastic continuity.[31] The sardonyx cameo known as the Gemma Claudia portrays the two Agrippinas with their husbands facing each other—this unique image juxtaposes Agrippina's exemplary parents with Agrippina and her husband Claudius. The couples are depicted as similar models: both men wear the *corona civica*, and Agrippina the Elder is crowned with a helmet and laurel wreath, while her daughter wears a turret crown and veil.[32] This may have been a wedding gift intended to flatter Agrippina and Claudius; the parallels between the former, exemplary couple and the new leaders of the empire further legitimize Agrippina the Younger's new marriage and position.[33] Visual similarities in portraiture and form suggest a progression from one generation to the next, and indicate an inheritance of the moral qualities and character of the ancestor as well.

Images of Agrippina with Claudius are balanced by prospective images of Agrippina and Nero.[34] Such images concretize Agrippina's domestic roles as wife and mother, while also pointing towards potential difficulties in her level

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Woman statue type, mostly from the second century CE, and demonstrates how the aesthetics of sameness in this image illuminates relationships between people throughout the empire and visual culture. On portraiture as providing models for gender roles in Roman society, especially domestic roles of elite women, see Davies 2008.

31 E.g., Wood 1988, 421 shows that Agrippina the Elder's portrait was slightly altered, and a diadem added to her coiffure, in statues produced during the end of Claudius' reign and beginning of the reign of Nero; she argues that these alterations draw a closer visual connection with her daughter, Agrippina, and grandson, Nero.

32 Wood 1988, 422, Fig. 13. On the significance of a woman's head covering in public as a symbol of respectability and *pudicitia*, see Sebesta 1994, 48; Fantham 2008. The meaning of the veil in the public appearance of women of the *domus Augusta* is worthy of further study, as an example of a symbolic form failing to match an inner character. For example, Nero's future wife, Poppaea Sabina, appears in public wearing a veil, exploiting the image of the chaste *matrona* as a cover for her sexual profligacy: 'She displayed modesty and practiced lasciviousness; she went out into public rarely, and did so with part of her face veiled, either so that she not satisfy the beholder, or because it was proper thus' (*modestiam praeferre et lascivia uti; rarus in publicum egressus, idque velata parte oris, ne satiaret adspectum, vel quia sic decebat*, Tac. *Ann.* 13.45.3).

33 Wood 1988, 422–423; cf. Ginsburg 2006, 91–93.

34 See Rose 1997, 7 on the terms 'prospective' and 'retrospective' as useful to describe the imagery of Julio-Claudian dynastic statuary groups; Ginsburg 2006, 61 extends these terms to apply to numismatic imagery.

of authority within her household; several images stretch the boundaries of the assimilation between an imperial woman and a divinity, and show how innovation in Agrippina's imagery was connected with dynastic aims. Agrippina remains a positive model, but her appearance on the panels from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, for example, challenges a straightforward interpretation of female exemplarity. These panels show Agrippina as both wife and mother, who had a visible, active role in the succession from Claudius to Nero.[35] In one panel, she appears as Claudius' partner, joined hand in hand in an expression of conjugal *concordia*; in another panel, Agrippina crowns Nero as emperor, appearing as a divinity or personification of the *res publica* herself.[36] Agrippina also replaces Claudius' former wife, Messalina, on several monuments, and Nero replaces Britannicus, solidifying an image of a clear dynastic line.[37] In this way, dynastic shifts are reflected through alterations to prior monuments, and through the creation of new monuments. Agrippina was fashioned as a link in an uninterrupted dynastic chain, and this representation was consumed by Roman and provincial audiences.

Agrippina's role in visual culture as a positive female model is reflected in her numismatic portrait during the reigns of both Claudius and Nero, but the authority indicated by her image is contested.[38] On coins minted in Rome during the early part of Nero's reign, Agrippina appears in jugate profile with her son, just as she had appeared beside Claudius, or in confronting portrait busts that give equal prominence to both figures.[39] Although the emperor has changed, Agrippina's prominence in material culture has not. The early Neronian coins represent Nero and Agrippina as essentially partners in power.[40] Once Agrippina falls out of favor with Nero after 55 AD, she begins to fade from

35 On the long-standing connection between Aphrodisias and the Julian family see Rose 1997, 43–44.

36 On the Aphrodisias panels and Agrippina's representation see Ginsburg 2006, 85–90; Smith 1987, Plates VIII and XXIV; Rose 1997, 166–167.

37 E.g., Agrippina's statue from the Julio-Claudian basilica at Velleia; cf. Varner 2001, Fig. 8.

38 On the question of agency in imperial coinage, see Ginsburg 2006, 56 n. 2: 'Even if coin types were chosen by an imperial mint official to honor the emperor rather than by the emperor himself to disseminate imperial ideology, coins presented the regime as it wished—or was thought to wish—to be seen.'

39 Cf. Wood 1988, 421 on Mattingly I, clxxi–clxxii, 200, nos. 1–3; Rose 1997, Plate 36.

40 Agrippina's potential to influence her own appearance on coinage remains contested; Ginsburg 2006, 73 warns the interpretation of the coinage of 54 and 55 may be an example of 'scholars mistakenly imposing an interpretation based on the literary tradition of the numismatic material.' Cf. Wood 1999, 293–294.

view.[41] Images of Agrippina the Younger connect her to her imperial past and communicate her hopes for her imperial future. Her poses parallel those of her imperial models and imply a similarly virtuous character; however, innovations and shifts in her presentation challenge an assessment of her straightforward imitation of her ancestors.[42]

3 Agrippina the Younger and the Imperial Past in Tacitus' *Annals*

As was shown in the prior section, material culture offered one avenue for the display of *exempla*. The repertoire of virtues embodied by imperial women could be emulated by all women, although the emphasis on fecundity seems primarily intended to support the image of a stable dynasty.[43] The various aspects of female exemplarity signified by images of imperial women thus operate both to support the dynasty and to inspire the wholesale emulation of imperial ideals. Models of feminine virtues are set up for public consumption; textual representations of these women assist in anchoring public images to specific actions and nuances in each individual's character.

Images offer complementary as well as competing perspectives on the virtues celebrated in textual evidence.[44] *Exempla* in historiography serve to communicate moral ideals and shifts between past and present.[45] Roller's schematic definition of an *exemplum* links action, audience, values and memory: in his analysis of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia, he illustrates that exemplarity provided one of the ways in which Romans conceived of and gave value to their past.[46] Kraus notes that models are deployed in historiography 'as a means of understanding, negotiating, and representing past and present alike.'[47] Within this genre, *exempla* may respond to or cite their own past models, while solidifying social values in the present and future.[48] Tacitus rarely names positive

41 Cf. Ginsburg 2006, 72 and 78–79; Rose 1997, 47 on further innovations in Agrippina's imagery; Wood 1999, 293–294 on provincial coinage.

42 See Rutland 1978, 22 on the public interpretation of imagery as reflective of actual character traits of imperial women, and on the titles *pudicitia, sanctitas* and *castitas* specifically as representative of the majority opinion of the populace.

43 Alexandridis 2000, 11.

44 See Bell 2008, 12–14 on visual vs. textual exemplarity.

45 Cf. Bell 2008, 4.

46 Roller 2004.

47 Kraus 2005, 186.

48 See Chaplin 2000, 31 on Livy's *exempla* as arguably providing his early imperial audience

imperial *exempla*, and Kraus argues that this is in part conditioned by the principate, in which the *princeps* should be the primary and even exclusive role model for the empire.[49] The identification of imperial women as possible *exempla* is significantly more complex than that of private, domestic models, since these women are active in the public sphere.[50] In his *Annals*, Tacitus seems to have recognized the reification of women of the *domus Augusta* as emblems of feminine virtues, and narrates specific contexts in which imperial women displayed, transformed or subverted traditional ideals. Agrippina the Younger provides an enticing figure for the study of Tacitus' interpretation and representation of these subversions, as her use of models shifts and transforms together with her changing role in the imperial household. In Tacitus' text, the past gains value as a comparative device for the portrayal of imperial women in relation to their republican predecessors, and as a model against which to measure the women of Tacitus' time.

Tacitus' Agrippina the Younger proves an insightful 'reader' of her past, who models herself on a number of figures, including imperial women as well as foreign regents. Tacitus characterizes Agrippina as an *exemplum* herself, and succinctly summarizes her unique position in the *domus Augusta*: Agrippina, 'as the daughter of a general, sister and wife and mother of a man who ruled the state, is a singular *exemplum* to this day' (*quam imperatore genitam, sororem eius, qui rerum potius sit, et coniugem et matrem fuisse unicum ad hunc diem exemplum est*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.42.2). Agrippina is related to each of the Julio-Claudian emperors along different axes: she is the daughter of Tiberius' nephew and adopted son Germanicus, sister of Caligula, wife of Claudius, mother of Nero and, as Tacitus mentions elsewhere, one of the great-grandchildren shared by Augustus and Livia.[51] The idea that Agrippina is an *exemplum*, a woman meant to inspire imitation, is contradicted by Tacitus' application of the term: Agrippina's genealogical relationship to each of the Julio-Claudian emperors is incapable of replication. Tacitus' simple claim for Agrippina's singularity is that her role in an imperial dynasty is nearly impossible to repeat, an idea reinforced in his imperial present in the practice of adopting one's successor. However, this does not disqualify others from emulating and ven-

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with tools to respond to the political and social developments caused by the emergence of the principate.

49 Kraus 2005, 188.

50 See Feldherr 1998, 218 on the exemplary women who open Tacitus' *Histories*: these women espouse a private, domestic form of exemplarity that is contained within the unit of the family and has 'nothing to do with state-building.'

51 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.2.

erating Agrippina's character. Tacitus' classification of Agrippina as an *unicum exemplum* becomes enigmatic: she is the only imperial woman in the *Annals* to receive the label of '*exemplum*', and this identification challenges the reader to search for an embedded meaning. Elsewhere in the *Annals*, Tacitus portrays Agrippina as aware of her use of *exempla*, and demonstrates that her amalgamation of models from different contexts contributes to her singularity.

In labeling Agrippina as an *exemplum*, Tacitus recognizes that Agrippina's kinship to each emperor influenced her public image and her level of authority. Her advancement into each of her positions in the imperial household was accompanied by shifts in her imagery, as was shown above, and the repercussions of these different roles are elucidated in Tacitus' text. In both material culture and Tacitus' *Annals*, Agrippina is shown to display characteristics modeled primarily on Livia and Agrippina the Elder. Agrippina's fecundity is a positive attribute that aligns her with her mother, who produced nine children and is recognized for her fecundity on multiple occasions.[52] Her fecundity is also a means to authority, and Pallas highlights this attribute in promoting Agrippina to be Claudius' next wife (*Ann.* 12.6.1):

> Since everyone urged that the emperor should marry, it was necessary to select a woman distinguished in nobility, childbearing, purity. Nor was a long search needed: Agrippina excelled in the renown of her birth. She had given proof of her fecundity, and her moral character was suitable.
>
> *quando maritandum principem cuncti suaderent, deligi oportere feminam nobilitate puerperiis sanctimonia insignem. nec diu anquirendum quin Agrippina claritudine generis anteiret; datum ab ea fecunditatis experimentum et congruere artes honestas.*

Agrippina's noble past and proven motherhood are valuable assets in her bid to become empress. The ways in which Agrippina capitalizes on her nobility become immediately apparent in her acquisition of titles and honors similar to those of Livia. As soon as she is empress, Agrippina positions herself as a new Livia: both women enter the imperial household as stepmothers, and ensure that their sons succeed their husbands as emperor.[53] Although stepmothers were often viewed with suspicion, Agrippina attempts to overcome this debility through direct emulation of her great-grandmother. Claudius' adoption

52 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.41.2, 2.43.6.

53 Compare Tac. *Ann.* 1.5.4 with 12.68.1.

of Nero is modeled on Augustus' adoption of Tiberius. Pallas draws the connection between the two adoptions, and ironically argues that the emperor should 'surround the boyhood of Britannicus with strength' (*Britannici pueritiam robore circumdaret, Ann.* 12.25.1). The adoption of Nero is comparable to Tiberius' adoption of Germanicus, since Nero's potential succession is complicated by the fact that Claudius, like Tiberius, already had a male heir.[54] Agrippina receives the title of Augusta on the same occasion, a title that Livia inherited in the will of Augustus. 'Augusta' implies that Agrippina is the mother of the emperor, and indicates that she has an undue level of influence over the future of the imperial dynasty.[55] Tacitus' presentation of Agrippina's receipt of the honor is critical, and foreshadows the fall of Claudius and Britannicus.

Agrippina broadcasts her emulation and even rivalry of Livia when she buries her husband in a manner visibly reminiscent of Livia's burial of Augustus: 'Divine honors were decreed for Claudius and he was celebrated with funeral rites in the manner of divine Augustus, with Agrippina rivaling the magnificence of her great-grandmother Livia' (*caelestesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne perinde ac divo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proaviae Liviae magnificentiam, Ann.* 12.69.3). Claudius receives a spectacular funeral and the same divine honors as Augustus, but the spectacle is void of a similar meaning, since Claudius deserved neither the celebration nor the divinization. In this episode, Tacitus foregrounds the dissonance between visual honors and the actions required to attain those honors. Agrippina arranged the murder of her husband and then organized his splendid funeral. She becomes priestess of her husband's divine cult, attaining another role played by Livia. She appears to be emulating Livia, but her path to attain that position is stained by disgrace and murder.

In addition to emulating the actions and character traits of other imperial women, Tacitus' Agrippina uses her past as a means to gain, prematurely, public honors that were awarded to her imperial predecessors. Tacitus records that Agrippina, after replacing Lusius Geta and Rufrius Crispinus from their positions as praetorian prefects due to their attachment to Messalina's children (*Ann.* 12.42.1), raises her own status by entering the Capitoline on a *carpentum* (12.42.2):

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54 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.25.1: 'Thus in the household of divine Augustus, although supported by his descendants, stepsons thrived; Germanicus was brought in by Tiberius over Tiberius' own son' (*sic apud divum Augustum, quamquam nepotibus subnixum, viguisse privignos; a Tiberio super propriam stirpem Germanicum adsumptum*).

55 Cf. Flory 1988; Kolb 2010b, 14–22 on the definition and role of the *Augusta*.

> Agrippina also raised her own rank higher: she entered the Capitol on a carriage, which honor, granted to priests and sacred objects of old, increased veneration of the woman …
>
> *suum quoque fastigium Agrippina extollere altius: carpento Capitolium ingredi, qui ⟨ho⟩nos sacerdotibus et sacris antiquitus concessus venerationem augebat feminae …*

This passage directly precedes Tacitus' acknowledgement of Agrippina's singular exemplarity; by introducing her unique position within the Julio-Claudian dynasty with this anecdote, Tacitus invites us to question the extent to which Agrippina may have laid claim to the role of an *exemplum* for herself, and plays upon his readers' expectations and the implications of this term. Tacitus narrates that Agrippina is the active agent, who seeks and obtains an honor normally reserved for priests and sacred objects. Her adoption of the *carpentum* occurs prior to the death of Claudius and her advent to the role of priestess: she makes of herself a substitute sacred object, worthy of admiration and public veneration. The honor she obtains is not unique, and several members of the imperial family had already taken up this privilege. Both Livia and Messalina were allowed to ride in the *carpentum* during public festivals, an honor previously allowed only to the Vestals. Livia seems to have earned this honor after becoming Augusta and through her role as priestess of the cult of divine Augustus; Messalina, after Claudius forbade her accepting the title of Augusta, was honored with the privileges of the Vestals, including the right to ride in a *carpentum*, and appeared in this vehicle following Claudius' chariot in his triumphal procession in 44 CE.[56] Images of the *carpentum* appear on coins honoring Livia's recovery from sickness in 22 CE, and the same image appears on coins commemorating Agrippina the Elder: Caligula instituted games and sacrifices in honor of his mother in the beginning of his reign, and an image of her was paraded in a *carpentum* during the opening ceremonies.[57] Both

56 Rose 1997, 28 suggests that this honor for Livia was associated with her role as priestess of the cult of *divus Augustus*; cf. Ginsburg 2006, 60. See Suet. *Claud.* 17.3 on Messalina in the *carpentum* for Claudius' triumphal procession, and Wood 1999, 82 on this as an honor reserved for Vestals. Cass. Dio 59.3.4 mentions that Caligula granted his sisters all of the privileges of the Vestals, which may have included the right to ride in a *carpentum* within the city limits.

57 See Ginsburg 2006, 59 on Livia's *carpentum* coin, Mattingly and Sydenham I^2, 97, nos. 50–51; Ginsburg 2006, 62 on Mattingly and Sydenham I^2 112, no. 55, the *carpentum* coin honoring the memory of Agrippina the Elder; see Wood 1988, 410, Fig. 1 on this same *sestertius*

coin issues commemorated specific acts of piety towards the mother of the emperor, on which the *carpentum* functioned as a metonym for each woman's contribution to the continuity of the dynasty.[58] Tacitus' critique lies in the observation that Agrippina the Younger replaced political officials regarded as sympathetic to Messalina's children and appropriated a privilege that was not offered, choices that increased her status as Augusta and confirmed her political ambitions for Nero. By juxtaposing these two actions, Tacitus problematizes Agrippina's proleptic claim to an authority associated with the mother of the emperor, as well as her visible desire to be seen as an imperial *exemplum*. Agrippina's appearance visibly aligns her with her imperial predecessors: the image is the same, but here it denotes Agrippina's unauthorized claim to a higher status.

In these episodes, Tacitus' Agrippina models her actions on her imperial predecessors without consistently distinguishing between attributes she should imitate, and transgressions she should avoid. She emulates Livia and attempts to surpass her model, following the precepts of exemplary discourse. In his narration, Tacitus utilizes dramatic irony to show that Agrippina is ignorant of the symbolism of her action, and fails to recognize that a similar spectacle does not convey the same meaning in a different context. Tacitus inserts his own commentary on Agrippina's character, editorializing on the results and implications of Agrippina's authoritative actions. His Agrippina also adopts less admirable qualities of her forbears. Agrippina's womanly *impotentia* echoes that of Livia and Agrippina the Elder: *impotentia* marks her as a woman who tests the boundaries of her authority, often in a political context.[59] Agrippina is *atrox*, like her mother, and this quality challenges her ability to maintain con-

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of Agrippina the Elder, minted between 37–41 CE; Wood 1999, 208 on the use of the *carpentum* during the games (cf. Suet. *Calig.* 15.1–2) and Figs. 55–56. See Wood 1999, 291–292 on a coin of Moesia-Thrace with Agrippina the Younger in a *carpentum*, and Wood 1999, 317–318 for coins honoring the divine Julia Flavia and divine Domitilla, modeled after the *carpentum* coin of Agrippina the Elder.

58 See Ginsburg 2006, 62 on Agrippina the Elder's *carpentum* coin: 'The allusion this *carpentum* coin makes to its Tiberian counterpart, issued in commemoration of Livia's recovery from a serious illness in 22 CE, illustrates the degree to which Livia in her own right, as the wife of the first *princeps* and as the Augusta, has become an icon who might confer legitimacy on later female members of the imperial family and, through the women, on later emperors.'

59 On *impotentia* see Tac. *Ann.* 12.57.2, 1.4.5, 3.33.3; Rutland 1978, 16 translates as 'lack of self-control and unwillingness to recognize and function within the bounds of limitations'. Cf. L'Hoir 1994, 6.

cord within the imperial *domus*.[60] Elsewhere in the *Annals*, Agrippina's actions and appearance reflect her utilization of Hellenistic and monarchic imagery, and her image gains new connotations when mixed with her emulation of her imperial predecessors.

4 Eastern Influences and Partners in Power

As was noted in the discussion of material culture, images of Agrippina combined Eastern and Roman motifs, and depicted the empress as Claudius' partner in power, as well as a symbol of successful motherhood and dynastic continuity. Tacitus responds to Julio-Claudian imagery that creates a false impression of a straightforward, hereditary dynasty in his *Annals*, critiquing actions such as imperial adoptions and inter-familial marriages that construct these connections. Tacitus presents the marriage between Claudius and Agrippina, uncle and niece, as a foreign practice that required legalization by the senate, rather than as a concordant union.[61] After their marriage, Agrippina acted with authority as Claudius' partner, and hosted a daily *salutatio* along with Claudius, just as Livia had done after becoming Augusta.[62] Tacitus is critical of this partnership as contradicting traditional expectations of an exemplary wife—even among the ruling family—and discusses two spectacles in which Agrippina displays herself as an Eastern-style queen before foreign and Roman audiences.[63] First, when Caratacus, a captive leader of a British tribe, offers a defense and receives pardon for himself and his family, he and his family offer equal thanks and praise to Claudius and Agrippina (*Ann.* 12.37.4):

> In response to these words Caesar granted pardon to him and his wife and brothers. And they, released from their chains, venerated Agrippina too, conspicuous and not far off on another platform, with the same praise and thanks as the emperor. Indeed it was new and unlike customs of old that

60 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.13.3 *semper atrox* (Agrippina the Younger), *Ann.* 4.52.3 *semper atrox* (Agrippina the Elder); see Kaplan 1979 on *atrox* as an attribute connecting the two Agrippinas.

61 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.6.3. See Godolphin 1934 for the suggestion that Jewish marital practices provided an accessible *comparandum*, and Smith 1963 on Greek precedents (esp. Sparta and Hellenistic monarchies) for Claudius' marriage to Agrippina and the betrothal of Nero and Octavia.

62 Barrett 2002, 167.

63 See Harders 2010 on the Hellenistic *basilissa* in Rome: she concludes that these Eastern queens cannot be considered positive *exempla* for the *Augusta*.

> a woman preside over Roman standards: but she was conducting herself as a partner in the empire brought forth by her own ancestors.
>
> *ad ea Caesar veniam ipsique et coniugi et fratribus tribuit. atque illi vinclis absoluti Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu conspicuam, isdem quibus principem laudibus gratibusque venerati sunt. novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam signis Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis imperii sociam ferebat.*

The foreigner's mistake is understandable, if perhaps shocking to the Roman populace. Caratacus assumes Agrippina had an equal role in assuring his pardon, based on the spectacle before him: Agrippina sits on a dais beside that of the emperor, and the image suggests equivalence in power.[64] Agrippina conducts herself as Claudius' partner (*imperii sociam*) on the authority of her ancestors: readers are reminded of Agrippina's unique kinship to the other Julio-Claudian emperors, and that her noble ancestry assisted in her bid to become Claudius' wife.[65] Agrippina legitimizes her position in the imperial household as the principal female in a government created *a maioribus suis*, yet her actions counter established custom (*moribus veterum insolitum*); Tacitus juxtaposes Agrippina's ancestors with ancestral custom in order to highlight how the two models come into conflict on this occasion, as Agrippina creates an innovative role for herself in front of the foreign captives.

On a second occasion, Agrippina participates in the performance of a spectacle at the Fucine Lake. During a staged naval battle, Agrippina makes herself visible by presiding over the affair and by wearing a golden *chlamys*, a Greek garment whose luxury is suitable for a foreign regent, and is rarely associated with Roman women (*Ann.* 12.56.3):

> An innumerable crowd from the nearby towns and others from Rome itself filled the banks and hills, the mountain heights, like a theater, with the desire to witness or in duty towards the emperor. He himself, distinguished in a military cloak, and not far off Agrippina, in a golden *chlamys*, presided.

64 Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.36–37 and esp. 12.37.4.

65 E.g., Agrippina is one of the great-grandchildren that Livia and Augustus shared (Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.2); notably, Agrippina the Elder cites her connection to Augustus in addressing Tiberius for his persecution of her (*Ann.* 4.52.2).

> *ripas et colles, montium edita in modum theatri multitudo innumera complevit, proximis e municipiis et alii urbe ex ipsa, visendi cupidine aut officio in principem. ipse insigni paludamento neque procul Agrippina chlamyde aurata praesedere.*

The image of empress and emperor, staged on their respective platforms, is that of a military victor and his golden consort. The *chlamys* is roughly equivalent to Claudius' *paludamentum*, and symbolizes both military and political leadership.[66] In visual culture, it becomes the mantle of the emperor and adorns the statue of Augustus of Prima Porta; in literary culture, Vergil uses it to 'accentuate' the leadership of the one who wears it.[67] Dido wears a *chlamys* on her hunt with Aeneas, a symbol of 'her leadership and independence as a queen, which she gives up for Aeneas'.[68] In the above passage, Agrippina's *chlamys* advertises her political leadership, and confirms Tacitus' construction of her as an independent *dux femina*.

Through their appearance, Agrippina and Claudius become part of the performance, as both take on the roles and costumes of military and political leaders. Their dress is part of the spectacle; Agrippina's appropriation of monarchic costume suggests political equality between rulers. Agrippina's self-proclaimed authority, embedded in the meaning of her dress, indicates a level of parity with the emperor that is unacceptable to her Roman audience. Claudius descends to the level of his wife, and loses all authority on the occasion. Their symbolic dress is empty of inner value, as is confirmed by the ridiculous outcome of the event: the waterway between the Liris and the Fucine lake fails due to its careless construction, and deeper digging and additional spectacles only result in further disaster.

Unlike Claudius, Nero becomes increasingly aware that Agrippina's public appearances have the power to diminish his own imperial authority, and are not viewed positively by the populace. Problems arise when Agrippina attempts to showcase her public authority in contrast to the desires of the emperor. Agrippina is prevented from repeating her actions on the defense of Caratacus during the reign of her son. As a delegation of Armenians pleads their

66 Kaplan 1979, 413 notes this garment is 'generally equated with the *paludamentum*, or military cloak, and as such it is a garment rarely worn by women'.

67 Bender 1994, 150.

68 Bender 1994, 150 continues: 'Dido's *chlamys*, a traditionally masculine garment, symbolizes her role as leader of her nation. Vergil ironically underscores her uniqueness in this respect when he has Aeneas present her with a *palla*'. Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 1.647–650.

case, and an audience of Romans bears witness, Seneca advises Nero to descend from the dais to meet his mother, and Tacitus notes that the semblance of *pietas* was intended to prevent shame (*Ann.* 13.5.2):

> Indeed when ambassadors of the Armenians were pleading their people's case to Nero, Agrippina was preparing to ascend the emperor's platform and to preside together with him, except Seneca warned him, with the rest struck motionless in fear, to meet his approaching mother. Thus shame was blocked by a display of filial devotion.
>
> *quin et legatis Armeniorum causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus escendere suggestum imperatoris et praesidere simul parabat, nisi ceteris pavore defixis Seneca admonuisset, venienti matri occurrere. ita specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori.*

In this episode, Nero takes Seneca's advice, and acknowledges a different understanding of the connection between his mother's public actions and the degree of imperial *auctoritas* that her public appearance implies. Although images such as the Aphrodisias panels display a close affinity between Agrippina and feminine ideals, and present Agrippina as the personified *res publica*, responsible for Nero's accession, Agrippina's public appearance and displays of *auctoritas* over Nero require more subtlety and moderation. Without the proper degree of control, shame may accrue not only to Nero and to Agrippina, but could taint the image of the imperial family as a whole. In order for the public image of Agrippina to retain its positive value, her public actions cannot falsify or directly contend with her representation as a model of feminine virtues: once the fallacy of her modesty and *concordia* with her son is exposed, the authority of the imperial *domus* is put at risk. The production of images of Agrippina dwindles, as do her public appearances, as Nero asserts his control over *domus* and state.

5 Nero's Gift, Reconsidered

In 55 CE, Nero begins his affair with the freedwoman Acte, and Agrippina's power suddenly diminishes. Neither Agrippina's reproaches nor her excessive humility fool the emperor. Nero's intimates warn him to beware of Agrippina's plans, and this warning returns us to Tacitus' description of Nero's gift, the passage that introduced this chapter. These objects become the means by which Nero illustrates his understanding of his mother's desire for *auctoritas*,

and symbolically denies her the true object of her desire. On this reading, Nero rescinds Agrippina's agency in appropriating and emulating her choice of models, and demands her conformity to the exemplary image presented by women of the recent imperial past (*Ann.* 13.13.4):

> By chance during those days Caesar, after examining ornaments with which the wives and relatives of emperors had shone, chose a vestment and gems and sent the gift to his mother, with no parsimony, since he spontaneously offered extraordinary items desired by others. Yet Agrippina proclaimed that her wardrobe was not enhanced by these, but that she was deprived of the rest and that her son was dividing up possessions that he had entirely from her.
>
> *forte illis diebus Caesar inspecto ornatu, quo principum coniuges ac parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas misitque donum matri, nulla parsimonia, cum praecipua et cupita aliis prior deferret. sed Agrippina non his instrui cultos suos, sed ceteris arceri proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex ipsa haberet.*

In this act, Nero attempts to correct Agrippina's self-display as co-regent wearing a golden Greek *chlamys* by presenting her with luxurious items inherited from Roman women of the imperial family. As possessions belonging to imperial predecessors, the garment and jewelry represent the public demeanor and imperial *mores* displayed by Agrippina's ancestors. Tacitus draws attention to the difference between coveted objects and the imperial power that is Agrippina's true aim. The magnificent items allow the wearer to 'shine' (*effulserant*), but Agrippina is less concerned about the monetary value and desirable appearance of luxury than about the power it represents. Ownership is equated to power, and Agrippina's share in this power only extends as far as Nero allows. Agrippina is meant to clothe herself in feminine, Roman antiquity rather than masculine, foreign finery, and to embody the attributes of the original owners embedded therein.

In his gift, Nero proves himself a careful examiner of his past. Physical objects become, for Nero, a means to communicate and correct his mother's understanding of her imperial role. The garments take the place of a vocal confrontation. Agrippina receives the gift, comprehends its message and is angered by it. The gift is meant to induce Agrippina to emulate imperial women rather than Eastern monarchs, and reminds Agrippina that Nero has official authority over everything that he has 'inherited' from his imperial ancestors, including his mother. Agrippina interprets Nero's spontaneous offering as a denial

of her equal ownership of imperial goods and imperial authority. Agrippina's rejection of the gifts demonstrates that, although Agrippina and Nero both use images of the imperial past as emblems of authority and of certain ideals, they have different ends in view: Nero desires his mother's conformity, but Agrippina strives to surpass her predecessors. Agrippina appears as Claudius' co-regent on dynastic monuments, and this appearance seems to match her public actions; in this passage, Tacitus narrates one instance in which Nero attempted to diminish the potent implications of Agrippina's authoritative image. Through subtle allusions to dynastic imagery, Tacitus portrays Agrippina as a woman who misreads her own symbolic presence in public material culture as representative of her actual roles.

6 Death and Aftermath

Agrippina's memory prevails among Tacitus' contemporaries, and is exploited in visual and literary culture. In material contemporary with Tacitus' portrayal, Agrippina was honored with an *imago clipeata* in the Forum of Trajan, a colossal portrait mounted in a tondo frame, set among some sixty other portraits of imperial family members, including Livia.[69] The tondo form was usually used to honor ancestors, and such images were placed in the atrium of a *domus*. By bringing this form into the public sphere in monumental proportions, Trajan showed *pietas* to his imperial predecessors and sympathy towards Agrippina as a victim of murder, and implicitly contrasted himself with tyrannical leaders such as Nero.[70] Agrippina's portrayal in Trajan's Forum has a categorically different function from that of dynastic monuments of the Julio-Claudian era. The appearance of Agrippina suggests that the memory of the Julio-Claudian women lasted into the second century, and that these women remained valuable and potentially influential predecessors. Agrippina's tondo provides a warning to emperors against tyrannical leadership: through this image, Nero is vilified and Agrippina idealized as one of his victims.[71] In his *Annals*, Tac-

69 Cf. Wood 1999, 302–304 and Figs. 143–144; see Packer 2001, 35 for evidence of portraits of Livia, Nerva and Agrippina the Younger (cf. Packer 2001, 65, Fig. 58 for Agrippina's image and 64, Fig. 56 for Nerva).

70 Wood 1999, 303. The pseudo-Senecan *Octavia* presents a similarly sympathetic view of Agrippina, who is presented as one of the past *exempla* in the imperial household that Octavia should look to for strength (*Oct.* 952–957 and esp. 952–953).

71 Tacitus also categorizes Agrippina's murder as among the excesses of the tyrant Nero and as worthy of his reader's sympathy (*Ann.* 14.12.1).

itus reactivates specific historical moments of praise and condemnation that contributed to Agrippina's downfall. His Agrippina provides a warning to imperial women of his Trajanic present, and partial justification for the practice of adopting one's imperial heir. During Trajan's reign, the emperor's wife Plotina and sister Marciana are implicitly contrasted to the Julio-Claudians in Pliny's *Panegyricus*: these women were honored as domestic *exempla* reminiscent of the republican rather than Julio-Claudian type, without public visibility or political authority.[72] The image of the women of Trajan's household given by Pliny is characterized by absence. They do not claim honors for themselves, remain within the imperial *domus* and are praised as domestic models of modesty.[73] They accept the role symbolized by Nero's gift to his mother and become positive models of imperial womanhood rather than *exempla* of excess.

7 Conclusion

Female exemplarity was continually evolving at the beginning of the principate, and the women of the imperial household confronted numerous problems in the interpretation of their combined roles as domestic model and public figure. Agrippina is unique for her kinship to each of the Julio-Claudian emperors in the imperial household. Tacitus portrays her as singular in her approach to and evaluation of her imperial past, a past that is seen as influential for her public image as well. Whereas her portrait was visible to Tacitus and his readership, her motivations behind her self-presentation, and her degree of authority over her public imagery, were not.[74] When Tacitus constructs a private moment of Nero's presenting his mother with a gift, he verifies the communicative value of material objects significant to the past: Nero employs lux-

72 See Carlon 2009 on women in Pliny; Roche 2002, 47–51 on the image of Trajan's wife Plotina and sister Ulpia Marciana presented in Plin. *Pan.* 83–84, and pp. 54–55 on visual images of Plotina as confirming her portrayal in the *Panegyricus*. See Cordes (ch. 12, 318–319) in this volume on Pliny's *Panegyricus* as an idealization of the present as a restoration of values of the republic.

73 See Wilcox 2006, 92 on Arria in Plin. *Ep.* 3.16: Arria demonstrates her virtues primarily within the home, but 'it was up to men to transmit them in public, published form'. On p. 74, she comments on Seneca's exemplary women in his consolations to women, whose masculine *virtus* is 'reactive and reproductive, as it relies on and supports traditionally defined gender roles'.

74 On the limited destruction and mutilation of images of Agrippina after her death, see Varner 2001, 68–69.

urious items belonging to his ancestors to reassert his *auctoritas* in the imperial present, and to encourage his mother's compliance with and public performance of traditional ideals. Through his characterization of Agrippina, Tacitus reflects upon the utility of prior models for public figures operating in a different political and historical context. Tacitus identifies Agrippina as a unique *exemplum*, and explores the value of this negative imperial model for his contemporary audience.

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CHAPTER 12

Si te nostra tulissent saecula: Comparison with the Past as a Means of Glorifying the Present in Domitianic Panegyric

Lisa Cordes

1 Introduction

Evaluation of the past plays an important role in the panegyric of the Roman imperial period: the comparison of the praised ruler with historical figures is a basic strategy of panegyric rhetoric. The most prominent instance is probably the contrast between the lauded *princeps* and his predecessors.[1] The image of earlier emperors may be used either as a negative foil against which the current *princeps* is shown to be different, for example in the *Apocolocyntosis*, in which the image of Claudius is used as a foil for the *laudes Neronis*; or it may serve as a model of the good *princeps* who is now not only equaled but even surpassed—here reference to Augustus is of most importance. Yet comparison with other *principes* is by no means the only way to contrast the present with the past. Characters from mythical prehistory and figures from the republic also play a role in the praise of rulers.

In the context of a study of 'valuing antiquity in antiquity' it will be productive to examine the use of such historical *exempla* in panegyric of the imperial period, as it offers an alternative approach to what is probably a more common valuation of the past in antiquity, namely to privilege the past over the present and future.[2] Whereas other genres tend to idealize the past, panegyric modes of writing glorify the present and in fact insist on its superiority to past eras.[3] Through comparison with historical figures, the idea is expressed that with the new *princeps* an era is beginning that exceeds everything that has ever come before and breaks the norms that had been accepted previously. In this new

1 See Geyssen 1996, 65 with further literature, and Mause 1994, 52.

2 On the valuation of the past in imperial Roman discourse, see the chapters of Caitlin Gillespie (ch. 11), Christina Kraus (ch. 9) and Maaike Leemreize (ch. 3).

3 In reference to late-antique panegyric, this point has been stressed by Portmann 1988, 205–207.

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era—so it is implied by the panegyric scenario—not only are the errors of the past avoided, but even its positive achievements are surpassed. In numerous passages of Domitianic panegyric, the present is glorified through a comparison with earlier periods. Thus Martial writes in *Epigram* 5.19.1–2:

> If truth be believed, great Caesar, no epochs can be thought superior to your times.[4]
>
> *Si qua fides veris, praeferri, maxime Caesar,*
> *temporibus possunt saecula nulla tuis.*

Statius addresses the personified *Vetustas* a number of times and calls on her to make a comparison between the centuries, and he follows this up with praise of the present, as for example in *Silvae* 1.6.39:[5] 'Antiquity, compare if you will the ages …' (*i nunc saecula compara, Vetustas, …*).[6] This panegyric outlook is the inverse of the picture of history found in Roman historiography, a tradition predominantly shaped by the idea of decadence and some degree of pessimism,[7] and it was therefore probably also the inverse of senatorial assessments of the contemporary situation. For precisely this reason, it is important to investigate the ways in which the panegyric texts try to broadcast the opposite view, that is, to ask which literary and rhetorical strategies are used to create a scenario in which the present is idealized.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall first investigate Statius' *Silvae* 1.1, and the historical *exempla* deployed in it, as an example of the literary and rhetorical strategies used to glorify the present. This first poem of the *Silvae*, on the *equus*

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4 Except where noted otherwise, the quotations from Martial follow the edition (1990) and translation (1993) of Shackleton Bailey.

5 Similarly Mart. 8.55.1–2; Mart. *Spect.* 6 (cf. Elm 2012, 252); Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.8–9; Stat. *Silv.* 4.1.27–30.

6 Quotations from Statius follow the edition of Courtney 1992; the translations are by Shackleton Bailey 2003.

7 Cf. Sall. *Iug.* 41–42; Sall. *Hist.* 11 and 12 (on Sallust's historical vision see Mehl 2001, 82–85); Livy *praef.* 8–12; Cremutius Cordus probably offered a similar picture (cf. Peter, *HRRel.* 2, cxiii, on which see Mehl 2001, 116–117). On the schema of decadence in Roman historical thinking see Mehl 2001, 202–208. Although in Tacitus we find the idea of a new *temporum felicitas* (*Agr.* 3.1; *Hist.* 1.1.4) and a *beatissimum saeculum* (*Agr.* 3.1), the promise of writing about these good times is famously not kept (see Mehl 2001, 121–122). On the pessimistic features of Tacitus' account of history, see Riedl 2002, 230–231, 390–392; on the debate over his model of history, see Schmal 2005, 131–134. In the present volume Kraus (ch. 9, 228–239) proposes that Tacitus' *Agricola* offers, on the one hand, a nostalgic recollection of the republican military system, but on the other a celebration of the new principate of Trajan.

Domitiani, is well suited for an analysis here, as it contrasts the present with a number of different past epochs. Further, in Marcus Curtius a figure from the early republican period makes an appearance and the republican past is thus explicitly contrasted with the present-day world of the principate. This makes it an excellent example for investigating how panegyric modes of writing react to the traditional, idealizing valuation of 'the good old days' of the republic.[8]

Building on the observations made in relation to *Silvae* 1.1, I shall then look at Martial's panegyric and examine his use and manner of presentation of historical *exempla*. The focus will again be on how republican figures are presented. As the value of the republican past relative to the imperial present was probably a contested point in contemporary discourse, it is worthwhile to ask how these early figures were presented, not least as this issue has hardly been addressed in research to date.[9]

Given the later negative image of Domitian as ruler, it has long been debated whether hidden irony, and hence criticism of the emperor, can be detected in certain phrases in imperial panegyric in both Statius' *Silvae* and the epigrams of Martial.[10] I will not address this issue in my discussion. As Ruurd Nauta has

8 Here the concern is, in the first instance, with the contrast between the imperial present and the republican past, but this comparison of epochs can also imply a comparison of political systems, as will be shown below. The question of the valuation of the republican past then merges into the question of the evaluation of the pre-Augustan republic in itself. Gowing 2005, 4–5 has pointed out that the term *res publica* underwent a change in the course of the first century CE, but for simplicity I shall nonetheless use the terms *res publica* and 'republic' to refer to the period of the traditional *res publica libera* up to the beginning of the Augustan principate in 27 BCE. That the establishment of the principate, despite its denomination as *res publica restituta*, was understood by contemporaries as an epochal change, is attested by Tac. *Ann.* 1.1–2 and *Hist.* 1.1.

9 Nordh 1954 investigates the use of historical *exempla* in Martial, but hardly touches on their significance for praising a ruler. Marks 2010 limits his study of Domitianic literature to the figure of Julius Caesar. Gowing 2005 does not treat panegyric poetry. For late-antique panegyric there are more detailed studies of the use of historical *exempla* to praise a ruler (Chambers 1968, Portmann 1988, Nixon 1990, Mause 1994, 26, 58–59, Felmy 2001, Chiavia 2007). There is a short presentation of historical *exempla* in Verg. *Aen.* 6 in Dueck 2000, 181, 187–188; and of *exempla virtutis* in Litchfield 1914 (with a detailed catalogue of the *exempla* used in Roman literature up to Claudian), Kornhardt 1936, von Moos 1988, 69–80 and van der Poel 2009 (on their use in ancient rhetoric).

10 Ahl 1984a, 1984b argues for a critical, ironic interpretation of the encomium in *Silv.* 1.1, in this connection coining the term 'safe criticism' (similarly Bartsch 1994: 'doublespeak'). Newlands 2002 introduces the concept of 'faultlines': these do not completely undermine the dominant discourse of praise, but do disturb it. Against an ironic reading of Statius' poem: Römer 1994, Geyssen 1996 and Nauta 2002. Hidden irony in Martial's imperial

emphasized, hyperbolic amplification, which for Quintilian is the most essential characteristic of praise,[11] always gives *encomia* a certain ambivalence.[12] Panegyric tends to the colossal, the superhuman, i.e., areas that may invite critical views, and so it always offers the potential for an oppositional, negative reading, as well as an affirmative, panegyric one. As the British sociologist Stuart Hall has pointed out in the context of his theory of media, the reading chosen when decoding a text is dependent on the cultural, social and political background of the recipient.[13] This is true of imperial panegyric poetry too: it is likely that the poems studied here were taken in a more critical spirit in senatorial circles than by those associated with the *aula Caesaris*;[14] it is also well known that the public representation of Domitian's reign was subject to a negative recoding after his death. Hall adopts the term 'preferred reading' for the reading of a recipient who decodes a text's dominant code in a non-oppositional way.[15] In the poems under study here, the 'preferred reading' is thus the one reproduced by a reader who takes the panegyric *as* panegyric, i.e., who decodes the poems with a panegyric code, in a positive way.[16] This reading need not represent the preference of the author. The question of whether the author himself might perhaps have preferred an oppositional reading must remain speculative in most cases, and—I note in passing—it may also change over time. When Martial writes under Trajan that his praise of Domitian was always dishonest flattery (Mart. 10.72), this is an instruction for how to decode the earlier epigrams, which are to be read with that premise after Domitian's death. However, we cannot infer from this later instruction the reading that Martial would have preferred at the time he composed the Domitianic epigrams.

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epigrams is still defended by Garthwaite 1978, 1990, 1993, 1998, 2009, followed by Grewing 1997 (with limitations: Grewing 2003 appears to reject this view entirely) and Obermeyer 1998. *Contra*: Römer 1994, Nauta 2002, Lorenz 2002 and Henriksén 2012. Holzberg 2002 retracts his earlier support (1988) of the 'safe criticism' theory.

11 Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.6: *sed proprium laudis est res amplificare et ornare*.

12 Nauta 2002, 425; on the topic in general 412–440.

13 Hall 1980, 136–138. Similarly Eco 1972, 134–136, developed further in Eco 1991, 197–202.

14 On the different groups of readers responding to the Domitianic poets see Nauta 2002, 91–141, 249–290, 356–378 and Leberl 2004, 87–112.

15 Hall 1980, 134–138. On the application of the concept of the 'preferred reading' to panegyric poetry, see in detail Cordes 2014 where I argue that in *Silv.* 1.1 there are many explicit references that have the potential to lead the recipient to a positive 'preferred reading' of the text (and of the statue described in it) and to preclude negative decodings.

16 Cf. Nauta 2002, 426: 'Panegyric is only possible on the basis of a contract between the poet and his audience which defines the context as, precisely, panegyric.'

For these reasons, in what follows I prefer to leave out of consideration the question of authorial intention and instead I interpret the poems as part of the contemporary discursive media.[17] Understood as discourse, they can be detached from the person of the author and, with their 'preferred reading', be seen in the overall context of the public representation of the ruling power. The analysis of panegyrical rhetoric can thus be given the central focus in our study, and through it also the analysis of the persuasive potential of literary techniques used for praising rulers.

2 The Presentation of Historical *exempla* in Statius' *Silvae* 1.1

2.1 *The Comparison of Domitian's Horse with the Trojan Horse* (*Stat.* Silv. *1.1.8–16*)

At the start of the first poem of the *Silvae*, Statius turns the recipient's attention to mythical antiquity by comparing the equestrian statue of Domitian with the Trojan Horse. But he immediately emphasizes that the present surpasses everything that has come before and that new standards and norms are needed to portray Domitian. What antiquity had admired for centuries is now replaced by something bigger and better (*Silv*. 1.1.8–9):

> Come now, let an earlier fame wonder at the renown of the Dardanian horse, known through the ages …
>
> *nunc age fama prior notum per saecula nomen*
> *Dardanii miretur equi …*

The present-day monument surpasses the work of the past in two respects. Firstly it exceeds it in quantity, as the equestrian statue of Domitian is larger and heavier than the Trojan Horse (1.1.11–13):

17 By 'discourse' I refer to a multiple speech-context in which an author is involved, though she herself is not responsible for it and need not even be aware of its structures (Japp 1988, 255). Following the basic theoretical principles of discourse analysis, texts are not to be understood as a closed system for generating meaning, but as 'aufgezeichnete Spuren einer diskursiven Aktivität' that occur within specific contexts to which the texts are discursively linked (Angermüller 2001). I thereby adopt the concept of discourse which underlies Martin Hose's and Therese Fuhrer's considerations on imperial representation (Hose/Fuhrer 2014).

> *This* horse Pergamus would not have contained, though her walls were riven asunder, nor would the mingled throng of boys and unwed girls have drawn him, nor yet Aeneas himself nor great Hector.
>
> *hunc neque discissis cepissent Pergama muris*
> *nec grege permixto pueri innuptaeque puellae,*
> *ipse nec Aeneas nec magnus duceret Hector.*

To give a vivid picture of this great size, in line 12 the poet first evokes the well-known image of how the Trojans dragged the giant horse into their city.[18] But the mention of Aeneas and Hector in the following line moves beyond the frame of comparison prescribed by the myth, as these two heroes play no role in the original scene, least of all Hector who at this point of the conflict was of course already dead.[19] Statius is using a general mythical atmosphere to enhance the notion of size and to stress all the more forcefully that Domitian exceeds all earlier measures: not even the greatest heroes of early times would have been able to lead the *equus Domitiani*.

For present purposes, however, it is above all the second respect that is of interest, namely quality: the statue and thus Domitian himself[20] surpasses the work of antiquity. While the Trojan Horse did harm, Domitian is a clement horseman who brings peace (1.1.14–16):

> Besides, that horse was baneful, enfolding cruel Achaeans; this one his gentle rider commends, on whose face it is pleasant to gaze, where marks are mingled; war it bears and gentle peace.
>
> *adde quod ille nocens saevosque amplexus Achivos,*
> *hunc mitis commendat eques: iuvat ora tueri*
> *mixta notis, bellum placidamque gerentia pacem.*

The assertion that the present surpasses antiquity in quality is an important aspect of praising a ruler that we shall encounter again in other comparisons.

18 Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 2.234–249.

19 Thus already Vollmer 1889, 217.

20 On the poem's identification of the image with the person represented, see Cancik 1965, 96–98 and Leberl 2004, 143.

2.2 *The Comparison of Domitian with Julius Caesar* (*Stat.* Silv. *1.1.22–28, 84–90*)

The proximity of the equestrian statue to the *templum divi Iulii* and the *basilica Iulia* prompts a comparison of Domitian with Julius Caesar. This comparison has been discussed in detail in previous research,[21] but to gain a complete picture of the use of historical *exempla* in the poem it will be useful to consider it briefly.

Statius first takes up the traditional perspective on antiquity, in which the deeds of the ancestors serve as paradigms for the present:[22] as the founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Caesar showed his descendants the path to heaven (*Silv.* 1.1.23–24), that is, he revealed the potential of adoption and deification as a strategy of dynastic continuity.[23] In the next lines, however, the perspective is reversed, for in other respects Domitian outshines Caesar, who must learn clemency from him (*Silv.* 1.1.25–27):

> From your countenance he learns how much gentler in arms are you, that find it hard to rage even against foreign fury, giving quarter to Cattians and Dacians.

> *discit et e vultu quantum tu mitior armis*
> *qui, nec in externos facilis saevire furores,*
> *das Cattis Dacisque fidem.*

That Domitian outdoes Caesar in the sphere of clemency is striking, given the famed *clementia Caesaris*, and the presentation of the idea is consequently

21 Hardie 1983, 190–191; Geyssen 1996, 65–86; Leberl 2004, 152–155; Marks 2010, 29.

22 On the special authority of Roman *exempla*, see von Moos 1988, 69–72.

23 The wish to stress the possibilities of adoption and divinization is seen by Hardie 1983, 190 as a reason for the remarkable fact that here not Augustus but Caesar is named as founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. For Hardie, the choice of Caesar as the counterpart of Domitian also permits inferences about the latter's evaluation of his principate: Domitian saw himself as a ruler in the mold of Caesar, more than that of Augustus; while the poem stresses that Domitian surpasses Caesar in quality, it implies at the same time 'that they were rulers of fundamentally the same type.' Against this interpretation, it must be noted that Caesar, though a paradigm in respect of dynastic successsion, is otherwise clearly used as a negative foil. In line 90, too, Domitian's style of rule is firmly distinguished from that of Caesar. A further argument against Hardie's interpretation is Dewar's convincing reading of lines 27–28 (see below, n. 26). In the panegyric Domitian is also styled as a *princeps* with a republican attitude.

elaborate. At once the choice of the word *discit* emphasizes Domitian's superiority, and the statement that Domitian did not give way to savage rage even against foreign aggressors (*externos furores*) implies that Caesar did indeed do so. Further, together with the following lines this remark highlights the fact that in the civil wars Caesar had also given way to savagery against internal enemies.[24] *Facilis saevire* also implies that Caesar was prey to loss of self-control, to which Domitian would never give way. Domitian's clemency and self-control are thus stressed all the more strongly.

The comparison is crowned by a kind of thought experiment in which the *princeps* is fictionally transported into the period of the Roman civil wars (1.1.27–28):

> Had you borne the standard, his lesser son-in-law and Cato would have submitted to Caesar's ordinances.

> *te signa ferente*
> *et minor in leges gener et Cato Caesaris irent.*

The poet claims that the civil wars would have been ended by the presence of Domitian, for the *princeps* would have been able to persuade Pompey and even Cato to reach an agreement (*in leges*).[25] Domitian, as Michael Dewar has neatly put it, is 'enough of a republican at heart to satisfy … even the arch tyrant-hater Cato himself'.[26]

In research on the poem it has repeatedly, and rightly, been noted that this passage serves to stress Domitian's clemency and to characterize him as a peacemaker.[27] However, as a result of this strong emphasis on clemency, this thought experiment has a second, more far-reaching implication: the statement that Domitian's presence would have made past eras better implies also that the present must surpass previous eras in quality, precisely because it is ruled by this *princeps*. This is all the more effective in that the civil wars had

24 Hardie 1983, 191. Marks 2010, 26–29, cites this passage and Mart. 9.70 as evidence that the image of Caesar in Domitianic literature was positive or neutral. However, in both cases Caesar is linked to the horrors of the civil war and thus clearly functions as a negative foil. (see on this below n. 51).

25 Geyssen 1996, 67. The message will be confirmed when Statius refers in line 80 to Domitian having in fact dealt with a *civile nefas*.

26 Dewar 2008, 74. Cf. also Pecchiura 1965, 96–97.

27 Geyssen 1996, 81; Leberl 2004, 151.

been burnt into Roman memory as the worst of all *discordia*. If Domitian can make peace even in the worst of wars—this is the direction of the argument—then the present era has nothing left to fear: the horrors of the past are unthinkable under this *princeps*.

In lines 87–90 the comparison between Domitian and Caesar is picked up a second time and the superiority of Domitian is summarized concisely by making an explicit inference from the distance between their equestrian statues to the qualitative difference between the two rulers.[28] The poet also draws attention to the fact that Caesar's equestrian statue previously depicted Alexander the Great, so he too is drawn into the comparison with Domitian. The poem thus invokes one further era, in addition to the early times of myth and the period of the Roman civil wars.

2.3 *The Comparison of Domitian with Marcus Curtius* (*Stat.* Silv. *1.1.66–83*)

Let us now turn to the comparison, already mentioned above, between Domitian and the *loci custos* (1.1.66), who in all probability should be identified as the republican hero Marcus Curtius.[29] According to popular legend, this soldier had leapt, with horse and armor, into a chasm that had opened up in the middle of the Forum. For, as Livy reports (7.6.2–3), to ensure the eternity of Rome (*si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent*) the gods had demanded in sacrifice the thing 'by which the Roman people could achieve the most' (*quo plurimum populus Romanus posset*). Curtius believed that the oracle referred to Rome's *arma* and *virtus* and so, as a young soldier, he had sacrificed himself. In the imperial period the *lacus Curtius*, located to the west of the equestrian statue, was linked to this legend. In the contemporary mind it was a sacred place: according to Ovid there were altars at the site,[30] and Suetonius reports that in Augustus' day the people of Rome would throw a coin into it once a year, for the well-being of the emperor.[31]

The passage begins with a reference to these contemporary notions: the site is presented as sacred and Curtius as worthy of respect and veneration (1.1.66–70). Then, however, the poet brings on the republican hero himself and gives him a speech in praise of the *princeps*. Curtius now addresses Domitian as a deity and contradicts the traditional conception of the site's sanctity by

28 On the statue of Caesar, see Geyssen 1996, 86 n. 45; Dewar 2008, 81.

29 On other possible identifications, see Geyssen 1996, 104.

30 Ov. *Fast.* 4.403–404.

31 Suet. *Aug.* 57.1.

saying that *only now*, through Domitian's presence, has his precinct become truly blessed and worthy of veneration (1.1.74–78):

> Hail, offspring and begetter of great gods, deity known to me by distant report. Blessed is now my swamp, venerable now that it is vouchsafed me to know you close at hand and behold your immortal radiance from my neighboring seat.[32]

> *salve, magnorum proles genitorque deorum*
> *auditum longe numen mihi. nunc mea felix,*
> *nunc veneranda palus, cum te prope nosse tuumque*
> *immortale iubar vicina sede tueri*
> *concessum.*

Curtius is thus subordinating himself to Domitian and regards him as possessing 'true' divinity (cf. 1.1.77: *immortale iubar*). In this way he 'corrects' the contemporary idea of why the site is sacred. The anaphora of *nunc* gives special weight to this aspect.

This revaluation of the site must in fact have been jarring for contemporary recipients of the poem, precisely because of the traditional way of understanding the place's sanctity, but the presentation of Domitian himself in the poem justifies this revaluation. The passage in which Curtius for the first time dares to gaze at the equestrian statue (1.1.71–73) is structured as an epiphany of a god: the reference to the great size of the statue (*ingentis habitus*), its dazzling appearance (*lucem coruscam*) and the fear of those present (*expavit*, *trepidans*), are all regular elements of the narrative presentation of an epiphany.[33] In this way the divinity of Domitian is enacted in the narrative itself, justifying both his invocation as *numen* and the revaluation of the site.

After the two figures have been presented for comparison on the supernatural plane, a rationally comprehensible syncrisis of their deeds is offered (1.1.78–81):

> Once only did I make and find salvation for the people of Romulus; whereas you in length of fighting quell the wars of Jove, the battles of the Rhine, the civil outrage, the mountain slow to treat.

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32 Translation of line 77b: Mozley 1928.

33 Graf 1997, 1151. See, e.g., *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 172–183; *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 188–190, 275–280; Ov. *Fast.* 1.93–101.

> *semel auctor ego inventorque salutis*
> *Romuleae: tu bella Iovis, tu proelia Rheni,*
> *tu civile nefas, tu tardum in foedera montem*
> *longo Marte domas.*

Curtius had only saved Rome once, but Domitian has done it four times over through his military successes. The praises refer to the struggle between the forces of Vespasian and Vitellius on the Capitol in 69 CE, the rebellion of the commander Antonius Saturninus in Germany, and, once again, the wars against the Chatti and Dacians, mentioned already in the comparison with Caesar.[34] The comparison thus provides an opportunity to praise Domitian's military successes and at the same time to emphasize his concern for Rome's well-being. That he surpasses Curtius in this respect is strongly emphasized by the combination of the word *semel* and the fourfold anaphora of *tu*. The praise thus implies that Domitian has a better claim to the title of *auctor salutis* (1.1.78) than the republican hero does. As John Geyssen stresses, this judgment acquires special authority when spoken by Curtius himself.[35]

The comparison with Curtius does not end there, however. As in the comparison with Caesar, the climax here, too, is the scenario of Domitian being fictionally transported into the era of the comparandum: if the *princeps* had lived in Curtius' day, he would gladly have sacrificed his life for the good of Rome (1.1.81–83):[36]

> But if our times had given you birth, you would have made to plunge into the deep pool, because I would not have dared to venture …

34 Shackleton Bailey 2003, 37.

35 Geyssen 1996, 107–108.

36 It is not clear how the ablative absolute *me non audente* (82) is to be understood. Geyssen 1996, 105 and Wissmüller 1990, 12, take it as conditional, Shackleton Bailey 2003, 37, temporal, Leberl 2004, 160, adversative. In my view the expression should be taken as causal, as recognized already by Poliziano (ed. Cesarini Martinelli 1978, 163: *Quoniam non me putassem postilionem esse et virum fortissimum te vivo*). This construction is suggested by the legend recorded by Livy: according to this story, Curtius sacrificed himself because the oracle demanded the thing by which the Roman people could achieve the most; Curtius saw in this an allusion to Rome's *virtus* and *arma*, connected the demand with himself and so sacrificed himself. Given the military successes of Domitian, stressed earlier, the passage should consequently be understood as follows: had he lived at the time of Curtius, the *princeps* himself would have been the person through whom Rome could have achieved the most; therefore Curtius would not have been so bold as to relate the oracle to an ordinary soldier like himself.

> *quods⟨i te⟩ nostra tulissent*
> *saecula, temptasses me non audente profundo*
> *ire lacu*; …

This scenario ends with an unexpected twist: *sed Roma tuas tenuisset habenas* (1.1.83). Rome would have held Domitian back from his sacrificial death by holding the reins of his horse. This statement has a striking implication, for saving Domitian must surely mean saving him as *princeps*. In this reading, the remarkable conclusion drawn from the Curtius episode is that republican Rome would have wanted Domitian to rule it.[37] This shows how the playful treatment of the different epochs also has a political dimension.[38]

Although this message at first sounds very odd, like the reconceptualization of the site's sanctity it has a rational motivation in the fiction of the Curtius episode. It is the logical conclusion to be drawn from Curtius' speech, in which the hero explained how much more Domitian could have done for the good of Rome as *auctor salutis* than he himself had done. And again it is decisive that this message is spoken by Curtius: the great republican hero—in a sense the personified voice of the *res publica*—guarantees its validity. Ultimately, therefore, the passage is not to be read solely as a syncrisis of the two *auctores salutis* as regards their heroism,[39] but is also a comparison of the republican past with the present. As far as I am aware, this point has not been addressed in research on the poem to date, which has for the most part overlooked the fact that Curtius is a *republican* figure. The passage has instead been studied together with references to mythological figures.[40] The primary reason for the

37 The words *tuas habenas* may perhaps also recall the symbolic reins of Domitian's power. On *habena* as a metaphor of ruling see *OLD* s.v. *habena* 2b. Cf. Cic. *Rep*. 1.9: *neque sapientis esse accipere habenas*; Verg. *Aen*. 7.600; Ov. *Met*. 15.481. With reference to Domitian: *Silv*. 4.3.130: *quo non dignior has subit habenas*.

38 This is even clearer in Mart. 11.5 (see below, section 3.3).

39 See Newlands 2002, 62: 'Domitian is thus celebrated as both a hero in the ancient Roman mould and as a new, bold figure of the Roman Empire …'

40 Thus Coleman 1999, 67–70; likewise Newlands 2002, 60–61, who sees Curtius' appearance as playing 'with the distant past', but does not address the counterpoint of principate and republic. Gowing 2005, 105, does not mention the Curtius episode at all and claims with reference to *Silv*. 1.1: '… the references to Republican topography and history are little more than props; [Statius] summons neither Republican places nor events with which he wishes to connect the emperor in any meaningful way'. Hardie 1983, 132, too, stresses the mythical and sacral aspect of the figure of Curtius. As shown above, the comparison does indeed play with the idea of the two figures' divinity, but although the story told of Curtius

selection of Curtius as comparandum is generally taken to be the proximity of the statue to the *lacus Curtius*.[41] Jens Leberl has even claimed that the fact that Curtius was a republican hero plays no role in his appearance in the poem.[42]

To grasp fully the significance of the Curtius episode in this regard, it is necessary to bear in mind the location of the real equestrian statue: it stood in the middle of the Forum Romanum, the political center of the *res publica*. Claudia Klodt and Jens Leberl both stress that the construction of the equestrian statue on this spot must have seemed downright sacrilegious from a traditionalist senatorial perspective.[43] While this claim has recently been qualified,[44] it is still fair to say that the erection of the statue in the middle of the open Forum area, together with its colossal dimensions, was an innovation that, at least in circles critical of Domitian, is unlikely to have been viewed wholly positively. Against this background, it is certainly not mere chance that in Statius' encomium a republican hero takes a role and not only accepts the erection of the statue but even welcomes it as an improvement. It fits this context that the statue's location itself plays an important role in Curtius' speech (1.1.75–78). The poem can thus be understood as a commentary on the statue that responds to contemporary discourses critical of it.

2.4 *Interim Conclusion: The Use of Historical* exempla *as a Normative Discourse*

Against this background, let us look once again at the comparisons we have discussed. In all three cases—four, if we count Alexander the Great—Domitian surpasses the historical figures. He rides a horse that neither Hector nor Aeneas could have led. He teaches Caesar clemency. Finally, he is a greater *auctor salutis* than Curtius. As Geyssen rightly notes, a *consensus omnium temporum* has been constructed here:[45] in any other time, too, Domitian would have won glory and outperformed the greatest heroes. What used to rank as outstanding has been put in the shade by this *princeps*.

However, as I hope I have been able to demonstrate, the concern here is not only to present Domitian as the greatest of all heroes, but also to depict the

is a legend, he is remembered as a *republican* hero. The phrase *nostra saecula* (1.1.81) thus clearly refers to the (historical) period of the early republic.

41 Geyssen 1996, 108; Leberl 2004, 161.

42 Leberl 2004, 161.

43 Klodt 1998, 23–25; Leberl 2004, 152.

44 Muth 2010, 490–493.

45 Geyssen 1996, 109.

contemporary world as the best of all times. Decisive in producing this result are the clemency of the *princeps* and the influence of his efforts to promote the good of Rome, two aspects that are presented in all three comparisons: where the Trojan Horse did harm, Domitian rides his horse as a *mitis eques* and a peacemaker; he would have ended the civil wars peacefully and would have cared for Rome's well-being better than Curtius. In all three cases the message is that the *princeps* would have made earlier times better and more peaceful, but conversely this must mean that the present moment is the best of all times thanks to his rule. Because figures from widely differing eras have been chosen for the comparisons, the impression is given all the more clearly that the present is unique and surpasses any imaginable previous era.

The Curtius episode also opens a window to the future. According to Livy (7.6.3), Curtius' sacrifice ensured the eternal survival of Rome (*res publica Romana perpetua*). By presenting the Domitianic present as the culmination to which all past epochs tend, and at the same time showing Domitian's rule as potentially extending into an infinite future,[46] Statius makes the past and present merge into eternity in the glorious reign of Domitian.[47]

Against this background it is necessary to recall once again that the evaluation of past and present offered by the poem contradicts other perspectives, such as those found in the historiography critical of contemporary Rome.[48] The existence of two differing perspectives on the past and present suggests that the glorification of the contemporary world in panegyric poetry has a greater importance in praise of the ruler than may at first be apparent. It is not an empty commonplace, but can be understood as a response to other views, and thus as a fragment of a contemporary discourse about the ruler and—if we also read a political component in the comparison of epochs[49]—about the principate as a form of rule.

46 Elm 2012, 241–243.

47 I thank Christoph Pieper for this observation.

48 See above n. 7. An example of the panegyric perspective is the work of Velleius Paterculus, an account that glorifies the Tiberian period (cf. Schmitzer 2000, 287–306).

49 See above (302–306) on Curtius as republican figure and below (311–315) on Mart. 11.5.

3 The Presentation of Historical *exempla* in Martial's Panegyric Poetry

Beginning from the premise that poems like *Silvae* 1.1 inscribe themselves into a contemporary discourse about the valuation of the present and past, in what follows I shall consider some epigrams by Martial that can also be understood as fragments of this discourse. Of special interest are the epigrams in which Martial explicitly addresses and reacts to the stance critical of the present and opposed to the panegyric perspective on antiquity.

3.1 O tempora, o mores (*Mart. 9.70, 9.27, 6.2*)

In *Epigram* 9.70 Martial mocks a moralist called Caecilianus[50] who vents his dissatisfaction with his own times using Cicero's exclamation *o tempora, o mores* ('Oh what times! Oh what customs!'), i.e., he criticizes it as morally degenerate, in the manner of a Tacitus. Martial counters that in Cicero's day, when Catiline wreaked havoc and son-in-law fought against father-in-law in bloody civil wars, the orator had every reason to criticize (9.70.1–4), but the present day is characterized by peace, security and happiness, rendering Cicero's slogan no longer appropriate (9.70.6–8). As Christer Henriksén has rightly stressed, Martial's picture of the late republic is reminiscent of Ovid's Age of Iron, so Domitian's reign appears in contrast as a new *aurea aetas*.[51]

Important in the present discussion is that this picture glorifying the contemporary world is presented as a reaction to a differing, negative evaluation of the present. Through the questions addressed to Caecilianus, the epigram acquires the character of a dialogue, so Martial's message appears to be taking up a position in a controversy: the discourse which I posited in my discussion so far here becomes directly visible. From this we may conclude, first, that the epigram supports the interpretation of *Silvae* 1.1 presented above, and, second, that this context reveals Martial's poem, too, to have further implications than have

50 Thus Henriksén 2012; Shackleton Bailey 1990 reads *Maecilianus*.

51 Henriksén 2012, 292. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.129; 1.142–145. This interpretation counters Marks' view (2010, 26–29) that this epigram and Stat. *Silv.* 1.1 are evidence of a positive or neutral valuation of Caesar in Domitianic literature. The allusion to Pompey and Caesar in line 3 is subtle, but the horrors of the civil war are nonetheless stressed strongly and presented as the consequence of the *ducum feritas*. Thus the image of Caesar is here, as in *Silv.* 1.1, by no means uncritical. Marks' statement that the comparison between Domitian and Caesar 'could not effectively be made to the emperor's advantage unless Caesar were a figure worthy of comparison in the first place', ignores the fact that a *princeps*' predecessors often function as a negative foil in panegyric poetry.

been previously noticed. The mockery is not, as Henriksén assumes, primarily directed at the figure of an orator whose eagerness to imitate Cicero is pursued to excess and leads him to use inappropriate quotations.[52] Rather, Martial mocks this critical attitude to the present in general, the unquestioning romanticization of past epochs and a pessimism about the present that, for Martial, lacks any basis in Domitian's day.[53] This gains emphasis from the fact that 'Caecilianus' is presented as a stereotypical figure, which characterizes his critique of the present as the hackneyed sermon of someone living in the past.[54]

This general interpretation can perhaps also be applied to other epigrams on similar themes, even where they do not explicitly glorify the present. When in *Epigram* 9.27 Martial mocks a man who complains about his own times (*saeculo rixaris*, 9) by mouthing *exempla* of old Roman virtues ('But your talk is of Curius, Camillus, Quinctius, Numa, Ancus, and every hairy worthy we ever found in books', *Curios, Camillos, Quintios, Numas, Ancos, / et quidquid umquam*[55] *legimus pilosorum / loqueris*, 9.27.6–8), but who then uses his *Catoniana lingua* (9.27.14) for less virtuous pursuits, this too can be seen as a reflex of the same discourse that has been discussed above, as Cato, Camillus, and Numa also play a role in panegyric contexts.[56] Further, Chrestus is not just presented as an effeminate *fellator* (9.27.1–5, 13–14) but, through the long and apparently random assortment of *exempla virtutis*, he is also characterized as an undiscriminating carper, who, when sounding off, trots out the *exempla* learned by heart in rhetorical schools without giving them any more thought.[57] Thus this epigram too seems to be mocking not just the hypocritical moralist himself in

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52 Henriksén 2012, 291.

53 The twist, viz. that Martial criticizes Caecilianus' morals at the end of the poem, so he himself is to some extent exclaiming '*o mores*', does not undermine the panegyric message but rather supports it: if Caecilianus' pessimism about the present is all that can be criticized in the contemporary world, what is that compared to the circumstances that Cicero denounced?

54 On the fictionality of the addressees in Martial, see Nauta 2002, 39–47, esp. 44: 'Martial is not interested in criticising individuals, but in satirising types'.

55 This reading in Henriksén 2012. Shackleton Bailey 1990 has *usquam*.

56 Mart. 11.5; 12.6. Martial cites the named figures in a number of passages as *exempla* of old Roman virtues (e.g., Mart. 11.104). As there is no opposition between present and past, these epigrams are not central to the present study. However, they provide an indication of the image that was associated with the figures named and of how widely it was known.

57 I thank Christiane Reitz for this observation. This is the longest continuous list of *exempla virtutis* in Martial (Henriksén, 2012, 118). On the importance of the *suasoriae* in rhetorical schools for the selection of historical *exempla* in Martial see Nordh 1954, 225–227.

its damning depiction, but also the position that he supports: who could take seriously the critique of the contemporary world if it is promoted by men like Chrestus?

In *Epigram* 6.2 Martial demonstrates how Cicero's famous quotation needs to be adapted to make it appropriate to the glorious epoch of Domitian's reign. The poem describes the improvement in morals that Domitian has effected through his marriage laws and castration edict,[58] and lauds the *princeps* (6.2.5–6):

> Under your rule no man shall be either eunuch or adulterer. Formerly (alas for our morals!) even a eunuch was an adulterer.

> *nec spado iam nec moechus erit te praeside quisquam*:
> *at prius—o mores!—et spado moechus erat.*

With the exclamation *o mores!* Martial evokes the Ciceronian quotation,[59] but he does not adopt the first part of the phrase, *o tempora*, giving in its place an appropriate substitute, the temporal adverb *prius*. By this variation the poet stresses that the criticism expressed in the slogan has changed.[60] In panegyrical praise, it is not the present but the past that is to be criticized.[61] Through his legislation the *princeps* has done away with the faults of earlier times and so guaranteed the high moral standard of his own epoch.

3.2 *Respecting Antiquity* (*Mart. 8.80*)

It is a notable characteristic of the panegyric poetry discussed here that it is able to depict the present as superior without undermining the value of the past. Under Domitian it is an important feature of the ruler's image that, while the reign of the *princeps* surpasses everything that has come before, he himself shows a thoroughgoing respect for tradition. This is made clear, for example,

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58 On the question of whether the praise of the imperial legislation is undermined by the depiction of adultery in the following epigrams (so Garthwaite 1990), see Nauta 2002, 430–433 and Lorenz 2002, 152–162.

59 Grewing 1997, 83. On the proverbial character of the expression see Fritsch 1996, 364.

60 This variation is found only in Martial. All other passages where the quotation appears retain the original sense: cf. Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.25, 2.4.55; *Cat*. 1.2; *Dom*. 137; *Deiot*. 31; Sen. *Suas*. 6.3; Hier. *Adv Helvid*. 16 (Migne, *PL* 23, 210).

61 The epigram leaves open which period of the past is targeted by the criticism. By this means, the whole era before Domitian is 'zu einer nicht ernstzunehmenden Zeit sittlicher Verwahrlosung herabstilisiert' (Grewing 1997, 80).

in *Epigram* 8.80, in which Martial praises the emperor for the restoration of old customs. The reintroduction of boxing in the arena and the renovation of the *casa Romuli* serve as examples of his efforts to restore traditions.[62] Appropriately, the epigram is introduced by general praise of the emperor's good deeds in the service of the 'hoary past' and the 'wonders of the ancestors' (8.80.1–2):

> You give us back, Caesar, the wonders of our venerable forebears, nor do you suffer ancient epochs to die …

> *Sanctorum nobis miracula reddis avorum*
> *nec pateris, Caesar, saecula cana mori …*

As Christian Schöffel stresses, by giving equal emphasis to the creative and the protective powers of the *princeps* (8.80.7–8), Martial paints a picture of a conservative monarch who combines tradition and progress. In this way 'wird die Gegenwart des Dichters gleichsam als in der Person des Kaisers fokussierter Brennpunkt zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft ausgewiesen'.[63] The epigram, similarly to *Silvae* 1.1, thus presents a commentary on concrete measures taken by Domitian: they are presented as an expression of the essential respect that the *princeps* holds for the past and its institutions. The solemn sequence of spondees in the first verse and the pathetic depiction of the emperor's efforts to save the 'life' (*nec pateris … mori*, 8.80.2) of the *cana saecula* draw special attention to this aspect. Domitian's relation to the past is thus marked not simply by the superiority of the *princeps* and his era; it is also characterized by his respect for the works of the ancestors. This is an important feature to which I shall return.

3.3 *Martial's Praise of Nerva* (*Mart. 11.5*)

Finally let us consider Martial's praise of Nerva (Mart. 11.5), as the rhetorical means deployed in it show remarkable parallels to *Silvae* 1.1. Martial, too, makes use of a thought experiment in which the *princeps* meets figures from earlier epochs in a fictional encounter.[64] In the reverse of Statius' hypothetical trans-

62 Schöffel 2002, 668, who offers a convincing interpretation of the epigram. On Domitian's policy of restoring traditions, see Leberl 2004, 291 and Sullivan 1991, 153–155.

63 Schöffel 2002, 668.

64 Kay 1985, 68, cites further examples of a fictional return of republican heroes to the present day, e.g., Luc. 7.358–360 and Claud. *Carm.* 17.163–165. The rhetorical technique of praising

porting of Domitian into the past, here the poet is playing with the idea that the republican figures return from Elysium to the present of Nerva's reign (11.5.5–6):

> If the fathers of old, those mighty names, were to return and the Elysian grove could be emptied …
>
> *si redeant veteres, ingentia nomina, patres,*
> *Elysium liceat si vacuare nemus …*

The conclusion reached by Martial through this thought experiment is similar to the message of the first poem of the *Silvae*. Just as, according to Statius, the contemporaries of Curtius would have wished for Domitian's rule, if the figures named here—all staunch republicans in their day—were to return from the realm of the dead, they would gladly live under Nerva. Camillus, the conqueror of Veii in 396 BCE mentioned in Mart. 9.27, is here in *Epigram* 11.5 characterized as *invictus pro libertate*, but he would worship Nerva, because under him—so Martial implies—he could count on finding that same republican *libertas* (11.5.7).[65] Fabricius, who would not allow himself to be corrupted by Pyrrhus, would accept money from this *princeps* (11.5.8).[66] Even Brutus, the victor over the last Roman king, Tarquinius Superbus,[67] would be happy about Nerva's rule (11.5.9), and Sulla would transfer his *imperium* to the *princeps* (11.5.9–10). The direct opposition presented between the alternatives of either transferring his *imperium* to Nerva (*tradet*, 11.5.10) or laying it down in favor of republican structures (*positurus erit*, 11.5.10) makes explicit what was only hinted at in Statius' Curtius episode:[68] the rule of the lauded *princeps* is compared to the idea of the traditional *res publica*. And here too the republican figure prefers the principate.

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present-day persons through a fictional encounter with historical figures is not restricted to praise of rulers. In Mart. 7.69, for example, the poet praises Theophila, the bride of the poet Canius Rufus, by supposing a speech of praise by Sappho herself; similarly Mart. 10.35. I thank Renate Schlesier for these references.

65 Kay 1985, 65–70. He points out the importance of the term *libertas* in the public image of Nerva's reign (Mart. 11.4, 11.5; cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 3.1). Remarkably, this point of view, like the republican outlook of the *princeps* is also stressed under Domitian, e.g., in Mart. 5.19.6 (*sub quo libertas principe tanta fuit?*). On this see also Howell 1995, 98.

66 Kay 1985, 69–70. On the story of Fabricius see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20, Sen. *Ep.* 120.6.

67 It could alternatively refer to the anti-Caesarian Marcus Iunius Brutus (Kay 1985, 70). However, the chronological structure of the epigram argues against this.

68 See above 302–306.

A further common feature of the episodes is the idea that the presence of the *princeps* could have prevented the civil wars.[69] Like Statius in reference to Domitian, Martial too implies that the horrors of the past would have been unthinkable under Nerva. For if Julius Caesar came back from the dead, he would lay down his office (*privato Caesare*) and would join with his arch-enemy Pompey in their love for the *princeps* (11.5.11–12). The climax of the hypothetical scenario is the claim that under Nerva even Cato would become a *Caesarianus* (11.5.13–14). As in *Silvae* 1.1, the picture of Cato potentially taking the side of the *princeps* is to be understood as a mark of the emperor's republican attitude.[70] This aspect is brought into focus especially sharply in the praise of Nerva: by marking out Cato explicitly as a special case (*ipse quoque … Cato*, 11.5.13–14), the marked position of this topic at the end of the poem and the pointed word-play in the last pentameter (*si Cato reddatur, Caesarianus erit*, 11.5.14), Martial makes Cato's positive judgment the climax of his encomium.

In connection with this thought experiment, a passage of Tacitus' *Histories* is of interest, in which the historian reflects at length on the possibility of a bloodless settlement of the civil war of 69 CE. In *Histories* 2.37–38, he cites a claim in his sources that shortly before the battle of Bedriacum the opposing armies had considered settling the conflict and leaving it to the Senate to choose a new emperor. He himself, however, insists that such a possibility never existed, and gives as his reason the degeneracy of the period and the warmongering of all involved. To emphasize this estimate, he makes a link to the civil wars of the republican period and stresses that the general lust for power (*potentiae cupido*, Tac. *Hist.* 2.38.1) and recklessness of humans would have made a peaceful agreement impossible then too (2.38.2):

> The legions made up of Roman citizens did not lay down their arms at Pharsalia or Philippi; much less were the armies of Otho and Vitellius likely to abandon war voluntarily. The same divine wrath, the same human madness, the same motives to crime drove them on to strife.[71]
>
> *non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint: eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eaedem scelerum causae in discordiam egere.*

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69 Thus already Marks 2010, 29 n. 46.

70 Kay 1985, 71. A different view is taken by Grewing 1997, 235: the line is critical of Cato in that it imputes to him 'puren Opportunismus'.

71 The text is from Wellesley 1989 and the translation from Moore 2006[11].

Tacitus blames human nature itself for the fact that the conflict could not be ended peacefully, indeed that the bloodless settlement of a civil war is in itself unthinkable.[72] Viewed in the light of this estimate, the panegyric message that Domitian or Nerva would have been able to prevent the civil war acquires a new facet.[73] Read against the background of Tacitus' assessment, if the emperors could achieve such a feat, they appear not merely as good rulers about whom the warring parties would agree, but as superhuman peacemakers whose charisma overcomes even the negative constants of human nature.

Playing with this kind of hypothetical question of whether and how history could have turned out differently under alternative scenarios, i.e., a counterfactual approach to history, is a common figure of thought in ancient historiography.[74] By adopting the idea of the civil war prevented, and by depicting a fictional encounter between the *princeps* and the heroes of the republic in the passages discussed above, panegyric poetry has adopted—yet slightly altered—this figure of thought. Martial implicitly bases his praise of the ruler on the same question that Statius explicitly makes Curtius answer: what would have happened if the *princeps* had lived in the period of the *res publica*?[75] By generic convention, panegyric praise pushes the hypothetical scenario so far that it passes the limits of what can be assessed rationally. For in both cases the fictional encounter between the *princeps* and the historical figures leads to a paradox. The figures named by Martial, as Nigel Kay has pointed out, are so pleased about Nerva's rule that 'they will reverse the very acts that made them famous republicans'.[76] The end of the Curtius episode, too, might give readers pause: according to the legend, a sacrifice was needed for Rome to be saved. If we develop the idea set in motion by the encomium, in which Curtius refrains from sacrificing himself out of humility before Domitian, while the sacrifice of the venerated *princeps* is prevented by the people, we reach the

72 Suerbaum 1997, 46.

73 Statius and Martial of course cannot be referring directly to Tacitus, but given that we find a similar picture of human nature already in Sallust, we can probably accept that similar ideas already existed as part of the general discourse.

74 A famous example is Livy's excursus on Alexander (Livy 9.17–19; on which see Suerbaum 1997, 41–42). Tacitus hints at alternative courses of events in numerous passages (on this, in detail, Riedl 2010). In Greek historiography, too, there are examples, e.g., Hdt. 7.139.1–5 (on which see Weber 2000).

75 It can be seen therefore that here too the poems inscribe themselves into a discourse shaped by historiography.

76 Kay 1985, 70. Similarly Gowing 2005, 105.

conclusion that, in the fiction of the legend, this constellation of events would have resulted in the downfall of Rome. In both cases, the paradoxical point of the scenario is therefore jarring to the recipient, but this only draws even more attention to the message itself. In this style of presentation, one could also see a kind of *amplificatio*: by raising the figure of thought beyond the limits of what is logically comprehensible, the panegyric poet implies one more time that the lauded *princeps*, too, surpasses everything that could be imagined before now.

4 In Conclusion: A Comparison with Panegyric under Nero and Trajan

This examination of some epigrams of Martial has supported the premise developed in the first part of the chapter, namely that poems like those discussed here inscribe themselves into a controversial discourse about the value of present and past. In Martial's work, we find both the panegyrical point of view which glorifies the present and which is adopted by the *persona* of the poet,[77] and also the opposing position, whose representatives criticize their contemporary world and mourn a romanticized past. This controversy becomes clearly visible in *Epigram* 9.70, where it is addressed directly and made productive for panegyric. Also interesting in the present context are epigrams like 9.27, in which the poet mocks the *convicium saeculi*[78] of hypocritical moralists, though he does not offer an opposing, panegyrical evaluation of the present. Epigrams like these suggest that pessimism about the present and romanticization of the past must have had a prominent place in contemporary discourse.[79] In consequence, it is all the more urgent that this aspect be more fully integrated into the interpretation of imperial panegyric than has been the case to date. The glorification of the present in panegyric poetry needs to be seen against this background—it is no empty topos, but can be understood as a fragment of this discourse, as a reaction to the voices criticizing present

77 As has been stressed, I do not intend to comment about the opinion of the historical Martial. On the discussion about the relation of the historical poet and his *persona* in the epigrams see Lorenz 2002, 4–42 and Nauta 2002, 48–58.

78 On the term, cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2, *praef.* 2.

79 The republican *exempla* and the virtues for which they stood must have had a strong presence in public perceptions. As well as by the tradition of *suasoriae*, this will have also been promoted by the statues of Roman heroes that were on display in Rome (cf. Nordh 1954, 228–229).

circumstances. If panegyric poetry is viewed from this perspective, we see why such an elaborate presentation of historical *exempla* is so important: given that in the ancient world *exempla* traditionally stand for the value of antiquity, to use them for the glorification of the present consequently requires no small measure of rhetorical effort.

At the same time, the counterintuitive use of well known *exempla* enhances the persuasive power of panegyric. This is shown clearly in the poems discussed above, Statius' *Silvae* 1.1 and Martial's *Epigram* 11.5. As we saw, they are based on a very similar rhetorical strategy: in both cases, through a thought experiment, the lauded *princeps* is, in a certain sense, viewed through the eyes of the republic. It almost seems as if the republican figures are responding to Statius' call, 'Antiquity, compare if you will the ages' (*i nunc, saecula compara, Vetustas*; *Silv*. 1.6.39). This approach yields two advantages for the panegyric poet: on the one hand, the fictional behavior of the republican figures becomes an argument in the controversy about the value of present and past. They themselves prefer the rule of the *princeps* to the situation in their own times and so, implicitly, to the structures of the traditional *res publica*. When they consider the ruler, they are led not just to express approval but even to acknowledge his superiority. Thus the very figures who are cited repeatedly in the discourse criticizing current circumstances take a stand in the debate themselves and speak in favor of the emperor and his epoch. The panegyric glorification of the present is thus confirmed by those who have the highest authority in these matters.

On the other hand, viewing the *princeps* through the eyes of the republic in poetic fictions also implies an evaluation made on republican criteria. The veneration and acceptance of the emperor by figures like Cato becomes a mark of the ruler's republican spirit. This presentation of the *princeps* as 'republican at heart' can be understood as the rhetorical move of *consensio*, as an apparent concession to the position of those who criticize the present epoch. For these critics measure the quality of a ruler by the extent to which he respects the structures and values of the traditional *res publica*—that is, by the criteria that a man like Cato would presumably apply. By presenting Cato's assessment of the *princeps*, panegyric poetry adopts and accepts (at least ostensibly) these evaluation criteria and at once stresses that the *princeps* meets them. Even when measured by republican standards, the superiority of the *princeps* and his epoch cannot be denied. And if Cato himself can acknowledge that, why bother about the grumblers?

With this line of argument, panegyric praise on the one hand supports the positive evaluation of the present, but on the other hand avoids a direct confrontation over the evaluation of the past. The value of antiquity is fully rec-

ognized;[80] it is just that the present is *even better*. For a clearer assessment of this style of argument, it is worth looking briefly at extant Neronian panegyric. There too the contemporary world is glorified, but the manner of presentation relies on a different rhetorical strategy. Alain Gowing has shown that in the case of Seneca's *De clementia* and *Epistulae morales*, republican *exempla* do not seem to have played a major role in the Neronian period.[81] That seems to be true also of the panegyric poetry of the reign.[82] At any rate, the glorification of the present is primarily based on depicting it as a new and better golden age.[83] The comparison with past eras is concentrated on the reigns of Claudius and Augustus.[84] To praise the golden age of peace, the horror of the civil wars is, here too, used as a negative foil,[85] but there is no shift of perspective to that of the republican protagonists, such as we have observed in the poems discussed above. Someone who can bring back the mythical *aurea aetas*, it seems, need not worry about the judgments of Cato and his like.[86]

80 This is true above all of the early republic. The period of the civil wars, in contrast, is used as a negative foil. The figure of Cato has a special position: at the time of the civil wars, he embodied the values of the old republic.

81 Gowing 2005, 67–101. The major exception is of course Lucan's *Bellum civile*, on which Gowing 2005, 82–96. On Seneca's description of the villa of Scipio in *Epist.* 86 see Gowing's remarks on pp. 80–81 and the Introduction (ch. 1, section 3) of the present volume.

82 One of the few historical figures cited is Numa, who is mentioned at Calp. *Ecl.* 1.65–68 to support the presentation of Nero as a 'prince of peace'.

83 Cf. Sen. *Apocol.* 4.1.8–14, 23–24; Calp. *Ecl.* 1.36–73, 4.6–7, 4.140 (with similarities to *Apocol.* 4.1.9); *Carm. Einsidl.* 2.22–38. The dating of the eclogues to the Neronian period has been doubted by Champlin 1978, 1986, 2003, Armstrong 1986, Baldwin 1995 and Horsfall 1997 among others. Against that position argue *inter alia* Wiseman 1982, Küppers 1985 and Amat 1998. More recently the Neronian date has for the most part been preferred, e.g., by Schubert 1998 and Fey-Wickert 2002. Here too, the question of whether criticism of the emperor can be detected in the eclogue will not be discussed further. For a critical reading see *inter alia* Leach 1973, Newlands 1987 (with reservations), Davis 1988, Martin 2003, Garthwaite/Martin 2009; *contra* Korzeniewski 1972, 1976, Fear 1994, Schubert 1998, Merfeld 1999.

84 Even if we take into account that the comparison with Augustus implies a proximity to the Augustan *renovatio*—a point stressed by Schubert 1998, 58 with regard to Calp. *Ecl.* 1—the republican past itself still doesn't play a major role in the glorification of the present.

85 Calp. *Ecl.* 1.42–59, 77–83. *Carm. Einsidl.* 2.30–34.

86 Cf. Gowing 2005, 98: 'In a regime whose theme was innovation, not restoration, celebrating the Republican past simply had no place in the agenda.'

Strikingly, Nero's lack of respect for tradition is a specific criticism in later historiography.[87] For example, in Suetonius' account of the great fire in Rome, for which he blames Nero, special weight is given to the fact that republican palaces and temples were burnt down. He stresses that the fire destroyed everything memorable and worth seeing that had survived the centuries (*quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat*, Suet. *Ner*. 38.2). It may be that the presentation of the *princeps* as 'republican at heart' in the praise of Domitian and Nerva should be read against the background of this type of criticism: the encomium of these emperors stresses not just the superiority of their respective eras, but also the respect that each *princeps* shows to the institutions of the past, clearly distinguishing the lauded ruler from the negative image of Nero.[88] In *Epigram* 8.80, at any rate, Martial shows that *his* emperor can combine tradition and innovation both in the arena and in the Roman cityscape.[89]

As is well known, after his death Domitian himself came to function as a negative foil against which his successors could be glorified. As the relation of the *princeps* to the *res publica* continued to play a significant role,[90] by way of conclusion it will be useful to turn from Neronian panegyric to Pliny's *Panegyricus*. There the orator again and again compares the circumstances under Trajan with those of the traditional *res publica*. In this way, he presents the *princeps* as a ruler who has restored republican values and practices.[91] The deployment of republican figures serves the purpose of depicting the contemporary world as a renewed *res publica*. As Gowing has convincingly shown, Trajan himself is co-opted into the series of *exempla virtutis* and continues it as a further role model for future generations: 'Trajan is not *like* one of these exempla, rather he

87 Gowing 2005, 98–100 with examples. He draws attention to the Suetonius passage cited in the text.

88 In the Flavian period, the image of Nero frequently functions as a negative foil (cf. Stat. *Silv*. 4.3; Mart. *Spect*. 2; Schubert 1998; Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2007). For Nero under Domitian see also Nauta 2010.

89 In that respect, I cannot agree with Gowing's evaluation of the role of the republic in the Flavian period and the reign of Nerva (2005, 102–106), at least as regards panegyric poetry.

90 For example, the strong emphasis on Nerva's republican outlook in Mart. 11.5 can be understood as a jab against Domitian (Kay 1985, 65–70). The strong stress on *libertas* in the public image of Nerva's rule also served to distinguish him from Domitian. On Domitian's lack of respect for the institutions of the *res publica* see also Plin. *Pan*. 58, 63. As already seen (above n. 65), the emphasis on a republican outlook and on *libertas* did indeed play a role in Domitianic panegyric.

91 Morford 1992, on which Gowing 2005, 121–122 See, e.g., Plin. *Pan*. 58.3, 60.2, 61, 76.1, 78.3.

is "one of them"'.[92] That he also surpasses the historical figures is a matter of course: the *princeps* has not only banished tyrants, as Brutus did, but has even liberated Rome from tyranny (Plin. *Pan.* 55.6); when he held the consulate he showed more *moderatio* than Quinctius Cincinnatus (57.4–5). Trajan is thus, in Gowing's phrase, not just '"one of them" … He is also the "best" of them'.[93] Consequently, for this ruler only one cognomen is fitting: as Pliny stresses at the end of his speech (88), Trajan is not *Felix* like Sulla, nor *Magnus* like Pompey, he is *Optimus* and unites in this name the *frugalitas* of the Pisones, the *sapientia* of the Laelii and the *pietas* of the Metelli. With this rhetoric, Pliny goes a step further than Martial and Statius: the Trajan of the *Panegyricus* distinguishes himself not just by acknowledging tradition but even by showing himself to be a model of traditional values. He thus brings 'the good old days' into his own—even better—present day. In Pliny the republican figures do not become monarchists: the monarch himself becomes an *exemplum* of the old school.[94]

The different ways of deploying republican *exempla* in panegyric that have been traced in this chapter doubtless derive in large measure from the different genres of the texts. To that extent it is not possible to draw general conclusions about the representation of the reign of each *princeps* from the specific observations made in each case. Nonetheless, the different tendencies in the praise of each ruler still hold interest in the context of this study. For the basic message of all the texts is the same: none of the panegyrists leaves any doubt that the epoch of his *princeps* is the best of all eras. As the study has shown, however, the rhetorical strategies used to present this message are adapted to the different linguistic norms and codes prescribed by the genre of the text, on the one hand, and the contemporary context on the other. The presentation of republican figures plays a distinctive role in this. It serves, on the one hand, to glorify the present in relation to the era of the traditional *res publica* and thus makes it possible for panegyric to position itself within a controversial discourse about the value of past and present. On the other hand, the way in which the *exempla* are deployed in each case implies a specific valuation of the republican past

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92 Gowing 2005, 120–131; quotation from p. 124. Similarly Henderson 2011, 158, who terms Trajan a '"historical *exemplum*"—to be'. On the inclusion of Trajan in the series of historical *exempla* see Plin. *Pan.* 12.1, 13.4–5, 55.6, 76.9. On his presentation as a model for future generations, see Plin. *Pan.* 44, 73.6, 75.4–5.

93 Gowing 2005, 124. Cf. also Plin. *Pan.* 55.6, 57.4–5.

94 In the present volume, Gillespie (ch. 11) shows that the representation of imperial women in Trajan's reign was likewise oriented towards republican models, while using the Julio-Claudian women as a contrasting foil.

by the *princeps*. The presentation of republican figures thus becomes a kind of meta-argument, on which the superiority of present-day circumstances over the more recent, imperial past can be founded. In panegyric after Nero, the superiority of the present seems to be expressed not just in the positive assessment by a figure like Cato, but also in the fact that he is given a voice at all. Here we see clearly that differing evaluations of the past are always also the expression of contemporary value-systems.[95]

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CHAPTER 13

The Value of the Past Challenged: Myth and Ancient History in the Attic Orators*

Jonas Grethlein

1 The Value of the Distant Past

'History is bunk. What difference does it make how many times the ancient Greeks flew their kites?' pronounced Henry Ford.[1] Fortunately, not everybody subscribes to the apodictic comments on life that American entrepreneurs sometimes make, but Ford's disavowal of history, in particular of ancient history, is representative of a general feeling. The past, many contemporaries would agree, is not of much help concerning the problems of the present. As Koselleck demonstrated, the topos of *historia magistra vitae* has lost much of its plausibility since 1800.[2] The Greeks, it seems, thought differently. They were, as van Groningen aptly put it, in the 'grip of the past'.[3] The distant past was in particularly high regard. To take an example from the *Iliad*, Phoenix adduces the story of Meleager when he tries to persuade Achilles to return to the battlefield: 'For I remember this action of old (πάλαι), it is not a new thing, / and how it went; you are all my friends, I will tell it among you.' (*Il.* 9.527–528). A look at epic genealogy reveals that Meleager is only one generation older than the heroes of the Trojan War.[4] Nonetheless, Phoenix qualifies Meleager's refusal to defend Calydon as 'of old'. Whilst Ford evokes the ancient Greeks to debunk history, Phoenix' presentation of the Meleager story implies that temporal distance heightens the authority of *exempla*.

This view of the past is not only shared by other Homeric heroes, but also seems to apply to the ancient receivers of the *Iliad*. The prominence of epic

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1 *New York Times* October 29, 1921.

2 Cf. Koselleck 1979. See also below part 5 (346)

3 van Groningen 1953. For a remarkable contestation of the value of the past, see Nethercut (ch. 17) in this volume.

4 Cf. Grethlein 2006, 56.

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poetry as well as the preference for mythic subjects in tragedy indicates that it was the remote past in particular that held the Greeks in a firm grip. This predilection for ancient times comes to the fore in the tendency to cast recent history in a mythic register.[5] Aeschylus' *Persians* and Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*, for instance, mythicize the Persian Wars just as Phoenix distances a recent event from the present.

Two passages, however, one from Herodotus, the other from Thucydides, help muddle this picture of a uniform veneration of the ancient past. In Herodotus' report on the battle at Plataea, the Athenians and Tegeans engage in a discussion about who is entitled to take the left wing (Hdt. 9.26–27).[6] The Tegeans buttress their claim by invoking the duel in which their mythical king Echemus defeated Hyllus. The Athenians start their response with a catalogue of mythical deeds, notably their intervention on behalf of the Heraclidae and the Argives around Adrastus, their victory over the Amazons and their participation in the Trojan War. All these achievements, however, should not count for much (Hdt. 9.27.4–5):

> But what is the point in mentioning these episodes? People who were brave in those days might be relatively useless now, and vice versa. So that's enough ancient history.
>
> ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω.

Instead, the Athenians flag a recent display of their virtue: Marathon. While the Athenians here still dutifully list their mythical deeds, Thucydides has them discard the ancient past more harshly at a conference in Sparta in 432 BCE: 'Now as for the remote past (τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιά), what need is there to speak when the audience would have the evidence of hearsay accounts rather than personal experience?' (Thuc. 1.73.2).

In both cases, it has been suggested that the Athenians' comments on the past reflect the author's attitude.[7] The observation that 'people who were brave in those days might be relatively useless now, and vice versa' echoes the proem in which Herodotus notes that 'most of those cities which were important in

5 Cf. Grethlein 2010, 55–57; 64–68; 75–79.

6 Cf. Grethlein 2010, 173–186.

7 E.g., Flower and Marincola 2002, *ad* Hdt. 9.27.5; Hornblower 1991–1996, *ad* Thuc. 1.73.2.

the past (τὸ πάλαι) have diminished in significance by now, and those which were great in my own time were small in times past' (Hdt. 1.5.4). In a similar vein, the privileging of personal experience is reminiscent of Thucydides' methodological agenda. The parallels to the respective authorial reflections notwithstanding, the Athenians' preference for the recent past anticipates a tendency in fourth-century speeches to focus on contemporary events.[8] Myths loom large in the *epitaphioi logoi* and also in the oeuvre of Isocrates with its epideictic character and focus on external affairs,[9] but are rarely referred to in symbouleutic and forensic speeches. Likewise, archaic history, with the exception of Solon, is given short shrift by the orators. The high esteem for the remote past in ancient Greece does not hold good in the assembly and the courtroom of the fourth century BCE. In what follows, I will explore the preference for recent *exempla* in the Attic orators (2) before I add some qualifications, first touching on diplomatic speeches (3), then discussing Lycurgus' speech against Leocrates (4). In a final step, I will return to the modern skepticism about *exempla*, using it to throw into relief the ancient orators' reticence to engage with the remote past. It is crucial to avoid generalizations and to do justice to the wide range of attitudes toward the past in ancient Greece, but nevertheless it is possible, I think, to pinpoint differences from modern attitudes (5).

2 Preference for the Recent Past in Oratory

As I have just mentioned, Isocrates stands out among the orators of classical Athens through his numerous references to the mythical past. That being said, even his speeches bear witness to the rhetorical predilection for recent events. In the *Archidamus*, a speech against Messene and Theban power politics written in the voice of the young Spartan prince, Isocrates turns to Athenian history for successful attempts to fight off invaders (Isoc. 6.42 = *Archid.* 42, trans. Norlin):

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8 The literature on the orators' treatment of the past is vast. See, for example, Jost 1936; Schmitz-Kahlmann 1939; Pearson 1941; Perlman 1961; Nouhaud 1982; Loraux 1986 on *epitaphioi logoi*; Gotteland 2001 on myth in oratory; Clarke 2008, 245–303; Grethlein 2010, 105–145; Steinbock 2012.

9 Cf. Pearson 1941, 219–220; Nouhaud 1982, 19. See also Perlman 1961, 159 n. 44 and Masaracchia 2003 on Isocrates' use of myth.

> For we shall find that as a result of dictating to others they lost repute with the Hellenes, while by defending themselves against insolent invaders they won fame among all mankind. Now if I were to recount the wars of old which they fought against the Amazons or the Thracians or the Peloponnesians who under the leadership of Eurystheus invaded Attica, no doubt I should be thought to speak on matters ancient and remote from the present situation; but in their war against the Persians, who does not know from what hardships they arose to great good fortune?
>
> *Τούτους γὰρ εὑρήσομεν, ἐξ ὧν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσέταττον, πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαβληθέντας, ἐξ ὧν δὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ἠμύνοντο, παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμήσαντας. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν παλαιοὺς κινδύνους εἰ διεξιοίην, οὓς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἢ Θρᾷκας ἢ Πελοποννησίους τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυσθέως εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν εἰσβαλόντας, ἴσως ἀρχαῖα καὶ πόρρω τῶν νῦν παρόντων λέγειν ἂν δοκοίην· ἐν δὲ τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ἐξ οἵων συμφορῶν εἰς ὅσην εὐδαιμονίαν κατέστησαν;*

Clarke notes that 'this is a strange claim to find in a speech written by Isocrates, given his exceptionally extensive use of ancient examples, including these very ones disclaimed here. We must, presumably, attribute the inconsistency to his characterization of the dramatic figure of Archidamus ...'[10] Indeed, the rejection of mythical *exempla* helps to characterize Archidamus, but it also expresses a general skepticism that comes to the fore in other speeches in which Isocrates introduces references to the remote past with apologies or qualifications.[11]

Dinarchus' speech against Demosthenes illustrates that this kind of skepticism is not limited to mythical events. Looking for examples of men who stood by the city in dangerous times, Dinarchus points out (*Demosth.* 37):

> It would be a long task to tell of these men of the past, Aristides and Themistocles, who built the walls of the city and brought the tribute paid freely and willingly by the Greeks to the Acropolis.
>
> *ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, Ἀριστείδην καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα, τοὺς ὀρθώσαντας τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς φόρους εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἀνενεγκόντας παρ' ἑκόντων καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*

10 Clarke 2008, 262.

11 See also Isoc. 3.26 (reference to gods); 4.28; 5.42.

Instead, Dinarchus elaborates on politicians of the fourth century BCE, namely Thrason, Eleius and Phormion. Here as in many other cases, the trope of *praeteritio* permits an orator to express his reservation about the remote past, be it myth or the fifth century BCE, while still tapping into it for *exempla*. The distant past is not without argumentative value, but recent events provide more powerful material.

A passage from Demosthenes corroborates that the orators' preference for the fourth century BCE is not rooted in a rigid juxtaposition of myth and history, but expresses a relative and flexible distinction between recent and remote events. In the speech against Androtion, composed in 355 BCE, Demosthenes attacks Androtion for proposing crowns for the Council of the past year. The Council had not provided any new triremes and was therefore liable to a decree that made the crowns for councilors contingent on the building of ships. In order to drive home the importance of war ships to Athens, Demosthenes looks to the past. His first *exemplum* is the battle of Salamis (Demosth. 22.13 = *Androt*. 13, trans. here and below Murray):

> You know of course from tradition that after they abandoned the city and shut themselves up in Salamis, it was because they had the war-galleys that they won the sea-fight and saved the city and all their belongings, and made themselves the authors for the rest of the Greeks of many great benefits, of which not even time can ever obliterate the memory.
>
> ἴστε δήπου τοῦτ᾽ ἀκοῇ, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ κατακλεισθέντες εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐκ τοῦ τριήρεις ἔχειν πάντα μὲν τὰ σφέτερ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες ἔσωσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι κατέστησαν αἴτιοι, ὧν οὐδ᾽ ὁ χρόνος τὴν μνήμην ἀφελέσθαι δύναται.

Anticipating the objection that 'this is ancient history' (ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιά), Demosthenes adds an *exemplum* 'that you have all seen' (22.14), namely the help the Athenians could provide for the Euboeans thanks to their ships in 357 BCE.

The *argumentum ex negativo* follows the same structure: Demosthenes first adduces the Decelean War in which the destruction of the fleet led to Athens' ruin and then, asking 'But why need one cite ancient instances (τὰ παλαιά)?' (Demosth. 22.15), he mentions the last war against the Spartans in the 370s BCE. As in the passage by Dinarchus, recent events provide stronger proof, but older ones seem important enough to be mentioned. The qualification as 'ancient' is relative; it is not only not limited to myth, but can also be applied to various stages of the historical past. While in Isocrates the Persian Wars appear as a

recent event that is juxtaposed with τὰ πάνυ παλαιά, Demosthenes dismisses the Persian Wars and even the Peloponnesian War as παλαιά.

Demosthenes' *praeteritio* of the 'ancient *exempla*' indicates a first reason why recent events are preferable. He sets the recent intervention on behalf of the Euboeans off against the Persian Wars with the words 'but take something that you have all seen' (Demosth. 22.14). In the pair of negative *exempla*, he justifies the reference to the fifth century BCE by saying 'I am reminding you of a bit of old history (τῶν … ἀρχαίων) which you know all better than I do' (22.15). Both comments highlight that familiarity is an important requirement that is met by recent rather than remote events. Concentrating on familiar topics is not only crucial for *exempla* to be effective, it also contributes to the self-fashioning of the orators eager to avoid anything that smacks of elite status. As Ober points out in his study on mass and elite in the fourth century BCE: 'But when using poetic and historical examples, the orator must avoid taking on the appearance of a well-educated man giving lessons in culture to the ignorant masses.'[12]

And yet, the requirement of familiarity fails to challenge such stock topics as the Persian Wars that are well known but, as we have seen, nonetheless must make way for more recent *exempla*. Another point favoring recent history is mentioned by Anaximenes in the *Ars rhetorica* where he discusses the part of βεβαίωσις (*Ars rhet.* 32.3):

> One has to take the paradigms that belong to the topic itself and are as close as possible to the audience regarding time and place; if such are missing, then the grandest and best known of the others.[13]
>
> λαμβάνειν δὲ δεῖ τὰ παραδείγματα ⟨τὰ⟩ οἰκεῖα τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὰ ἐγγύτατα τοῖς ἀκούουσι χρόνῳ ἢ τόπῳ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπάρχῃ τοιαῦτα, τῶν ἄλλων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ γνωριμώτατα.

While the second part of the sentence applies the criterion of familiarity to paradigms from the remote past, the first encapsulates what makes recent *exempla* attractive beyond the fact that they are well known. Mentioned together with the status of *exempla* as οἰκεῖος, the requirement that *exempla* be 'as close as possible to the audience regarding time and place' suggests that more recent events are deemed to be more relevant to the present. We have already

12 Ober 1989, 179. See also 181 on Demosthenes' use of the 'everyone knows' topos.

13 On the discussion of recent vs. remote *exempla* in Roman rhetoric, see Chaplin 2000, 123–126.

encountered this point in the *Archidamus*' disavowal of mythical events: 'Perhaps I would seem to discuss ancient events (ἀρχαῖα) and speak far from the present circumstances.' (Isoc. 6.42). I postpone to the end of this paper a discussion on how this relevance of recent events relates to the modern conviction that the past is a foreign country. Here it may suffice to note that recent events were felt to have had more of a bearing on the present just as *exempla* from one's own tradition carried stronger conviction than alien ones.

A third point that renders the recent past more attractive to orators besides its familiarity and relevance to the present can be gleaned from Isocrates. Shedding new light on the relationship between rhetoric and historiography, this point warrants a closer look.[14] In the *Panegyricus*, Isocrates brings up the myth of Demeter who bestowed on Athens the gifts of corn and the Eleusinian Mysteries.[15] While the introductory apology signals that a myth in this context is felt to be not unproblematic ('For even though the story has taken the form of a myth—μυθώδης—, yet it deserves to be told again', *Paneg.* = 4.28), a capping justification reveals *ex negativo* an objection that would be raised by critics (*Paneg.* = 4.30, trans. Norlin):

> In the first place, the very ground on which we might disparage the story, namely that it is ancient (ἀρχαίων), would naturally lead us to believe that the events actually came to pass; for because many have told and all have heard the story which describes them, it is reasonable to regard this not, to be sure, as recent (καινά), yet as worthy of our faith. In the next place, we are not obliged to take refuge in the mere fact that we have received the account and the report from remote times; on the contrary, we are able to adduce even greater proofs than this regarding what took place.
>
> Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις καταφρονήσειε τῶν λεγομένων ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τὰς πράξεις γεγενῆσθαι νομίσειεν. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς εἰρηκέναι καὶ πάντας ἀκηκοέναι προσήκει μὴ καινὰ μέν, πιστὰ δὲ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἔπειτ' οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταφυγεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν φήμην ἐκ πολλοῦ παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σημείοις μείζοσιν ἢ τούτοις ἔστιν ἡμῖν χρήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

14 Woodman 1988 has alerted us to the close entanglement of historiography and rhetoric. At the same time, it is important to note that the first historians defined the new genre by setting themselves off against the use of the past in oratory; cf. Grethlein 2010, 151–186 (on Herodotus); 206–239 (on Thucydides).

15 On this passage, see also Gotteland 2001, 78–80.

Further on in the *Panegyricus*, Isocrates will argue that the traditions preserving knowledge of Athens' early military achievements over such a long span of time attest to their grandeur (4.69). Here, he uses the rich oral tradition as proof of the historicity of myth. By transforming an argument against the credibility of remote events into evidence of their historicity, Isocrates slyly turns the tables. But this is not his only argument: even greater σημεῖα for the Demeter myth, he continues, are constituted by the ritual of the first-fruits brought to Athens annually from a great number of cities and by the Delphic oracles that established this institution (4.30–31). Taken together, present custom and past narratives, the shared belief of the Greek *poleis*, and the divine utterances provide powerful evidence. Isocrates' justification is remarkably sophisticated as it deploys a hermeneutic reflection on the significance of oral traditions as well as invoking an important ritual as testimony. His rhetorical efforts signal *ex negativo* that the historicity of mythical deeds was liable to be called into question, more specifically that oral traditions were likely to attract criticism for being unreliable. References to the recent past, it seems, were deemed to be more trustworthy.

The same issue resurfaces in the *Panathenaecus*.[16] After a lengthy account of the history of Athens' constitution, Isocrates anticipates the critique that 'I dare to speak as if I had exact knowledge of things, although I was not present when they were done' (*Panath.* = 12.149). The objection to reliance on oral traditions is here phrased as the need for autopsy. Isocrates offers a twofold defence against the anonymous *advocati diaboli*: he points out that many men share his belief. This argument may not be as strong as the ritual on which he capitalizes in the case of the Demeter myth, but he parallels it in relying on the agreement of the majority as a criterion for the veracity of accounts. With his second point, Isocrates goes beyond the arguments put forth in the *Archidamus*, supporting his position by a general epistemological consideration (*Panath.* = 12.150, trans. Norlin):

> … I could show that all men are possessed of more truth gained through hearing than through seeing and that they have knowledge of greater and nobler deeds which they have heard from others than those which they have witnessed themselves.

16 Cf. Gotteland 2001, 81–84.

… δυνηθείην ἂν ἐπιδεῖξαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους πλείους ἐπιστήμας ἔχοντας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἢ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μείζους πράξεις καὶ καλλίους εἰδότας, ἃς παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀκηκόασιν ἢ ᾽κείνας, αἷς αὐτοὶ παραγεγενημένοι τυγχάνουσιν.

Scholars have been quick to link Isocrates' defence of oral traditions to the methodological issues pondered by historians. It is widely assumed that he challenges Herodotus' and Thucydides' approval of autopsy while paving the way for his alleged students Duris and Theopompus who would abandon the critical standards established by the latter.[17] There is, however, little evidence, if any, for a school of rhetorical historiography founded by Isocrates and its existence has been effectively challenged by recent scholarship.[18] I think it is also mistaken to assume that Isocrates levels his reflections specifically against Herodotus and Thucydides. The high esteem in which autopsy is held is not specific to historiography. Heraclitus and Thales also seem to have preferred eyesight over hearsay and passages from Homer, the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, tragedy and comedy highlight how widely spread this evaluation of autopsy was in Greek culture.[19] Moreover, Herodotus and Thucydides in actuality do make use of oral traditions; the methodological reflections of the latter do not even signal a preference for autopsy (Thuc. 1.22.2).[20]

This is not to deny that Isocrates uses a concept of proof that resembles the historians' efforts to find out what happened. The notion of πίστις figures prominently in the two passages under consideration; σημεῖα (*Paneg.* = 4.30), ἀκριβῶς (*Panath.* = 12.149), ἔλεγχος (12.150) and ἀλήθεια (12.150) are other terms that signal Herodotus' and Thucydides' reliance on proof.[21] This, how-

17 On Isocrates' reflections as challenging Thucydides, see Schmitz-Kahlmann 1939, 56–60; Gotteland 2001, 83–84; on Isocrates' reflections as breaking the ground for later historiography, Avenarius 1956, 81–85; Schmitz-Kahlmann 1939, 60–62; Nickel 1991. On the other hand, Flower 1994, 50–51 correctly observes that Isocrates in *Panath.* = 12.149–150 and also in *Paneg.* = 4.7–10 does not comment on historiography. On both passages, see also Marincola 1997, 276–279. On Thucydides' influence on Isocrates, see the survey by Nouhaud 1982, 115–117.

18 Cf. Flower 1994, 42–62.

19 Heraclitus DK 22 B 55; Thales *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 3.12.14. In Homer, see *Il.* 2.484–493; *Od.* 3.92–95 and 3.186–187; 16.470 with the interpretation of Marincola 1997, 63–64. In physiological literature, e.g., *De arte* 1.17; in tragedy, e.g., Aesch. *Pers.* 266–267; in comedy, Ar. *Thesm.* 5–19. For a survey with more references, see Nenci 1953, 17–29.

20 Cf. Marincola 1997, 67–69.

21 σημεῖον, e.g., Thuc. 1.21.1 (in Herodotus with the primary meaning 'sign, mark', cf. Thomas 2000, 192); ἀκρίβεια, e.g., Thuc. 1.22.1; ἔλεγχος, e.g., Hdt. 2.22 (not used by Thucydides for his own work); ἀλήθεια, e.g., Thuc. 1.22.1 (ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων).

ever, does not mean that Isocrates borrows these terms from the historians, let alone that he challenges their approaches. The tendency to construct intellectual history as a linear development dominated by references to the authors whom we have come to consider canonical is as common as it is mistaken. Even when considering the scanty transmission of fifth-century literature, enough is bequeathed to us to glimpse that the 'language of proof' was shared by authors working on a great variety of subjects.[22] Physiologists and Presocratics also based their conclusions on σημεῖα and invoked ἐλέγχη,[23] just as orators would strive for ἀλήθεια and ἀκρίβεια.[24] The notion of evidence addressed by Isocrates was not put on the agenda by Herodotus and Thucydides, but was an issue simultaneously pondered by orators, philosophers, scientists and historians. In this complex traffic of ideas it is hard to make out the clear-cut dependencies of which older scholarship is so fond. Instead of revealing an Isocratean challenge to Thucydides, the parallel employment of the 'language of proof' rather bespeaks the practical relevance of Thucydides' methodological standards.[25]

A fragment from Theopompus' *Philippica* illustrates that the credibility of ancient *exempla* adduced by orators was indeed a subject for controversy. In the *Progymnasmata* of Theon we find the note that Theopompus blamed the Athenians for concocting (καταψεύδεται) the oath of the Greeks before Plataea, a peace with the King (generally identified with the Callias Peace or the Epilycus treaty with Darius in 424–423 BCE) and a wrong account of Marathon:[26] 'The city of Athens also brags (ἀλαζονεύεται) with other stories and deceives (παρακρούεται) the Greeks.' (*FGrH* 115 frg. 153).[27] The fragment raises numerous textual and historical problems,[28] but it seems clear that Theopompus

22 For the 'language of proof', see Thomas 2000, 190–200, who puts Herodotus in the context of fifth-century BCE science. On the relation between the first historians and forensic rhetoric, see Butti de Lima 1996, 79–185; for Thucydides, see also Siewert 1985.

23 See, e.g., for σημεῖον *On ancient Medicine* 14; Melissus DK 30 B 8.1; for ἔλεγχος, Parmenides DK 28 B 7.5; *De diaeta* 1.1.

24 We have very little oratory from the fifth century BCE, but see Antiphon 2.4.1 for ἀλήθεια and 4.3.1 for ἀκρίβεια.

25 Cf. Grethlein 2010, 274–276.

26 The last point is echoed in Plut. *De Herod. malign.* 862d.

27 It is worth pointing out that the activities of both ἀλαζονεύομαι and παρακρούομαι are reproaches that are leveled against sophistic orators elsewhere, e.g., Isoc. *Panath.* = 12.20; 271.

28 See the discussion by Connor 1968, 77–92 and for further literature Flower 1994, 59 n. 60; Gauger 2010, 215–216. On the question of whether Theopompus assumes partial or total forgery of the documents, see Meister 1982, 59–60.

takes issue with the rhetorical self-fashioning of Athens. According to Theon, Theopompus did not criticize historians, but the city of Athens, which suggests their public orators.

The very practice of quoting documents, whether forged or not,[29] reinforces the idea that quibbles about the veracity of historical references were more than a rhetorical ploy of Isocrates. That the orators cited documents in order to buttress the historicity of past events is made explicit by Lycurgus. After narrating how Pausanias was punished by the Spartans, he mentions that the Spartans made a law 'concerning all who are unwilling to take risks for the fatherland'. He introduces the reading of the law as follows: 'So that you may know that I have not told a story without proof but one with true examples, take the law for them.' (ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ λόγον ἀναπόδεικτον εἴρηκα, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀληθείας ὑμῖν παραδείγματα, φέρε αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, Leoc. 129).

To sum up: although omnipresent, the past was not a uniform entity in ancient Greece. It is possible to differentiate various contexts conducive to the deployment of different parts of it. The larger-than-life frame and the malleability of myth rendered its stories highly suited to entertaining audiences and negotiating issues of identity and moral conduct in the elevated settings of the symposium and public ceremonies. They undermined its value, however, for symbouleutic and forensic oratory. In the antagonistic debates of the assembly and law-court, ancient *exempla* were liable to be challenged as not trustworthy. References to the non-mythical distant past, with notable exceptions such as the Persian Wars, lacked familiarity and were thus in danger of estranging the audience. Proximity to the world of the audience in general increased the persuasiveness of *exempla* marshalled by orators.

3 Myth in Diplomatic Negotiations

The trope of *praeteritio* signals that the remote past, while less compelling than events closer to the present, was not without argumentative value. Diplomatic controversies in particular feature mythical references.[30] A case in point is the

29 Habicht 1961 was seminal for the investigation of forged documents in classical Greece. He argued that a good number of documents on the Persian Wars were invented by fourth-century orators. His thesis has been discussed controversally, see, e.g., Welles 1966; Davies 1996. For a survey of possible forgeries of inscriptions, see Chaniotis 1988, 265–277. For a critical reflection on the appropriateness of the notion of forgery for fourth-century texts, see Thomas 1989, 91–93.

30 Cf. Nilsson 1951, 81; 88; Perlman 1961, 159; Parker 1996, 227. For discussions on the use of

famous Delian speech that Hyperides delivered to the Council of the Delphic Amphictyony to buttress Athens' claims to manage the temple of Apollo on Delos. Unfortunately, the speech has not been preserved, but we read in Maximus Planudes that in it Hyperides, 'striving to show them that the Athenian claims to the Delphic temple reach back far, makes much use of myth (μύθῳ)' (Plan. 5.481 Walz). More specifically, a fragment from the speech makes it likely that Hyperides did not fail to capitalize on the foundation of Delos as an Athenian *apoikia* (Hyp. frg. 72), while another shows that he went back even further to underscore the Athenian claims: the pregnant Leto loosened her girdle at Cape Zoster near Athens and also seems to have passed by the temple of Athena Pronoia (frg. 67). Robert Parker suggests that Hyperides also invoked the mysterious offerings coming from the Hyperboreans via Prasiae and the first pilgrimage to Delos led by Erysichthon, which is mentioned in the contemporaneous *Atthis* by Phanodemus.[31]

Aeschines provides us with another example of the deployment of mythical references in diplomacy. The speech that he gave as ambassador to Philip in 346 BCE, trying to justify the Athenian claim to Amphipolis, has not been transmitted either, but in his defence against Demosthenes' charges that he accepted bribery from Philip three years later, Aeschines repeats its argument (Aeschin. 2.31 = *De fals. leg.* 31):

> As to the original founding of the site, the so-called Nine Roads, and the sons of Theseus, one of whom, Acamas, is said to have received this territory as dowry for his wife, these were themes that it was appropriate to narrate at that point and that were dealt with in as much detail as possible; on this occasion, however, I suppose I must cut short my account.

> περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτήσεως τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Ἐννέα ὁδῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων, ὧν Ἀκάμας λέγεται φερνὴν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ λαβεῖν τὴν χώραν ταύτην, τότε μὲν ἥρμοττε λέγειν καὶ ἐρρήθη ὡς ἐνεδέχετο ἀκριβέστατα, νυνὶ δὲ ἴσως ἀνάγκη συντέμνειν τοὺς λόγους.

In his address to Philip, Aeschines thus traced back Athens' title to Amphipolis and to Acamas who received the town as dowry for his marriage with the Thracian princess Phyllis. In *De falsa legatione*, however, he decides not to spell

myth in diplomatic speeches mostly from the fourth century BCE, see Bickermann 1928, 42–45; Parker 1996, 223–235; Natoli 2004, 67–68.

31 Parker 1996, 224–225.

out the mythical stories: 'What I shall recall is the evidence I provided not from ancient myths (οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μύθοις) but from events in our own time.' (2.31). While cutting short the mythical part of his argument, Aeschines expands upon the reference he made to the Peace of 371 BCE, notably Amyntas' vote 'to join the Greeks in helping the Athenians to capture Amphipolis, Athens' property' (2.32). He continues to quote in direct speech his words to Philip: 'What Amyntas renounced in front of the whole of Greece not only in words but also with his vote, it is not right for you, his son, to lay claim to.' (2.33). Carey notes that 'the argument might well impress an Athenian audience, but it rests on the untested assumption that Athens still "owned" a city that had revolted from it two generations earlier and had never been recaptured'.[32] Perhaps this argument had been less prominent in the speech leveled at Philip, which, it may be surmised, instead gave more space to the mythical precedent. The shift of emphasis in the second speech highlights that different contexts render different parts of the past attractive.

The work of Antipater of Magnesia has been described by Jacoby as 'übles produkt einer adulatorisch-höfischen historie, das respect vor der haltung des Isokrates und Theopompos erweckt' (*FGrH* 69), but one of the few testimonies grants us a further glimpse of the discussion about Amphipolis. In his letter to Philip, Speusippus warmly recommends the historian. One of the points singled out by Speusippus is Antipater's account of how Heracles freed the area of Amphipolis from Syleus, entrusting it to Dicaeus, but that later 'Athenians and Chalcidians took Amphipolis that belonged to the Heracleidans' (*Ad Philipp. reg.* 6). Speusippus caps his list of further similar deeds of Heracles with the comment: 'And this is not a pretext à la Isocrates and not mere noise of names, but words that can aid your empire' (8). Whilst Aeschines had anchored the Athenian title in the Athenian king Acamas, Antipater would allow the Macedonians to do one better and reach back even further into the past by invoking Heracles. As the controversy about Amphipolis suggests, the mythical past offered diplomatic capital fiercely fought over by speakers.

Does this use of mythical *exempla* in diplomatic exchanges challenge my thesis that the remote past, while dominating in the festive contexts of poetry and epideictic speeches, was of less value in more pragmatic interactions? Diplomats negotiated the weighty matters of foreign politics and nonetheless seem to have relied on myths. This being said, a further look at *De falsa legatione* intimates that the same reservations applied to the distant past in diplomatic speeches as in other oratory, and that mythical *exempla* were significant for a

32 Carey 2000, 106 n. 58.

specific point that was prominent in diplomatic exchanges. In the paragraphs preceding the passage quoted, Aeschines attempts to prove Athens' *eunoia* and *euergesiai* towards Macedonia. For this, he mentions the support for Amyntas III (2.26), who in the second half of the 380s BCE had lost his power to Argaeus for two years and was then reinstalled with the help of the Athenians. In 368 BCE the Athenian general Iphicrates protected Eurydice and Perdiccas against Pausanias (2.27–29). Despite the war Perdiccas started with Athens to acquire Amphipolis, the Athenians, victorious in 363–362 BCE, showed *philanthropia* towards Macedonia and granted it a fair truce (2.30). Given that the Macedonian kings traced their ancestry back to Heracles, it would have been easy to capitalize on mythical stories to highlight Athens' benevolence towards Macedonia.[33] And yet, instead of referencing, for example, the reception of the Heraclidae in Athens, Aeschines opts for the history of the last fifty years. Recent events, he obviously sensed, presented more powerful evidence of Athens' helpfulness than the venerable mythical tradition.

References to the ancient past, on the other hand, are found especially where questions of origin are at stake. As Hyperides' *Delian Speech* and Aeschines' *Amphipolis Speech* illustrate, myths constituted precious capital for claims to land and other titles in foreign affairs.[34] The distance from the present that in other contexts tended to undermine the relevance of myth increased its value in cases such as those in which the original ownership of a plot of land was being investigated. This value applied not only to conflicting claims to rights, but also to alliances.[35] Myth lent itself in particular to arguments based on kinship, a connection that was often invoked when favors were being asked.[36] An inscription from Xanthus reports a late, but striking, instance of kinship diplomacy (*SEG* XXXVIII 1476).[37] In 206–205 BCE an embassy from Cytinium beseeched Xanthus to support the rebuilding of their wall, tracing back the kinship between the *poleis* to the age of gods and heroes. While only giving 500 drachmae, the Xanthians went out of their way to record details of the embassy

33 For an argument focusing on Heracles as Macedonian ancestor, see Just. *Epit.* 11.4.5–6, who reports that in 335 BCE the Thebans reminded Alexander that the city he was about to destroy was the birthplace of Heracles.

34 Cf. Parker 1996, 227, who balances the use of mythical arguments with the observation that such questions seem to have been decided by considerations of exigency rather than of the past.

35 For further examples, see Gotteland 2001, 343–350.

36 On kinship diplomacy in ancient Greece, see Jones 1999 and Clarke 2008, 347–363.

37 For the *editio princeps*, with translation and commentary, see Bousquet 1988; for a succinct overview, see Osborne 2011, 108–112.

epigraphically, including the references to ancient history in the speech of the Cytinians. In this and other cases of kinship diplomacy, references to origin helped to make claims in the present and thereby rendered the tales of myth precious material.

4 The Distant Past in Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*

Although most prominent in diplomatic negotiations, references to myth and distant epochs of history are by no means limited to interstate encounters. Take for example Dinarchus' speech against Demosthenes: trying to dissuade the jurors from revising their condemnation of Demosthenes for his role in the Harpalus affair by the Areopagus, Dinarchus invokes the trials of Poseidon vs. Ares and the Erinyes vs. Orestes. In both cases, he points out, the persecutors accepted the acquittal of the accused by the Areopagus Council, while Demosthenes is unwilling to bow to its verdict (*Demosth.* = 1.87). Note that Dinarchus does not marshal myth to appropriate the origins of a title, but to have a parallel to the present situation. The comparison with gods and heroes permits him to argue *a maiore ad minus*. Such references to the remote past, though, are not frequent in our corpus of non-epideictic and non-diplomatic speeches. A noteworthy exception that merits a closer look is Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*.[38]

In 331 or 330 BCE,[39] Lycurgus charged in an *eisangelia*-trial the Athenian blacksmith Leocrates with treason for having left Athens in the aftermath of the defeat at Chaeronea (338 BCE). References to the fifth century BCE as well as to the mythical age abound in his speech: Lycurgus touches on Troy and Messene to illustrate the fate of destroyed cities (*Leoc.* 69), contrasts Leocrates' cowardly departure with the ancestors who left Athens to counter the Persians' attack at Salamis (68–70) and praises the empire which their victory helped to establish (72–74). The quotation and discussion of the ephebic oath and the oath sworn by the Greek allies before Plataea (75–82) lead to the *exemplum* of the mythical king Codrus who sacrificed himself to avert the danger of a Spartan invasion (83–88). A further legendary tale about a pious man who risked his life to save his father from an eruption of Mount Etna underscores the gods' moral concern with human affairs (95–97). The mention of Erechtheus is backed up by a lengthy quotation from Euripides' play (100–101), followed by passages

38 On this speech, see Burke 1977; Allen 2000; Engels 2008; Scholz 2009; Steinbock 2011.

39 For literature on the date, see Steinbock 2011, 280 n. 1.

from the *Iliad* (102–103) and Tyrtaeus (105–107). The heroes of the Persian Wars are evoked again as a contrast foil to Leocrates (104; 108–110) before Lycurgus presents a list of *exempla* of rigorous punishment from the fifth century BCE (112–129).

The pervasiveness of myth and fifth-century history in our only preserved speech from Lycurgus is striking.[40] Simultaneously, *Against Leocrates* betrays the same skepticism towards the distant past as other speeches in the fourth century BCE. Lycurgus introduces the reference to Troy and Messene as follows: 'if I can mention the more distant past (παλαιότερον)' (*Leoc.* 62, trans. Burtt), and qualifies the quotation of the oath taken before Plataea as 'deeds that happened long ago (παλαιῶν ὄντων)' (*Leoc.* 80). Likewise, he feels obliged to justify the Sicilian legend: 'There is a story, which, even if it is rather fantastic (μυθωδέστερον), is suitable for all you younger men to hear.' (*Leoc.* 95). Lycurgus hence shares his contemporaries' qualms about the distant past. His indulgence therein must be explained by the way in which he engages with it.

It is not incidental, I suggest, that two of the qualifications are added to non-Athenian *exempla* which do not feature acts of virtue that throw into relief Leocrates' alleged crime: Troy and Messene only illustrate the fate of destroyed cities. The piety of the Sicilian may implicitly contrast with Leocrates' lack of *eusebeia*, but it is primarily invoked to prove divine concern with moral standards in general. It is also noteworthy that the third justification for bringing up ancient history pertains to Plataea, which, being associated with the Spartans, was the least prominent of the great battles against the Persians in Athenian memory.[41] That there are no comparable qualifications for the bulk of Athenian *exempla* immediately contrasting with Leocrates reveals their special character: Lycurgus marshals past deeds as evidence of standards still valid in the present but flagrantly violated by the accused. The past on which he draws is not past but still present. Besides highlighting the abjectness of Leocrates, the presence of the past helps Lycurgus exert pressure on the jury. He repeatedly reminds the jurors of the paradigmatic significance of their verdict (*Leoc.* 9, 27,

40 It is impossible to reach safe conclusions about the role of myth and ancient history in Lycurgus' speeches in general, but there are signs that *Against Leocrates* may not have been that exceptional: our meagre corpus of fragments reveals that in the speech against Lycophron, Lycurgus referred to Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, and to Erichthonius (frg. X–XI 6 and 7) while conjuring up the achievements of Pericles at another occasion (frg. IX 2). It is also worth noting that Hermogenes *Id.* B p. 416 (H. Rabe p. 402, 14) notes Lycurgus' penchant for digressions on myth, history and poetry in general.

41 Cf. Jung 2006, 293.

150; cf. 119, 127). They are deciding not only the fate of an individual, but much more profoundly about whether or not the great patriotic tradition will be continued.

A couple of passages nicely illustrate that Lycurgus evokes a past that he considers still present.[42] Codrus belongs to the distant age when Athens was still a monarchy, but Lycurgus nonetheless asks: 'When the Peloponnesians invade Attica, what do your ancestors do, gentlemen of the court?' (*Leoc.* 85). Present tense, the reference to 'your ancestors' instead of the king, and the direct address to the jurors help to obliterate the boundary between mythical and democratic Athens. The past is endowed with presence so that it is not surprising when Lycurgus goes on to describe the decision of the mythical Athenians in light of Leocrates' treason (*Leoc.* 85):

> They did not abandon the country, as Leocrates did, and flee, nor did they betray the land that had nourished them and its temples to the enemy. No, although few in number, they were cut off and besieged and endured hardship for their country.
>
> οὐ καταλιπόντες τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ Λεωκράτης ᾤχοντο, οὐδ᾽ ἔκδοτον τὴν θρεψαμένην καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέδοσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγοι ὄντες κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ διεκαρτέρουν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

In section 69, Lycurgus raises the question: 'What man is so grudging or so completely lacking in ambition that he would not pray to have taken part in their great deeds?' So close is the battle of Salamis that present-day Athenians could, it seems, step into it without further ado. The heroes of Salamis are inversely imagined to consider Leocrates' flight: 'Would any of those men have perhaps tolerated such a crime? Wouldn't they have stoned to death the man who brought shame on their own courage?' (*Leoc.* 71). In accordance with this interweaving of past and present, Lycurgus muses that in 338 BCE even 'the countryside was sacrificing its trees, the dead their tombs' (*Leoc.* 43). Leocrates on the other hand is blamed for returning to Athens without feeling shame when he passes the tombs as if they could chide him (*Leoc.* 45, see also 142). The dead are reawakened, just as the landscape is personified.

42 See also Steinbock 2011, who argues that Codrus was an eponymic age-set hero (283–306) and traces ephebic themes throughout the speech that would have strongly resonated with the Athenian audience (306–311).

The significance of a past still present is reflected in the samples of poetry that Lycurgus inserts into his speech. The citations from Euripides, Homer and Tyrtaeus are obviously chosen to throw into relief Leocrates' depravity and its danger for the *polis*: the justification, for example, that Praxithea gives for the sacrifice of her daughter on behalf of the *polis* contrasts effectively with Leocrates' disavowal of Athens. At the same time, it is important to take into account the framework in which the quotations are set. They are explicitly presented as the force behind the exemplary comportment in the Persian Wars: 'Your ancestors listened to these verses (i.e., from Homer) and were eager to imitate such deeds.' (*Leoc.* 104).

The poetic samples in *Against Leocrates* are often only seen as a welcome addition to the remaining fragments of Euripides and Tyrtaeus. They warrant attention in and of themselves, however, for their function just mentioned reveals that Lycurgus' speech is more sophisticated than scholars are willing to admit.[43] I suggest that the quotations offer a meta-rhetorical reflection and can be interpreted as a *mise en abîme*. Scholars have not hesitated to read *Against Leocrates* as part of Lycurgus' restoration program. Burke, for example, argues that, together with Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown*, it attests the attempt to recover a role for Athens outside the shadow of Macedonia.[44] I am not sure about the exact political context of these efforts, but in my interpretation the poetic samples are a signal, encapsulated in the speech, that its goal extends beyond the persecution of an individual. Lycurgus marshals the *exempla* of ancient virtue not only to highlight by contrast Leocrates' guilt, but also to spur their imitation by his audience just as Homer and Tyrtaeus provided the spirit for the Persian Wars. The effect of poetry as conceived of by Lycurgus thus mirrors the impact that he envisages for his *exempla*-laden speech.

Like the poets (*Leoc.* 13, 111), Lycurgus lays claim to the activity of διδάσκειν (*Leoc.* 124). Not only Euripides strives to pick the 'noblest paradigm' (κάλλιστον … παράδειγμα, *Leoc.* 100), but also Lycurgus throughout his speech and explicitly so when he refers to the Areopagus Council as the 'noblest paradigm' (κάλλιστον … παράδειγμα, *Leoc.* 12), while the jurors are repeatedly reminded of the paradigmatic function their decision will have.[45] The use of the superlative form of καλός, rare in forensic speeches,[46] indicates that the function ascribed to poetry and oratory ultimately challenges the *logos-ergon*

43 Allen 2000 is a noteworthy exception.

44 Burke 1977. For a critique of Burke, see Scholz 2009, 182 with further literature in n. 44.

45 See above.

46 Allen 2000, 20–21.

dichotomy.[47] Κάλλιστον not only applies to the paradigm presented by the orator, but also to the great deeds themselves (*Leoc.* 68, 102). On the one hand the noblest deeds translate directly into the noblest paradigms praised in oratory, on the other, by provoking great actions the paradigms further blur the boundary between word and deed: 'choosing the noblest (τὰ κάλλιστα) of actions', the poets 'convince the people with word and presentation' (*Leoc.* 102) and conversely the ancestors, 'hearing these words … are eager to imitate such deeds' (*Leoc.* 104). This destabilization of the *logos-ergon* dichotomy is crucial to the presence of the past for which I have argued. When the mimesis of past deeds in poetry and oratory triggers their imitation by new deeds, then the past does not pass, but continues to live in the dialectic of *logos* and *ergon*.

These observations may help to explain the massive deployment of the distant past in *Against Leocrates* that jars with the general preference for recent *exempla* in forensic and symbouleutic speeches. Not all ancient deeds marshalled by Lycurgus feature in the *epitaphioi logoi*—Codrus, for example, is a noteworthy absence—but others such as the Persian Wars do. More importantly, Lycurgus' attitude toward the past is strongly reminiscent of the epideictic take on history.[48] The notion of tradition aligns *Against Leocrates* with the funeral speeches, which sketch Athenian history as a continuum of virtuous deeds stretching from the past to the present. As I have argued elsewhere, the funeral speeches also present themselves as part of the dialectic between *logos* and *ergon* that is the engine of Athens' glorious history.[49] The manner in which this view of the past is used rhetorically differs, however, between *epitaphioi logoi* and *Against Leocrates*. The former, glorifying the war dead, use it to compensate the individual experience of contingency with the unbroken continuum of the *polis*; the latter deploys it to chastise Leocrates. That being said, at a deeper level both are parallel in their admonition of the audience to keep the flag of Athens' virtue flying. Lycurgus shares, as we have seen, the skepticism about the ancient past pervading forensic and symbouleutic oratory, but, following the practice of epideictic oratory, he turns to it to find edifying *exempla* that suit the needs of the present. While of lesser value for other argumentative needs, the larger-than-life frame of the ancient past lent itself to providing paradigms of exemplary conduct.[50]

47 For the *logos-ergon* dichotomy, see, e.g., *Leoc.* 71, 116, 123, 127.

48 Stylistic parallels to the *epitaphioi logoi* are pointed out by Petrie 1922, xxxiii–xxxiv.

49 Cf. Grethlein 2010, 117–121, 123–125.

50 In this context, it is worth noting the tendency to elaborate on the deeds of *honorandi* in honorary decrees of the Lycurgean era; cf. Rosen 1987 and Lambert 2010.

5 Challenging the Value of the Past in Ancient Greece and Today

Myth, endowed with much authority in the symposium and at festivals and predominant in poetic genres, was less popular in oratory. As we have seen, mythical *exempla* were used to buttress diplomatic claims and myth was well-suited to enchant the audiences of epideictic performances, but the assembly and the courtroom showed in general a preference for the recent past. At first sight, this reticence on myth as well as distant history is reminiscent of the modern disregard for the topos of *historia magistra vitae*. It is not incidental that Ford refers to ancient Greece to support his assertion that 'history is bunk'. If our attempts to learn from history are not limited to contributing to the formation of our identities and to enhancing our understanding of the world in general,[51] but dare to evoke specific events as foils to the present, then we tend to concentrate on recent events. A case in point is the infamous Chequers affair in 1990. Margaret Thatcher had invited the country's big-shot historians to discuss what history could teach about Germany and the character of its people.[52] When the minutes of the meeting were leaked to the press, several less than favorable comments on the German national character caused a scandal. Concerning history, the discussion foregrounded recent events, notably the Third Reich and the decades after it. It is emblematic that only the 'Reichsgründung' in 1871, and no other potential parallel from early modern or even medieval Germany, was discussed as a foil to the current process of German re-unification that caused the British Prime Minister so much discomfort.[53]

And yet, the modern reluctance to derive lessons from the past, especially distant times, is distinct from the tendency of ancient orators to privilege recent *exempla*.[54] A quotation from Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* illustrates that it is rooted in a different concept of history:

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51 For a survey of such toned-down versions of the topos of *historia magistra vitae*, see Kocka 2005. It is however important to note that the early modern age already saw a surge of skepticism about exemplary uses of the past; see Burke 2011. For some further philosophical reflections on the fate of the topos *historia magistra vitae* in the modern age, see Bubner 2000.

52 For the minutes of the meeting published in *Der Spiegel* of July 16, 1990, see Wengst 1992, 122–128. For comments of the participants in the meeting, see Craig 1991, Ash 1992, Stone 1992 and Stern 1992.

53 Cf. Craig 1991, 620.

54 For the following, see also Grethlein 2010, 281–290. In Grethlein 2011, I compare the ambiguity of *exempla* in Herodotus and Thucydides with the modern skepticism about lessons to be learnt from history.

> Rulers, statesmen and nations are often advised to learn the lesson of historical experience. But what experience and history teach is this—that nations and governments have never learned anything from history or acted upon any lessons they might have drawn from it. Each age and each nation finds itself in such peculiar circumstances, in such a unique situation, that it can and must make decisions with reference to itself alone (and only the great individual can decide what the right course is). Amid the pressure of great events, a general principle is of no help, and it is not enough to look back on similar situations [in the past]; for pale recollections are powerless before the stress of the moment, and impotent before the life and freedom of the present.[55]

The distance of both the mythical age and the fifth century BCE was one of the reasons that prompted fourth-century orators to favor *exempla* from contemporary history, but the modern emphasis on the individual character of each age strikes a different chord. For the ancient orators, temporal proximity heightened the persuasiveness of their *exempla* just as *exempla* from their own history were felt to be more compelling than those from alien *poleis*. The modern reservations against learning from the past are more profound. Beginning with Enlightenment historiography and then reinforced by the movement of Historicism, history started to be conceptualized as a unified process with a dynamic of its own.[56] This 'temporalization of history' created a strong awareness of the individual character of ages that undermined the value of juxtaposing events across ages. The qualitative difference between past and present that makes the moderns question the didactic function of history is far more unsettling than the pre-eminently quantitative difference that led ancient orators to search for recent instead of ancient *exempla*.

Certainly the notion of progress was not unknown in classical Greece,[57] and the play with heroic and contemporary codes in some tragedies attests a feeling for the gap that separates the present from the mythical era.[58] Just think of the Sophoclean *Philoctetes*: clashing with Odysseus' utilitarian ethics that smacks of the ideas of the contemporary sophists, Philoctetes' heroic values appear not only overtly rigorous, but may also seem dated, if not anachro-

55 Hegel 1970 [1837], 17, here quoted in the translation from Nisbet 1975, 21.

56 See especially Koselleck 1979, 17–37.

57 See, e.g., Edelstein 1967; Dodds 1973; Meier 1980, 186–221. D'Angour 2011 produces much rhetorical self-fashioning, but little that is new.

58 See Neumann 1995 on Euripides and Altmeyer 2001 on Sophocles. See also Murnaghan (ch. 8) in this volume on his *Ajax*.

nistic. That being said, as Christian Meier has demonstrated, the notions of change and improvement thriving especially in the fifth century BCE did not amount in any way to something similar to modern concepts of progress.[59] Linked to changes experienced and rarely encompassing such crucial areas as ethics, society and economy, the ancient 'Könnens-Bewußtsein' did not produce an abstract and all-embracing concept of progress that would extend to the future. Accordingly, no term emerged that, equivalent to our 'history', would have signified *res gestae* as a single inherently dynamic process.[60] The observation of changes did not challenge the plausibility of exemplary history, as the example of Thucydides demonstrates: in his *Archaeology*, he astutely notes the differences between archaic and contemporary Greeks, paying heed to customs and infrastructure. Nevertheless he does not shy away from paralleling the heroic expedition to Troy with the Peloponnesian War.[61] What is more, referring to the ἀνθρώπινον, he programmatically announces his conviction that his account can impart precious lessons to future generations (Thuc. 1.22.4).[62]

How far does this thesis about different attitudes to past and present extend? While trying to do justice to the variety of attitudes in different genres, I have focused on texts of the classical era. Subsequent times, however, saw profound changes. Recent work has started to explore in particular the complexities of the references to the classical past that are so pervasive in Imperial literature.[63] One of the points noted is an increasing awareness of the gap separating the present from the past. And yet, the often playful, sometimes subversive engagement with the classical past notwithstanding, it retained, even heightened, its force as model for the present. That the difference between ancient and modern uses of *exempla* for which I have argued also applies at least to some Imperial authors is illustrated by a passage taken from Plutarch's *Precepts of Statecraft* (*Prae. ger. reip*. 814a, trans. here and below North Fowler):

59 Meier 1980, 435–499.

60 Meier assumes that the Greek notion of time was too weak to generate the idea of history as a directional process. The opposite is true, I think. It is the force of time, especially in the form of chance, that prevents the emergence of a notion of history in the modern sense. Cf. Grethlein 2010, 287 and, more extensively on the example of Homer, 2006, 97–106.

61 Cf. Kallet 2001, 97–112.

62 Cf. Grethlein 2010, 268–279.

63 For the prominence of the past in Imperial literature and culture, see Bowie 1970; Swain 1996, 65–100. On the many facets of the engagement with the past, see, for example, Whitmarsh 2001, 41–89; Kim 2010. In this volume, see the papers by Kim (ch. 14) and de Jonge (ch. 15).

> … the officials in the cities, when they foolishly urge the people to imitate the deeds, ideals, and actions of their ancestors, however unsuitable they may be to present times and conditions, stir up the common folk and, though what they do is laughable, what is done to them is no laughing matter, unless they are merely treated with utter contempt.

> οἱ δ᾽ ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνοήτως τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ φρονήματα καὶ πράξεις, ἀσυμμέτρους τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν οὔσας, μιμεῖσθαι κελεύοντες ἐξαίρουσι τὰ πλήθη, γελοῖά τε ποιοῦντες οὐκέτι γέλωτος ἄξια πάσχουσιν, ἂν μὴ πάνυ καταφρονηθῶσι.

The critique of *exempla* that are 'unsuitable to present times and conditions' seems to anticipate the modern awareness of the autonomy of historical epochs, but Plutarch goes on (*Prae. ger. reip.* 814a–b):

> Indeed there are many acts of the Greeks of former times by which the statesman can recount to mold and correct the characters of our contemporaries, for example, at Athens by calling to mind, not deeds in war, but such things as the decree of amnesty after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants.

> πολλὰ γάρ ἔστιν ἄλλα τῶν πρότερον Ἑλλήνων διεξιόντα τοῖς νῦν ἠθοποιεῖν καὶ σωφρονίζειν, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα μὴ τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα.

Further instances from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE follow. Far from questioning the logic of an exemplary use of the past, Plutarch takes issue with the character of some *exempla* that 'make the common folk vainly to swell with pride and kick up their heels' (814c). Despite the feeling of decadence and a stronger awareness of differences between past and present in the imperial period, the classical period did not cease to serve as a rich source of paradigms in a way that is hard to think of in the modern age.

Three points may help to illustrate how the gravitational center of ancient attitudes toward the past differs from ours. The first is iconography: by and large, ancient artists used the same iconographic typology for distant and recent history. Making a strong case against the assumption that the Boeotian shield serves as a marker of heroic action, Luca Giuliani concludes: 'Archaic vase painting does not then, include temporal indicators. When, as is so often the case, two fully armed warriors face each other with raised spears, there is nothing in this scene which would force or justify the observer to relate it to a

duel between two mythical heroes of the distant past or to a fight in the present. Past and present are not distinguished.'[64] Accordingly, in some cases, scholars do not agree on whether ancient paintings depict mythical or contemporary scenes.[65] The application of the same iconography to myth and contemporary history betrays an attitude for which qualitative differences between historical epochs do not play a major role.

The same discrepancy between modern and ancient Greek concepts of history comes to the fore in the attitude towards old buildings in the archaic and classical ages. The modern emphasis on the specific character of historical epochs provided the ground for an increasing wish to conserve historical edifices. As Lowenthal notes, the modern historical consciousness 'heightened concern to save relics and restore monuments as emblems of communal identity, continuity, and aspiration … Only in the nineteenth century CE did preservation evolve from an antiquarian, quirky, episodic pursuit into a set of national programmes …'[66] In ancient Greece, on the other hand, there are only very few signs of deliberate restoration before the Hellenistic age.[67] While taking a strong interest in the past, ancient Greeks, especially those of the archaic and classical ages, did not foreground its otherness that is crucial for the idea of conservation.

The arguably most salient expression of the modern take on history is the museum. Having its roots in aristocratic collections of the *ancien régime*, the idea of the museum was essentially shaped under the auspices of nineteenth-century Historicism.[68] There were collections of old items in archaic and classical Greece, too, most notably in temples, but they do not constitute museums in our sense.[69] While our exhibitions introduce the visitor to a world different from hers, temple collections were inextricably linked with the legitimizing

64 Giuliani 2010, 49.

65 Cf. Grethlein 2010, 285–286.

66 Lowenthal 1985, xvi–xvii. On the idea of restoration and the modern age, see, for example, Althöfer 1987; Wagner 1988.

67 Cf. Dally (forthcoming). It was, however, common practice to reuse material from older temples in Greek sanctuaries; cf. Miles 2011, 670–672.

68 See, for example, Sheehan 2000.

69 For a diachronic overview of practises of collecting from antiquity to the present, see Pearce 1995. It seems that the collections in the Hellenistic and the Imperial ages became much more similar to our idea of the museum; cf. Bounia 2004, 19. See also Rutledge 2012 on 'ancient Rome as a museum' and Miles 2008 on 'art as plunder'. Miles (ch. 5) in this volume examines temple ruins that were used as memorials after the Persian Wars.

needs of the present.[70] Showing how the Lindian Chronicle served to embed Lindus in important traditions, Robin Osborne notes: 'These dedications are spoils from the past, appropriating both epic and history, not to commemorate past deeds by others, but to show off Lindos' present pre-eminence.'[71] Modern museums as well as restoration programs are at least partly motivated by the sense of a rupture that separates the present from the past. Neither museums nor restoration programs were prominent in archaic and classical Greece; this, I suggest, bespeaks the approach to the past that we have noticed in Lycurgus' speech against Leocrates: here, the past is still present in the form of tradition. Needless to say, there is a strong concern with traditions in our days that prompted Lowenthal to speak of a heritage crusade.[72] Conversely, ancient Greeks could highlight the gap that separated them from the past; as we have seen, the Attic orators were at pains to find *exempla* close to the here and now. These and further qualifications notwithstanding, modern and ancient ideas of history are balanced differently. To the Greeks, the past was far less of a foreign country. The orators' preference for recent *exempla* not only co-exists with the prominence of myth in festivals and symposium, but also has roots different from the modern unease with ancient *exempla*.

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70 Needless to say, modern museums also generate some kind of cultural capital, in the nineteenth century CE in particular for the bourgeoisie (for a Foucaultian approach to the 'birth of the museum', see Bennett 1995), but their primary or at least their professed intention is the exhibition of objects as representations of the past.

71 Osborne 2011, 118. On the Lindian Chronicle in general, see Higbie 2003.

72 Lowenthal 1996.

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PART 5

The Archaic Past in Literary History

CHAPTER 14

Archaizing and Classicism in the Literary Historical Thinking of Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Lawrence Kim

1 Introduction: Classicism and Archaism

The veneration of the past is one of the most characteristic features of Imperial Greek culture. While respect for prior generations is common enough throughout Greek history, under the Roman Empire the intensity with which Greeks express such reverence increases substantially and is reflected in the more prominent role the past comes to play in the definition of Greek elite identity.[1] Imperial Greeks not only admire the great figures of their past, but also look to them as models for eloquence, language, ethics and behavior. The dominance of Atticism, that is, the imitation of the vocabulary, dialect and style of fifth- and fourth-century BCE Athenian writers, is probably the best known manifestation of this nostalgia, but its effects also reached far beyond language;[2] the subject matter of Imperial texts, their historical reference points, the figures they invoke as *exempla*, and the poets they quote as authorities belong primarily to a period extending from the Trojan War to the death of Alexander the Great—some 300 to 1000 years before the beginning of the Roman Empire.[3] This focus on a so-called 'classical' era, that is, one located in the distant past and embodying 'a paradigmatic set of features of aesthetic, moral or intellectual excellence, whether of style, content or attitude',[4] is why modern scholars refer to the 'classicizing' nature of Imperial culture, or its 'classicism'.[5]

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1 The veneration of the past sometimes goes hand in hand with a conspicuous unwillingness to refer to the Roman present (e.g., in the novel or sophistic declamation), a stance that some scholars see as a symptom of a deep-seated Imperial longing for the days of a politically independent 'Greece'. Cf., e.g., Bowie 1970; Swain 1996, ch. 4; Schmitz 1999.

2 On Atticism, see Kim 2010 and the works cited therein.

3 Swain 1996, ch. 2; Schmitz 1997; Anderson 1989, 137–145; 1993, chs. 3 and 5; Pernot 2005, on the centrality of classical Athens.

4 Porter 2006b, 14; on classicism, see Weitmann 1989, and with a particular focus on ancient Greek classicism, Porter 2006a and 2006b; Gelzer 1979.

5 E.g., Swain 1996, subtitle: 'Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250';

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Classicizing cultures naturally place the greatest stress on the close connections between the period of putative classical greatness and their own classicizing renaissance. But they also necessarily envision the intervening period as one of decline, a descent into the depths of 'mannerism' or 'baroque' excess that precedes, and indeed enables, the desire to return to the 'classical' heights. This three-stage historical scheme can already be found in Imperial Greek literature: in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' preface to *On the Ancient Orators* and Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*.[6] As has often been remarked, the periodization of their literary histories fits approximately with our own division of Greek literature into distinct eras: classical—Hellenistic—Imperial: in particular, their age of decline correlates more or less with what we call the 'Hellenistic' period.[7] A similar tendency on the part of Imperial Greeks more generally to ignore or downplay the importance of Hellenistic culture, politics and literature (if not philosophy) has often been observed; Atticism, with its classical Athenian models, is an obvious example.[8]

One thing that is rarely brought up, however, is that *our* periodization of Greek literature has an additional period, which we call 'archaic', slotted in before the classical. After all, it seems only natural that in establishing an ideal, that is, classical, age, one would posit not only a subsequent period of decline, but also an 'early', primitive period from which the 'classical' had arisen, in line with the biological and developmental models of culture and society so prevalent both in antiquity and in modern times. Something along these lines occurred in the nineteenth century: to the established notion of

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Whitmarsh 2001, 1: 'the revival of Classicizing ideals that modern scholars often call the "Second Sophistic"'. It should be noted that the terms 'classical' or 'classicism' do not correspond to any words used by the Imperial Greeks themselves, who speak simply and vaguely of 'the ancients' (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, οἱ παλαιοί; cf. Bréchet 2006).

6 On the basic scheme, see Gelzer 1979, 11–13 and Heldmann 1982, 77–79, 122–130. Hidber 1996, 14 refers to this as 'der klassizistische Dreischritt' after Gelzer's remarks in the discussion following Preisshofen 1979, at 278. Dionysius' model is discussed below; Philostratus sees Aeschines as the founder of the Second Sophistic in the late fourth-century BCE, followed by a long (over three hundred year!) fallow period, and a revival beginning with Nicetes of Smyrna, who flourished under Nero (54–68 CE).

7 Pliny the Elder's history of bronze sculpture also employs a tripartite scheme, although the dates do not quite match (*HN* 34.51–52): 'then [i.e., after 293 BCE] the art came to an end, but came back to life in the 156th Olympiad [156–153 BCE]' (*cessavit deinde ars, ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit*).

8 Like all generalizations about the period, however, the claim admits of exceptions: Pausanias, Athenaeus and Plutarch often treat Hellenistic figures, and writers in more 'technical' fields like grammar, philology and philosophy could hardly ignore their Hellenistic predecessors.

'classical Greece' was first added a post-classical, or 'Hellenistic' period, by Droysen, who coined the term *Hellenismus* in the early 1800s, and then in the latter part of the century Nietzsche, Burckhardt, and others developed the idea of a corresponding pre-classical, or 'archaic', age.[9] The basic scheme owed much in turn to Winckelmann's eighteenth-century outline of the development of Greek art, which posited both an ancient period before and an imitative period of decline *after* his privileged era extending from Phidias to Lysippus (ca. 450–320 BCE).[10]

Moreover, Winckelmann was working from ancient models of artistic progress, such as those of Cicero and Quintilian, that charted a similar path of gradual evolution from archaic severity to classical perfection.[11] And *Latin* literary history of the High Empire seems to have incorporated an early, pre-classical, or 'archaic' period of Ennius, Cato, etc., to be followed by a 'classical' period of Cicero and Vergil, and a late period of 'Silver-age' decline. The so-called Roman 'archaism' of the second century CE refers, at least in part, to a renewed interest in the language and work of these 'archaic' authors—an interest best expressed in the emperor Hadrian's celebrated preference for Cato over Cicero, Ennius over Vergil, and Coelius Antipater over Sallust.[12]

The Greeks, on the other hand, did not generally envision an 'archaic' period prior to their 'classical' age in which they grouped literary authors perceived to be 'earlier', 'older' or more 'ancient'.[13] This is somewhat odd, since Greek critics often posited an 'early', less refined stage in evolutionary models of *individual* literary genres: e.g., Aristotle's account of the development of tragedy and comedy in the *Poetics* or Strabo's of the evolution of early Greek prose

9 On the 'invention' of the Greek archaic age, see Most 1989, Payen 1996, Porter 2000, 225–288 and Hummel 2003.

10 Winckelmann 2006, 227. It is often forgotten that Winckelmann's so-called 'classical' period (he does not use the term) is actually *two* periods, the first characterized by the 'grand' style, the second by the 'beautiful'. The relation to Dionysius' conception of 'classical' literature is worth exploring, particularly his identification of 'beauty' and 'charm' as the two ends of every literary work. See Potts 1994, 67–112 (esp. 96–101 on Winckelmann's use of ancient rhetorical theory).

11 Cic. *Brut.* 70; Quint. *Inst.* 12.10. See Gombrich 1966.

12 *Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 16.5–6. Cf. Leeman 1963 on the second-century archaists (and their Classicist predecessors). On the problematic nature of the term 'archaism' to describe the practice of Fronto, Aulus Gellius and Apuleius, see Schindel 1994 and Holford-Strevens 2003, 354–363. On the late-republican and Augustan Roman construction of 'archaic' authors, see Hinds 1998, 52–74 and now Hutchinson 2013.

13 As Holford-Strevens 2003, 361 notes, contrasting Imperial perceptions of Greek with Latin literature.

style (and see below on Dionysius).[14] But the concept of an early, rough or under-developed stage in Greek literature *as a whole* never seems to have arisen. One possible reason for this was the existence of the Homeric poems. Since the first Greek author was also considered the best, it was difficult to posit a subsequent evolution towards an ideal; from this perspective, Greek literature had sprung fully and perfectly formed from the head of Homer, and was 'classical' from its very birth.[15]

Where, then, can we find the Greek 'archaic'? That is, where are the literary qualities and values seen as early, antiquated, rough and undeveloped located, if not in a putative 'archaic', pre-classical, period? This chapter is an attempt at an initial answer to this question, through an examination of the use of the term *arkhaios* and its cognates in the critical writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a pivotal figure in the development of Imperial Greek classicism.[16] I hope to show that even if Dionysius did not demarcate or define an 'archaic' era *per se*, he retained a notion of the 'archaic', that is, of qualities, values, stylistic features, that struck him as 'antiquated' and conceptually pre- and thereby somewhat un-classical. As I try to demonstrate, 'archaic' qualities, rather than occupying their own temporal sphere, are often located by Dionysius within classical literature itself; for Dionysius, 'archaizing', somewhat paradoxically, is an essential part of the best classical writing.

2 'Classical' Literature

In the preface to his treatise *On the Ancient Orators*, written in Rome sometime after 30 BCE, Dionysius outlines a history of 'civic oratory' (περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους, *Orat. vett.* 1.1) divided into three stages.[17] At first, a long time ago,

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14 Arist. *Poet.* 4–5; Str. 1.2.6. And see below section 3 on Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

15 The 'classical' past indicated here (everything from the heroic age to the death of Alexander) should thus be differentiated from the more restricted 'classical' age in modern usage (as in classical Athens, classical Greece, the classical age, etc.) which conventionally encompasses the period from the end of the Persian Wars (ca. 479 BCE) to Alexander's death (323 BCE). For a long list of possible meanings for the term 'classical', see Porter 2006a, 14–15; even there, however, this 'ancient' definition is omitted (although not elsewhere: see 33).

16 For a suggestive reading of the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in the relation between the 'archaic' and the 'classical', with frequent reference to Dionysius, see Porter 2006b, 326–333; my thinking on the topic is deeply indebted to these pages, as well as to the article of which it is a part.

17 I use the Greek text and the chapter and paragraph numbering of Aujac 1978, 1988, 1992 and

an 'ancient, philosophical rhetoric' (ἡ … ἀρχαία καὶ φιλόσοφος ῥητορική, 1.2) held sway; 'starting from the death of Alexander of Macedon', however, its strength began to diminish, and another rhetoric, 'ill-bred and intolerable in its shameless theatricality' (ἀφόρητος ἀναιδείᾳ θεατρικῇ καὶ ἀνάγωγος, 1.3), gradually came to power in its stead. By Dionysius' generation (ἐπὶ … τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας, 1.2), the 'ancient, autochthonous Attic Muse' (ἡ μὲν Ἀττικὴ μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων, 1.6) had been expelled from public life by her 'ignorant' and 'insane' counterpart (ἡ ἀμαθής … ἡ μαινομένη), 'some Mysian or Phrygian woman—or is it a Carian monstrosity—arriving from the execution pits of Asia just yesterday or the day before' (ἡ δὲ ἔκ τινων βαράθρων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην ἀφικομένη, Μυσὴ ἢ Φρυγία τις ἢ Καρικόν τι κακόν, 1.7). But miraculously, Dionysius declares, 'our own time' (ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος) has ushered in a new dawn, in which 'the ancient, temperate rhetoric (τῇ μὲν ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ σώφρονι ῥητορικῇ) has been restored to her former rightful place of honor' and the 'new, senseless' rhetoric (τῇ … νέᾳ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ) hovers on the brink of extinction (2.2).[18]

Dionysius is not very specific about the stylistic or pragmatic differences between the 'ancient' and the 'new' rhetoric, preferring the conventional oppositions of Greek moralizing discourse: temperate vs. theatrical/shameless, Greek vs. Asian, noble vs. vulgar/ill-bred, philosophical vs. ignorant/mindless.[19] But one thing he does take pains to point out is that the new rhetoric flourished during the middle stage in his model, the era *after* the death of Alexander and up to his own time, or roughly the period we call Hellenistic; in the first, 'ancient', era, by contrast, only the 'temperate Attic Muse' held sway. For Dionysius, then, the 'new' oratory is not only *ideologically* opposed to the values of its 'ancient' predecessor, but also *temporally* occupies a later, separate, era of rhetorical practice that has been brought to an end by the advent of the third stage, the revival of the 'ancient' oratory in Dionysius' own day.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Dionysius' tripartite historical scheme has often, and rightly, been described as 'classicizing', not only because it figures the present as revitalized by a renewed appreciation of the

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Aujac and Lebel 1981. Translations are my own, except where indicated. Other translations to which I refer are: Aujac (as above, in French) and Usher 1974 and 1985 on the whole rhetorical corpus; on individual works: Hidber 1996 (in German) on the preface, Pohl 1968 (in German) on *Comp.* 21–24, Roberts 1901 on the *Epistles* and 1910 on *Comp.*, and Russell and Winterbottom 1972 (selections).

18 On this well-known and much-discussed passage, see Hidber 1996, 25–30; Wiater 2011, 92–100; de Jonge (ch. 15) in this volume.

19 On the female personifications of the two rhetorics, see also Leidl 2003.

culture of an 'ancient' or 'classical' era worthy of emulation, but also because it explicitly opposes both classical past and classicizing present to an intervening period of post-classical decline.[20] In keeping with his classicizing objectives, Dionysius proposes to describe, evaluate and recommend for emulation the various stylistic characteristics of the six 'ancient' orators he considers the best (ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων, *Orat. vett.* 4.2): Lysias, Isaeus, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hyperides.[21] The fact that these six all hail from what we call classical Athens, and that the event marking the end of Dionysius' 'ancient' period (Alexander's death) is the same one that we use to signal the end of our classical Greece, only reinforces the appropriateness of the classicizing label.

The word Dionysius uses to describe this oratory, which I have translated above as 'ancient', is ἀρχαῖος; the treatise itself is entitled *On the* Ancient *Orators* (περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων), and in the course of the preface he refers three times (all quoted above) to the 'ancient' rhetoric (ἡ ἀρχαία ... ῥητορική, *Orat. vett.* 1.2; ἡ μὲν Ἀττικὴ μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων, 1.6; τῇ μὲν ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ σώφρονι ῥητορικῇ, 2.2).[22] *Arkhaios* literally means 'from the beginning or origin', but it is often used simply in the sense of 'old' or 'ancient', much like its near-synonym παλαιός. Recently, however, Michel Casevitz has argued that, at least in the classical period, the difference between *arkhaios* and *palaios* is that the former is employed when the speaker wishes to suggest that the object in question still retains a certain value in the speaker's own time, the latter when a discontinuity between past and present is implied.[23] The distinction is not always valid in

20 E.g., Hidber 1996 (title: *Das klassizistische Manifest des Dionysios von Halicarnassus*); for an in-depth study of Dionysius' classicism in all of its aspects, see Wiater 2011 (entitled *The Ideology of Classicism*).

21 These correspond to Dion. Hal. *Lys., Isaeus, Isoc., Dem.* The treatises on Aeschines and Hyperides have not survived; there is no modern consensus on whether they were ever completed.

22 *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρχαῖος A.I.1: '*from the beginning* or *origin* ... mostly of things, *ancient* ... II.1: of persons ... in Lit. Crit., *ancient, classical* writers'. Usher 1974 translates 'old' at 1.2 and 'ancient' elsewhere, Russell and Winterbottom 1972 'old' in all three cases, Aujac 1978 'ancienne' and Hidber 1996 'alte'. The only other use of ἀρχαῖος in the preface occurs when Dionysius is speculating on the causes for the revival of classical oratory and refers to the possibility that 'the natural return in its cycle has brought back the *old* [i.e., 'previous'] order (τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν)' (*Orat. vett.* 2.2). A similar use of *arkhaios* to mean 'previous' in Dion. Hal. *Isoc.* 9.2.

23 Casevitz 2004, on the usage of classical writers and 2006 on Polybius; cf. Payen 2006, 19. Although Casevitz' thesis applies to a wide variety of cases, there are many passages in later Greek, as he himself admits, where the two terms are used interchangeably, e.g., in

Imperial Greek, but it applies pretty well to Dionysius' usage of *arkhaios* here, which highlights not just the venerability and age of the 'ancient' rhetoric, or its originary status, but also the fact that it still is of vital importance in the present. In any case, it is clear that Dionysius' use of *arkhaios* in the preface is motivated by a classicizing impulse: he not only looks back fondly on the way rhetoric used to be in the 'good old days', but also advocates a return to, or a revival of, that *arkhaia rhêtorikê*, which must be studied and emulated as the basis of one's own practice. For these reasons, I think it is appropriate to translate *arkhaios* in the preface as 'classical'.

Another use of *arkhaios* to denote a similarly delimited 'classical' era occurs at the beginning of *On Literary Composition*, Dionysius' original and impressive treatment of the proper arrangement of words and clauses, or σύνθεσις. The history of literary *sunthesis* he lays out is roughly parallel to his three-stage model of rhetorical development (*Comp*. 4.14–15, trans. Usher, slightly modified):

> Almost all of the *ancients* (τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίοις ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι) made a special study of [the arrangement of words], with the result that their meters, their lyrics and their prose are works of beauty.[24] But among their *successors* (τοῖς δὲ μεταγενεστέροις οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ὀλίγων), with few exceptions, this was not so. Then in the time afterward (χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον), it was totally neglected, and no one regarded it as essential, or even thought that it contributed anything to the beauty of discourse. Consequently they have left behind them compilations such as no one can bear to read to the final flourish of the pen: I refer to men such as Phylarchus, Duris, Polybius, Psaon, Demetrius of Callatis, Hieronymus, Antigonus, Heraclides, Hegesianax and countless others.
>
> Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίοις ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι πολλὴ ἐπιτήδευσις ἦν αὐτοῦ, παρ' ὃ καὶ καλά ἐστιν αὐτῶν τά τε μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ οἱ λόγοι, τοῖς δὲ μεταγενεστέροις οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ὀλίγων· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον παντάπασιν ἠμελήθη καὶ οὐδεὶς ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ εἶναι οὐδὲ συμβάλλεσθαί τι τῷ κάλλει τῶν λόγων. Τοιγάρτοι τοιαύτας συντάξεις κατέλιπον οἵας οὐδεὶς ὑπομένει μέχρι κορωνίδος διελθεῖν,

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Dion. Hal. *Dem*. 17 and 21 (although this is not in a stylistic or literary-critical context). There is only one instance where Dionysius uses *palaios*, like *arkhaios*, to refer to 'ancient' authors: *Comp*. 14.20; elsewhere it usually refers to 'older', but not necessarily 'classical', rhetoricians or literary critics: e.g., *Isoc*. 14 and *Dem*. 51.

24 Cf. *Comp*. 5.12: 'there was much forethought among the ancients—poets, historians, philosophers and orators—concerning this *idea* [i.e., 'arrangement']' (πολλὴ πρόνοια τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἦν καὶ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι φιλοσόφοις τε καὶ ῥήτορσι τῆς ἰδέας ταύτης).

> Φύλαρχον λέγω καὶ Δοῦριν καὶ Πολύβιον καὶ Ψάωνα καὶ τὸν Καλλατιανὸν Δημήτριον Ἱερώνυμόν τε καὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἡγησιάνακτα καὶ ἄλλους μυρίους.

As in the preface to *On the Ancient Orators*, Dionysius envisions an initial era in which 'ancient' writers produced exemplary work (here because they paid attention to *sunthesis*), followed by a period of decline (in which *sunthesis* was abandoned). Just as before, the deterioration is envisioned as gradual: at first a few kept to the 'ancient' ways, but eventually not a single writer regarded attention to *sunthesis* as worthwhile. And although there is nothing as specific as Alexander's death (323 BCE) to mark the onset of the downturn, certain indications point to a similar late-fourth-century BCE date: the latest of the 'ancients' Dionysius mentions within *On Literary Composition* itself—Demosthenes, Aristotle and Theopompus—were all dead by 320 BCE, while all of the writers whom Dionysius calls unreadable date from roughly 250–125 BCE with only Duris of Samos a bit earlier.[25] The anonymous writers of the intervening period—the 'successors' (μεταγενέστεροι) of the 'ancients'—are harder to pin down, but are clearly marked by their collective moniker as no longer 'ancient', and as representatives of the beginning of literary decay. We have to supply the final stage (of which Dionysius' treatise is presumably a part), where interest in *sunthesis* is reignited in the Augustan present, corresponding to the revival of the *arkhaia rhêtorikê* outlined in *On the Ancient Orators*.

This literary historical passage near the beginning of *On Literary Composition* thus shows Dionysius again using the term *arkhaios* to designate 'classical' writers, who are followed by a period of decline commencing in the late fourth century BCE and continuing through what we call the Hellenistic era; it is these *arkhaioi* to whom Dionysius looks as models for contemporary classicizing practice. But while the preface to *On the Ancient Orators* spoke only of 'classical'

25 Duris lived ca. 370–260 BCE, but since his history concludes with the events of 281 BCE, it was presumably written mostly after that date. The other authors are all definitely later: Phylarchus (*fl.* second half of 3rd c. BCE); Polybius (c. 200–125 BCE); Psaon (*fl.* second half of 3rd c. BCE); Demetrius of Callatis (*fl.* end of 3rd c. BCE); Hieronymus (*fl.* second half of 3rd c. BCE); Antigonus, Heraclides Lembos and Hegesianax are second-century BCE historians. Naturally, we cannot be certain of the precise dates that *Dionysius* attributed to these authors, but the fact that the order of the historians listed by Dionysius corresponds precisely with our chronological sequence suggests that the periodization is valid in broad terms.

rhetoric, the *arkhaioi* here refer to prose writers in general, not to mention poets—Dionysius' use of *arkhaios* now extends to 'classical' literature as a whole.[26]

3 'Early' Simplicity

If Dionysius uses *arkhaios* in certain programmatic passages to mean 'classical', there are other instances where he uses the word and its cognates with a meaning more akin to our notion of 'archaic', that is, as referring to authors or works seen as *prior* to 'classical' ones. I mentioned in the introduction that in outlining the development of individual genres ancient literary critics often posited an initial, less mature, stage from which more advanced versions evolved. We can see glimpses of such thinking in Dionysius as well; in these instances, *arkhaios* no longer stands for all 'ancient' or 'classical' literature, but only the 'ancient', or 'early', representatives of the genre under discussion.[27]

For example, in a discussion of historiography up to Thucydides, Dionysius refers both to 'the very ancient' historians (οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι πάνυ, *Thuc.* 23.2) known to him by name alone, and the 'ancient historians' (ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς, *Thuc.* 5.2) after them, who wrote before the Peloponnesian War (cf. Usher 1974—'the very first historians', 'early historians').[28] The same use of *arkhaios* to signify the 'early' practitioners can be seen in Dionysius' decision to label

26 Cf. similar usages of *arkhaios* to mean 'classical': *Lys.* 9; *Isaeus* 4; *Dem.* 36, 41, 50, 56.

27 Dionysius can express similar thoughts without using *arkhaios*; for instance, in the preface to *On the Ancient Orators* (4.5), he explains that for his six subjects, he will select three—Lysias, Isaeus and Isocrates—'from the older orators' (ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) and three—Hyperides, Aeschines and Demosthenes—'from those most illustrious after them' (ἐκ τῶν ἐπακμασάντων τούτοις).

28 The first group consists of semi-legendary figures such as Cadmus of Miletus and Aristeas of Proconnesus, of whom no writings had survived down to Dionysius' day. It is unclear precisely whether the *arkhaioi suggrapheis* in *Thuc.* 5.2 refer to both those writing before the Peloponnesian War *and* those contemporary with Thucydides, or just the former (as I have assumed). These pre-Peloponnesian War historians are probably also the referent at *Thuc.* 11.3, when Dionysius notes that Thucydides had claimed that the history of the *Pentecontaetia* had been neglected 'by the ancients' (ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων), where *arkhaioi* can be taken as 'predecessors'. Dionysius also claims in *Thuc.* 7.2 that the *arkhaioi suggrapheis* published stories 'as they received them from the ancients' (ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐδέξαντο). It is unclear who these 'ancients' are; even *older* historians? Or simply the 'tradition', as Usher 1974 implies when he translates 'from antiquity'?

Alcaeus and Sappho 'ancient [i.e., *early*] lyric poets' (οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι μελοποιοί, *Comp.* 19.7) to differentiate them from Pindar and Stesichorus.[29]

In one respect, the shift in sense of *arkhaios* is the result of a narrowing of Dionysius' temporal focus rather than any difference in meaning. Previously, Dionysius was treating the history of Greek style down to his own day; from this perspective he could refer to literature before Alexander collectively as *arkhaios*, or 'old'/'ancient'/'early'. In these examples, however, he is looking at a subset of those 'ancient' writers, and distinguishing certain of these as 'ancient' or 'old' in comparison to others. We might note too that here *arkhaios* is strictly a relative term; the 'early' lyric poets are confined to the early sixth century BCE,[30] but the 'early' historians include those active up to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (431 BCE), well after the second wave of (sixth- and fifth-century) lyric poets.

But if the basic sense remains the same, the moralizing and idealizing connotations that permitted us above to gloss *arkhaia* literature as 'classical' have disappeared, replaced instead by an association of the *arkhaioi* with a certain stylistic simplicity and lack of elaboration that distinguishes them from the complexity of their successors. According to Dionysius, the 'early' lyric poets, Sappho and Alcaeus, had 'short *strophês*' and 'few changes in their clauses' while Pindar and Stesichorus are characterized by longer periods and a 'love of change' (*Comp.* 9.2). Similarly, the 'early' historians wrote in a 'clear, ordinary, pure and concise' style, 'with no elaboration' (τὴν σαφῆ καὶ κοινὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον … καὶ μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσαν τεχνικήν, *Thuc.* 5.4), while Herodotus subsequently 'added all the virtues left out by those before him', and Thucydides went on to employ an 'individual style which had been overlooked by his predecessors' (*Thuc.* 24.1).[31]

Whereas Dionysius' evaluation of the *arkhaioi*, or 'classical', authors was overwhelmingly positive and idealizing, the simplicity of these 'early' *arkhaioi* is viewed in a more neutral fashion. He describes the increasing variation and complexity of lyric practice over time without any suggestion that such

29 Cf. *Dem.* 8.2, where 'the *ancient* poets [e.g., Homer] by whom Proteus has been mythified' (τοῦ μεμυθευμένου παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς Πρωτέως) is probably understood as 'the early poets' (cf. Usher 1974: 'the mythological poets').

30 According to our reckoning, Stesichorus is a contemporary of his supposed 'ancient' predecessors, Sappho and Alcaeus (all flourishing around 700 BCE); Dionysius either dates Stesichorus later than we do, or is thinking more conceptually than chronologically.

31 The early historians' inclusion of legendary and fabulous stories could also be seen as evidence of their 'simplicity' or naïveté (πολὺ τὸ ἠλίθιον, *Thuc.* 5.3), in contrast to Thucydides' hard-headed rationalism (*Thuc.* 5–7, *passim*), but this concerns content, not style.

changes represented progress or decline. He is more forthcoming, but similarly even-handed, in discussing the 'early' historians: while their writing 'possesses every necessary virtue' (*Thuc.* 23.6) and exudes 'a certain freshness and charm' (τις ὥρα … καὶ χάρις, *Thuc.* 5.4), it lacks 'sublimity, dignity and grandeur' (*Thuc.* 23.5–6). But perhaps the best example of his ambivalence concerning the value of 'ancient' simplicity is his striking analogy of Lysias and Isaeus' styles to that of painting (*Is.* 4.1–2):[32]

> There are some *ancient* paintings whose colors have been painted in a simple way, without any variation in their blending, but the crispness of their outlines bestow upon them a great deal of charm. But the *later* paintings are less sharply outlined yet more accomplished, in that they both vary light and shade and gain their power from the multitude of blended colors. In his *simplicity* and charm Lysias resembles the more *ancient* paintings, Isaeus those that are more technically skilled and display a finished quality.

> Εἰσὶ δή τινες <u>ἀρχαῖαι</u> γραφαί, χρώμασι μὲν εἰργασμέναι <u>ἁπλῶς</u> καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς μίγμασιν ἔχουσαι ποικιλίαν, ἀκριβεῖς δὲ ταῖς γραμμαῖς καὶ πολὺ τὸ χαρίεν ἐν ταύταις ἔχουσαι. Αἱ δὲ <u>μετ'</u> <u>ἐκείνας</u> εὔγραμμοι μὲν ἧττον, ἐξειργασμέναι δὲ μᾶλλον, σκιᾷ τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ταῖς <u>ἀρχαιοτέραις</u> ἔοικεν ὁ Λυσίας κατὰ τὴν <u>ἁπλότητα</u> καὶ τὴν χάριν, ταῖς δὲ ἐκπεπονημέναις τε καὶ τεχνικωτέραις ὁ Ἰσαῖος.

Here 'simplicity' is highlighted as the feature that characterizes 'early' paintings; later paintings are explicitly stated to be technically superior and chromatically more complex.[33] So too the style of Isaeus is more precise and carefully constructed, while the older Lysias is simpler. But, as Dionysius remarks, for all that is gained in Isaeus' technical improvements, a certain Lysianic 'charm' is lost in the process.

In these isolated glimpses, then, Dionysius uses *arkhaios* to signify not only an 'early' or 'ancient' stage in a developmental model, but also characterizes the representatives of that 'early' period as 'simple' or 'plain' in contrast to their more complex and elaborate successors. There is a hint here of the modern idea of the 'archaic', as a sort of unrefined *pre*-classical stage, from which mature,

32 Castelli 2010.

33 The use of the comparative, 'earlier' (ταῖς ἀρχαιοτέραις), in the last sentence makes it even clearer that, as in the other examples, we are dealing with a set of 'ancient' works, of which a subset is being marked out as *prior* to the others.

'classical', exemplars develop. This comes out best in the analysis of early historiography, since the *arkhaioi* writers Dionysius mentions, like Charon of Lampsacus and Acusilaus of Argos, were not considered canonical in antiquity, and might for that reason have been deemed 'pre-classical'. But in the passages treating lyric poetry and oratory, the writers marked as *arkhaioi* or 'early' are themselves 'classical', that is, Dionysius is making a distinction internal to an 'ancient' or 'classical' genre. But as we noted above, there is no overarching 'early' period characterized by 'simplicity'; each genre follows its own distinct chronology. Dionysius' association of *arkhaios* and a certain stylistic simplicity and charm thus contains the seeds of the idea of a pre-classical 'archaic', but his usage is very restricted, tied to the particular circumstances of individual genres, and he makes no attempt to draw these disparate and scattered observations together into a cohesive system.

4 'Old-Fashioned' Vocabulary

In both cases we have looked at so far, *arkhaios* can be translated as 'ancient' in the sense that it refers to the earliest stage of a development—'classical' rhetoric in Dionysius' tripartite history of oratory, or 'early' classical practitioners of various literary genres—viewed from the perspective of Dionysius himself. A third set of passages, however, centered on the language of Dionysius' 'classical' authors, is a little different; here *arkhaios* refers to words that are judged 'ancient' by the classical authors themselves, in a way that comes very close to our notion of a *pre*-classical 'archaic'.

An excellent example occurs in *Lysias* 2.1, where Dionysius contrasts the Attic dialect of Lysias, Andocides and Critias, 'which was in general currency in that time' (τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιχωριαζούσης), with 'the *arkhaia* dialect used by Plato and Thucydides' (τῆς <u>ἀρχαίας</u> [sc. γλώττης] ᾗ κέχρηται Πλάτων τε καὶ Θουκυδίδης). Dionysius is not contrasting Plato and Thucydides' *classical* dialect with the Attic of Lysias and the others, since all five Attic authors mentioned are 'classical' in his eyes. Moreover, Dionysius cannot mean that the contemporary Attic of Plato's day is 'early' or 'ancient' in comparison to that of the orators, since Plato is *younger* than they are. Dionysius' point is rather that Plato and Thucydides cultivated a dialect or style that was *not* current in their day, but struck their contemporaries as 'ancient', that is, as 'antiquated' or 'old-fashioned'.[34] In fact, he specifically rebuts unnamed critics

34 *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρχαῖος A.I.2: '*old-fashioned, antiquated.*' The basic difficulty is that Dionysius is

who claim that Thucydides' dialect 'was familiar to the people of that time' (ὡς δὴ τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις οὖσαν συνήθη, *Thuc.* 51.2).[35] Dionysius employs *arkhaios* in a similar way when he observes that Isocrates 'does not use *old-fashioned*, artificial or obsolete words but the most common and customary ones' (οὔτε γὰρ ἀρχαίοις οὔτε πεποιημένοις οὔτε γλωττηματικοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς κοινοτάτοις καὶ συνηθεστάτοις κέχρηται, *Dem.* 4.1).

When Dionysius refers to the dialect or vocabulary of certain 'classical' authors as *arkhaios*, he means that they are using language that is 'ancient' in relation to their own time—that is, 'old-fashioned'. This claim presupposes that there was a period when such language was not yet 'old', but current (although this era is never specified). We might therefore say that this way of speaking is not 'classical', but 'archaic'—or *pre*-classical—since it does not seem to be contemporary with any 'classical' author. And as we can see from the examples above, Dionysius considers 'archaic' qualities as largely incompatible with 'classical' ones: Lysias and Isocrates, who are two of his 'best' six orators, avoid 'archaic' vocabulary and dialect.

In fact, Dionysius' references to 'archaic' vocabulary are almost categorically negative; in these descriptions, cognates of *arkhaios* appear alongside adjectives denoting obscurity, artificiality and foreignness.[36] Isocrates' style 'avoids the vulgarities of *archaic* and peculiar words' (πέφευγεν <u>ἀπηρχαιωμένων</u> καὶ σημειωδῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ἀπειροκαλίαν, *Isoc.* 2.2). Plato, on the other hand, is criticized for sometimes adopting an overly elevated style, which 'seeks artificial, exotic and *archaic* words in defiance of correct usage and standard vocabulary' (ὑπεριδοῦσά τε τῶν κυρίων καὶ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει κειμένων τὰ πεποιημένα ζητεῖ καὶ ξένα καὶ <u>ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ</u>, *Dem.* 5.5). Thucydides' *lexis* is twice (and his *phrasis* once) described as 'filled with obscure, *archaic* and foreign words' (γλωττηματική, <u>ἀπηρχαιωμένη</u>, ξένη, *Thuc.* 24.1; 50.2; 52.4; cf. *Ep. II ad Amm.* 3.1); elsewhere

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already talking about 'old' authors but has no other word to indicate something that is 'old' *from the perspective* of the 'old' authors themselves. Cf. Aujac's translation: 'c' est un parfait modèle de langue attique, non pas de cette langue *archaïque* dont usent Platon ou Thucydide …'

35 Dionysius positions himself 'against those who explain Thucydides' dialect with reference to the way things were *in antiquity*' (Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν <u>ἀρχαῖον</u> βίον ἀναφέροντας τὴν Θουκυδίδου διάλεκτον, *Thuc.* 51.2)—a good example of the way that Dionysius can shift between the meaning of *arkhaios* as 'classical' and as 'old-fashioned' when discussing the same author.

36 It is interesting to note (with Lebek 1969) that there is no reference in our surviving classical texts to the practice of using old-fashioned vocabulary, that is, words that are no longer in current parlance.

Dionysius adds 'figurative' (τροπική, *Thuc.* 24.1; 50.2), 'over-elaborate' (ἐπὶ τὸ … περιττόν, *Thuc.* 50.2) and 'poetic' (ποιητική, *Thuc.* 52.4). As with Plato and Isocrates, these Thucydidean qualities are explicitly opposed to 'that which was common and customary to people of his time' (ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις, *Thuc.* 24.1; cf. 50.2).

Dionysius thus groups 'archaic' words with those that are artificial, foreign, obscure, figurative, poetic, over-elaborate and verbose,[37] and contrasts them to the common, standard vocabulary of the 'ancient' authors' own time. It is worth noting that these qualities, so reminiscent of those Dionysius attributed to 'Asian' rhetoric in the preface, are not associated with any 'late' or 'new' era of post-classical decline, but seen as central to the practice of certain classical authors (although avoided by others). Moreover, Dionysius does not even suggest that the use of recherché vocabulary is a harbinger of the future decline of classical rhetoric; instead he links it with the 'archaic' past, as hearkening back to an era *earlier* than that of the classical authors.

Whereas previously *arkhaios* denoted a hazy 'classical' ideal or an 'early' simplicity and charm, now it embodies an 'archaic' artificiality rife with verbosity and obscurity. But the difference partly arises from the referent; in the previous cases, Dionysius describes rhetoric in general, or specific poets, historians and orators as *arkhaios*; here it is their dialect and vocabulary. In the other passages, Dionysius' *arkhaioi* wrote in a style that fit their age; their 'early' simplicity was not cultivated, but natural, just as the implication was that the *arkhaia rhêtorikê* was the norm for 'classical' orators. By contrast, the writers that Dionysius criticizes for their use of *arkhaia onomata* are consciously using vocabulary that is 'ancient' in relation to their own language and times. Thucydides' vocabulary and dialect seem 'old-fashioned' in comparison not only with that of Dionysius' day, but also with that of Thucydides' own times. Moreover, this 'old-fashioned' language is not identified as that used by earlier 'classical' writers, but as somehow outside of regular 'classical' usage—that is, as 'archaic', or redolent of an older, albeit unspecified, age.

37 Cf. *Dem.* 5.5 on Plato's style, which on occasion 'abandons itself to tasteless circumlocutions (εἰς ἀπειροκάλους περιφράσεις) and an empty show of verbal exuberance (πλοῦτον ὀνομάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη κενόν)' (trans. Usher 1974). See de Jonge 2008, 329–366 on Dionysius' discussion of prosaic and poetic language.

5 'Archaic' Composition

It turns out, then, that Dionysius' three-stage model of literary prose (classical and temperate—Asian and degenerate—classical and temperate once more) does not tell the whole story: far from being the first, original and autochthonous, 'classical' literature possesses traces of an era more 'ancient' than itself. His references to 'archaic' vocabulary in *On the Ancient Orators* and *Thucydides* suggest that certain 'classical' authors employ words that belong to an earlier (if vaguely conceived) period but have fallen out of 'common' usage by the given author's time. Moreover, he characterizes such 'archaic' words in negative terms, as something to be avoided; they are strongly at odds with proper 'classical' writing.

The criticism of 'archaic' vocabulary plays only a minor role in Dionysius' analyses of classical oratory or style. If we turn to Dionysius' discussions of *sunthesis* (the arrangement of words and clauses) in *On Literary Composition* (21–24) and the second half of *Demosthenes* (34–46),[38] we encounter the term *arkhaios* (and its cognates) employed again in the sense of 'archaic', or pre-classical. This time, however, 'archaic' composition is a fundamental part of Dionysius' conceptualization of classical literature, and the idea of the 'archaic' that informs his usage is essential to his notion of the classicizing ideal.

Dionysius emphasizes that *sunthesis*, or composition, comprises a wide variety of stylistic elements including figures, rhythm and periodic structure, but in his detailed discussions of sample passages he tends to focus almost exclusively on the arrangement of words, and how different methods of composition evoke certain qualities that he can only describe metaphorically.[39] Along these lines, Dionysius envisions three basic 'modes of composition' (ἁρμονίαι) proper to

38 The second half (from 34 onwards) of *Dem.* analyzes the orator's work on the basis of the theory of *sunthesis* articulated in *Comp.*, while the first half (1–33) follows the more familiar three style theory (grand, simple, middle) used in the rest of *On the Ancient Orators*. Dionysius makes no attempt to reconcile the incompatibilities between the two halves, leading Aujac 1988, 16–24 to label them as separate treatises (*Dem.* I and II). The standard assumption is that some time had elapsed after the completion of the first half before work was resumed on the second. In the interim, Dionysius had written *Comp.* (which he refers to at *Dem.* 49.2) and changed his theoretical apparatus (e.g., see Bonner 1939, 31–33; 71). In any case, the second half of *Dem.* is conceptually extremely close to *Comp.*, while the first half is aligned more with *Lys.*, *Isoc.* and *Isaeus*.

39 For a partial survey of Dionysius' rich metaphorical vocabulary in literary critical matters, see Lockwood 1937; Van Hook 1905 is still useful.

'classical' *sunthesis*:[40] at one pole, the 'austere' (αὐστηρά) mode, in which words seem to stand apart from one another, collocating harshly with their neighbors; at the other, its corresponding opposite, the 'refined' (γλαφυρά) mode, whose words appear to be integrally connected in a smooth and seamless flow; Dionysius' ideal *harmonia*, the 'well-mixed' (εὔκρατος), which utilizes both of the other modes as the author sees fit, is nestled in between.[41]

The austere *harmonia* is described by Dionysius variously as 'firm, grave and solemn' (εὐσταθῆ καὶ βαρεῖαν ... καὶ σεμνὴν, *Dem.* 36.5), 'noble and grandiose' (γεννικὴ καὶ ... μεγαλόφρων, *Dem.* 39.8), 'brusque and unadorned' (αὐθέκαστος, ἀκόμψευτος, *Comp.* 22.6), and 'pursuing not ingenuity but solemnity' (μὴ τὸ κομψὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδευούσης, *Dem.* 38.1). But perhaps its most important characteristic is that it is 'ancient' ('enamored of antiquity', φιλάρχαιος, *Dem.* 36.5, 38.1; 'appropriate to antiquity', τὸ ἀρχαιοπρεπές, *Dem.* 39.8, 48.7; τοῖς ἀρχαιοπρεπεστάτοις, *Comp.* 23.7). The mode itself can be referred to as 'the ancient and austere *harmonia*' (τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ αὐστηρᾶς ἁρμονίας, *Dem.* 39.6; cf. 48.7) or even, in one instance, as simply 'the *harmonia* enamored of antiquity' (ἡ φιλάρχαιος ἁρμονία, *Dem.* 49.1).[42] And in fact, the 'beauty' which 'is the goal of the austere *harmonia*' (τῆς μὲν αὐστηρᾶς τὸ καλὸν ... εἶναι τέλος), is constituted specifically by its 'antiquity and patina' (τὸν ἀρχαϊσμὸν καὶ τὸν πίνον ἔχουσα κάλλος, *Comp.* 22.6).[43]

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40 I translate the three *harmoniai* as 'austere', 'refined' and 'well-mixed'; 'austere' is the standard translation, but for *glaphura*, Roberts 1910 and Russell and Winterbottom 1972 have 'smooth', Aujac and Lebel 1981 and Usher 1985 'polished' ('polie'); for *eukratos* options include 'tempered' (Usher 1985, 205), 'harmoniously blended' (Roberts), 'well-blended' (Usher 1985, 167) and 'well-mixed' (Russell). For the third mode, Aujac and Lebel 1981 prefer the reading κοινή instead of εὔκρατος, and translate 'intermédiaire' accordingly. On the three *harmoniai*, see Pohl 1968, 22–68, Aujac and Lebel 1981, Donadi 2000, 49–62.

41 In *Dem.* 36.5, Dionysius refers instead to the *harmonia* as μικτή ('mixed') and μέση ('middle'), rather than *eukratos*. On Dionysius' discussion of the three types of composition in *Comp.* 22–24 see de Jonge 2008, 204–213. On the difficulties in making sense of Dionysius' middle *harmonia*, see Martinho 2010.

42 Aujac: 'l'harmonie archaïsante'. Note too *Dem.* 43.12: 'As to figures, one might find in one passage the serious, *austere* and *old-fashioned* figures predominating, in another the articulate, refined and spectacular ones' (Τῶν τε σχημάτων ἔνθα μὲν ἄν τις εὕροι τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ <u>αὐστηρὰ</u> καὶ <u>ἀρχαῖα</u> πλεονάζοντα, ἔνθα δὲ τὰ λιγυρὰ καὶ γλαφυρὰ καὶ θεατρικά).

43 The words τὸν ἀρχαϊσμὸν καὶ τὸν πίνον have inspired various translations: 'an old-world mellowness' (Roberts 1910); 'archaism and the patina of age' (Russell and Winterbottom 1972); 'patina of antiquity' (Usher 1985); 'archaïsme et la patine du style' (Aujac and Lebel 1981).

What does Dionysius mean here by *arkhaios* and its cognates? Is Dionysius describing the austere *harmonia* as 'classical', that is, as the kind of *harmonia* that the 'classical' authors used? Or as the 'earliest' type of classical *harmonia*, from which the others developed? Or as somehow 'old-fashioned' or 'archaic', possessing qualities that are reminiscent of a nebulous *pre*-classical era?—a meaning suggested also by Dionysius' recourse to cognates such as *arkhaio-prepes*, which we saw him using for 'antiquated' vocabulary earlier.

To properly answer this question, we need to take a closer look at the interrelation of the different *harmoniai*. Dionysius explicitly conceives of the 'austere' and 'refined' (γλαφυρά) *harmoniai* as polar opposites—the refined mode 'has the opposite form to the [austere]' (τοὐναντίον ἔχει σχῆμα τῆς προτέρας, *Comp.* 23.8)—and defines authors as much by their avoidance of the one as by their embrace of the other.[44] At first glance, the austere mode seems characterized in more positive terms than its opposite number; recall Dionysius' use of adjectives such as 'solemn', 'noble', and 'grand'. By contrast, in Dionysius' descriptions of the 'refined' mode the repeated use of the term 'soft' (μαλακός) as well as words suggestive of pandering to popular taste (θεατρική, ὄχλος, πανηγύρεις) come across as slightly pejorative: the refined *harmonia* 'requires all its words to be melodious, smooth and *soft* and like a maiden's face' (εὔφωνα τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεῖα καὶ <u>μαλακὰ</u> καὶ παρθενωπά, *Comp.* 23.4); it is 'articulate and *theatrical*, full of subtleties and delicate touches, the mode by which *festival audiences* and assembled *masses* are captivated' (τὴν … λιγυρὰν καὶ <u>θεατρικὴν</u> καὶ πολὺ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ μαλακὸν ἐπιφαίνουσαν, ᾗ <u>πανηγύρεις</u> τε κηλοῦνται καὶ ὁ συμφορητὸς <u>ὄχλος</u>, *Dem.* 36.5).[45] We can note that in the preface to *On the Ancient Orators* Dionysius had criticized 'Asian' rhetoric in similar, if harsher, terms, referring, for example, to its 'theatrical shamelessness' (ἀναιδείᾳ θεατρικῇ, *Orat. vett.* 1.3), its 'vulgar' nature (ὀχληρά, 1.4) and its tendency to 'exploit the ignorance of the masses' (τῶν ὄχλων, 1.3).

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44 In addition, the two modes have different aims: 'Virtually every work, whether it is created by nature or mothered by the arts, has two objectives, *pleasure* and *beauty* (Δυεῖν ὄντων τελῶν περὶ πᾶν ἔργον … τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς) … *beauty* [is] the object of the austere *harmonia* and *pleasure* that of the refined (τῆς μὲν αὐστηρᾶς τὸ καλὸν … εἶναι τέλος, τῆς δὲ γλαφυρᾶς τὸ ἡδύ)' (*Dem.* 47.2–3). Cf. *Comp.* 11.1, although it is not specified there that beauty and pleasure correspond to different modes of composition. On these two aims, see Donadi 1986; 2000, 39–48.

45 Cf. *Dem.* 43.12, where Dionysius speaks of 'articulate, refined and *theatrical*' (τὰ λιγυρὰ καὶ γλαφυρὰ καὶ <u>θεατρικά</u>) figures; in *Comp.* 23.7 such figures possess 'much that is beguiling and *theatrical*' (πολὺ τὸ ἀπατηλόν ἐστι καὶ <u>θεατρικόν</u>). The *harmonia* itself is referred to as 'refined, *theatrical*, the sort choosing decoration over solemnity' (ἡ γλαφυρὰ καὶ <u>θεατρικὴ</u> καὶ τὸ κομψὸν αἱρουμένη πρὸ τοῦ σεμνοῦ τοιαύτη, *Dem.* 40.1).

So when one reads in *On Literary Composition* that the verses of Pindar, the (for Dionysius) exemplary poetic practitioner of the 'austere' mode, 'do not exhibit this *theatricality* and *refinement*, but that ἀρχαϊκόν and *austere* beauty' (οὐ τὸ θεατρικὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ γλαφυρὸν ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχαϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ αὐστηρόν, *Comp*. 22.12), it is easy to get the impression that Dionysius is drawing a contrast between an upright, 'classical' (ἀρχαία), austere *harmonia* and one more corrupt, modern, and 'refined'.[46] Witness the similar formulation in his description of the *harmonia* of Thucydides, whom Dionysius considers Pindar's prose counterpart (*Comp*. 22.35):[47]

> … [it] does not even begin to approach the charm appropriate to an oration *delivered at a public festival* or *in the theatre*, but displays a sort of *arkhaikon* and *uncompromising* beauty of its own …[48]
>
> … ὅτι πανηγυρικῆς μὲν ἢ θεατρικῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐφάπτεται χάριτος, ἀρχαϊκὸν δέ τι καὶ αὔθαδες ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος …

The problem with taking *arkhaia* or *arkhaikos* as 'classical', however, is that Dionysius, as we pointed out in our earlier discussion, claims that *sunthesis* 'was an object of interest to nearly all of the *classical* authors (τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίοις ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσι)' (*Comp*. 4.14). In other words *each* mode—austere *and* refined—was practiced by particular classical writers. And in fact, Dionysius does not explicitly judge either superior, or more characteristic of classical authors, than the other.[49] Indeed, the best *harmonia*, according to Dionysius, is

46 Dionysius' use of τοῦτο and ἐκεῖνο in this passage is somewhat unusual; does he mean to draw a contrast simply between 'this style, namely, the refined' and 'that style, the austere'? Pohl 1968 and Aujac and Lebel 1981 seem to think so and do not translate the terms. Roberts 1910 and Usher 1985, however, interpret *touto* and *ekeino* temporally, with both translating *touto* as 'of our day' and *ekeino* as 'the distant past'. While this is perhaps too strong, I think that the terms do suggest some connection of the refined style with the present and the austere style with the past.

47 On the analysis of Pindar and Thucydides, see also de Jonge 2008, 205–206.

48 Cf. *Dem*. 5.3: τήν τε κοινότητα διώκει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν ἀσκεῖ, πάσης ὑπεριδοῦσα κατασκευῆς ἐπιθέτου. Ὅ τε πίνος αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ χνοῦς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἠρέμα καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέχει χλοερόν τέ τι καὶ τεθηλὸς καὶ μεστὸν ὥρας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι ('[Platos' style] pursues normality of vocabulary, and clarity, disdaining all accessory ornamentation. The *patina of the past* spreads softly and unobtrusively over its surface; the fresh green bloom of the springtime burgeons in it. It is as though a fragrant breeze were blowing off some flowery meadow,' trans. Russell and Winterbottom 1972).

49 In fact, it is the third, 'well-mixed' mode which Dionysius considers the best ('this *harmo-*

the 'well-mixed', whose practitioners employ the other two modes in alternation, depending on the context. Dionysius even provides his readers with a list of 'classical' authors who composed in each mode, as outlined in Table 1:[50]

	Austere	**Refined**	**Well-mixed**
Epic	Antimachus Empedocles	**Hesiod**	**Homer**
Lyric	**Pindar**	**Sappho** **Anacreon** Simonides	Stesichorus Alcaeus
Tragedy	**Aeschylus**	Euripides	Sophocles
Oratory	Antiphon	**Isocrates**	**Demosthenes**
History	**Thucydides**	Ephorus Theopompus	**Herodotus**
Philosophy			Democritus **Plato** Aristotle

Since Dionysius analyzes and praises the work of *both* austere and refined authors, it could hardly be said that the austere, *arkhaikon* 'beauty' found in Pindar and Thucydides' works, for example, is a *classical* beauty. What then of Sappho and Isocrates, who are included among Dionysius' classical writers, but whose refined *harmonia* is diametrically opposed to the austere? Dionysius does not call the austere mode *arkhaia* or *philarkhaios* because it is 'classical',

nia, in my opinion, deserves the first prize', *Comp.* 24.2), because it is 'a sort of a selection of the best parts of each [of the other modes]' (ἐκλογή τις τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ κρατίστων, *Comp.* 24.2).

50 Austere (*Comp.* 22.7); refined (23.9); mixed (24.5). Names in boldface indicate authors also named in *Dem.*: Aeschylus, Pindar and Thucydides are listed as 'austere' (*Dem.* 39.7); Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon, Isocrates as 'refined' (40.11); Homer, Plato, Herodotus and Demosthenes as 'well-mixed' (41.2–3).

or 'fond of the classical', but because there is something about it that strikes him as 'old-fashioned', or *archaic*.[51]

We saw above that in matters of dialect and vocabulary, Dionysius' arguments presuppose a notional pre-classical time in which words that were considered 'archaic' to Lysias and his contemporaries in the late fifth century BCE had been common parlance.[52] Is a similar conception at play here for the 'archaic' *harmonia*? If we look at the list of 'austere' authors, we can observe that they are all writing in the fifth century—Empedocles, Pindar, Antiphon, Aeschylus—or just at the beginning of the fourth—Thucydides and Antimachus. Can this be Dionysius' 'archaic' period? Probably not. As another look at the chart reveals, there are plenty of refined and well-mixed authors from the fifth century, like Herodotus, Simonides, and Sophocles. Moreover there are many non-austere authors far *earlier* than the fifth century, which suggests that 'austere' has no clear temporal denotation.

The same goes if we look at the individual genres. As I mentioned previously, Dionysius often envisages genres in terms of a development from simpler 'early' (*arkhaioi*) writers to later more complex ones, but a glance back over Table 1 reveals that within a given genre the austere 'archaic' *harmonia* occupies no consistent temporal position relative to its counterparts. One might expect, for instance, that there would be a development over time, with austere modes superseded by refined ones, and culminating in the successful mixture of the two. This is indeed the case with oratory, where the 'austere' Antiphon of the late fifth century gives way to the 'refined' Isocrates of the fourth, who in turn is succeeded by his younger contemporary, the 'well-mixed' Demosthenes; so too in tragedy, the austere Aeschylus is older than his well-mixed and 'refined' successors, Sophocles and Euripides. But a look at the other genres shows that there is no consistency at all in this regard. Among the historians, the 'austere' Thucydides is younger than the 'well-mixed' Herodotus, but older than the 'refined' Ephorus and Theopompus; as for epic poetry, the 'austere' Antimachus (late fifth/early fourth century) flourishes long after the 'well-mixed' Homer

51 The desire to convey this sense is probably why Dionysius tends to use derivatives of *arkhaios*—*arkhaikos*, *arkhaioprepês*, *arkhaiopinês*, *arkhaismos*, *philarkhaios*—rather than the plain word itself.

52 See *Thuc.* 23.4, where Dionysius observes that some of 'the historians belonging to the generation preceding the Peloponnesian War, who survived into Thucydides' lifetime … wrote in *ancient* Attic, which differed but slightly from Ionic (τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα μικράς τινας ἔχουσαν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα)'. This implies that an 'archaic' Attic dialect was in use in the generation prior to Thucydides, perhaps from the early to the middle of the fifth century.

and the 'refined' Hesiod. In lyric, the 'austere' Pindar is roughly contemporary with the 'refined' Simonides, and both are considerably later than the 'refined' Sappho and the 'well-mixed' Alcaeus. There is thus no particular sequence of *harmoniai* within genres; authors using 'archaic' modes can occupy positions temporally prior or subseqent to those employing 'refined' or 'well-mixed' ones.

What does it mean, then, to suggest that a given writer, like Thucydides or Plato, practices an 'old-fashioned' *harmonia*? If the idea is that their writing seems redolent of a period far in their past, say, the sixth century, how is it that the works of authors from that 'old' time, like Hesiod, Sappho, and Anacreon betray no sign of this kind of 'archaic' austerity? The problem is magnified if we consider that practitioners of the well-mixed style employed *both* the austere and refined styles; since Homer was one of the best working in this mode, it was apparently possible already at the very beginnings of Greek literature to use an 'old-fashioned' mode of composition!

To whom, then, in Dionysius' classicizing worldview, do the features and qualities of the austere mode appear 'archaic'? To Homer? Pindar? Thucydides? Or just to Dionysius himself? Perhaps the 'archaic' follows no chronology; it floats in time, existing only in the mind of the classicizing critic to whom authors from all eras can appear 'archaic' without belonging to any particular 'archaic' period. To describe a given classical author's dialect as 'archaic' suggests that it was no longer in common use at the time when the author was writing. But because 'archaic' composition is not associated with a particular period, one cannot simply say that it is the kind of *harmonia* that authors *used* to, but no longer employ. Instead, a given work can only be called 'archaic' if it displays *other* qualities that 'feel' old-fashioned and give off the aura of antiquity, qualities that collectively come to define the term *arkhaios* itself. On this view, the austere mode is only 'archaic' inasmuch as it betrays qualities—severity, nobility, bluntness, audacity, gravity, lack of subtlety, and a certain greatness of spirit—that seem old-fashioned in *every* era, at least from Dionysius' classicizing vantage point.[53]

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53 In his analysis of Pindar's 'austere' lines, part of which was quoted above, Dionysius makes it clear that he is thinking of the perspective of his contemporary readers(*Comp.* 22.12, trans. Usher 1985, slightly modified): 'I know well that *all those possessing a reasonable understanding of literature* will attest (ἅπαντες ἂν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μαρτυρήσειαν οἱ μετρίαν ἔχοντες αἴσθησιν περὶ λόγους) that these lines are powerful, robust and dignified, and possess much austerity; that they are rough, though not to a painful degree, and are harsh upon the ear, but not excessively so; that their rhythms move at a slow pace, and the arrangement of their words gives a broadly expansive effect; and that they do not exhibit this theatricality and refinement but that *archaic* and *austere* beauty (ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχαϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ αὐστηρόν)'.

6 Classical Archaizing

What, then, is the precise relation between the 'archaic' *harmonia*, and by extension the 'old-fashioned' qualities that it evokes for Dionysius and his classicizing contemporaries, and Dionysius' classical authors? We said above that Dionysius does not seem to conceive of any 'archaic' era in the sense of a pre-classical period in which only austere authors existed. But did he believe that the classical authors employing the 'austere' *harmonia*, like Pindar or Aeschylus, were conscious of the fact that their work appeared 'old-fashioned'? Or did it simply seem noble, severe, and brusque, without any sense that it was antiquated? In other words, does Dionysius think that these authors would also have referred to their own austere style as *arkhaios*?

While one suspects that the 'old-fashioned' quality Dionysius ascribes to the austere mode would be perceptible only to a later classicizing audience, proof is difficult to come by, because Dionysius, in his analyses of sample 'austere' and 'refined' passages from classical authors in *On Literary Composition*, is concerned more to describe the *effect* on the listener of the particular *harmonia* under discussion than to establish the writer's awareness of these effects, or his/her intentions in producing them. In his treatise on Demosthenes, however, Dionysius discusses in some detail the orator's skillful use of the 'well-mixed' mode, which involves the selective deployment of the austere and refined *harmoniai*.[54] 'What was Demosthenes' *intention* (τί δή ποτε βουλόμενος)', Dionysius asks, 'in not always following one and the same path?' (*Dem.* 44.2). How did he decide whether a particular section of a speech called 'for a more refined, others a more austere style'?[55] In his response, Dionysius suggests that Demosthenes was fully cognizant of the characteristics of the austere mode—including its 'archaic' nature (*Dem.* 44.2):

> It seems to me that he [Demosthenes], *taught* by experience and his own nature, first *learned* that the masses who rush to schools and public festivals do not demand the same sort of things as those who occupy the lawcourts and the assemblies; the former yearn for artifice and enter-

54 Dionysius refrains from analyzing any example of the well-mixed mode in *On Literary Composition*.

55 *Dem.* 44.1: 'the mixed style is the best, and I claim that Demosthenes uses it with a finer sense of proportion than any other writer …' This is the only time he analyzes at length an author who works in the well-mixed mode; in addition, because the discussion occurs within a treatise devoted to Demosthenes, Dionysius' focus is on highlighting the orator's technique and intentions rather than simply illustrating the features of a particular mode.

tainment, the latter for instruction and assistance on the matters which they are investigating. He thus *thought* it necessary both that a forensic speech not be spoken in a seductive and sweet voice and that an epideictic speech not be marked by aridity and *patina*.[56]

Δοκεῖ δή μοι φύσει τε καὶ πείρᾳ διδαχθεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο καταμαθεῖν ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίας ἀπαιτοῦσι κατασκευὰς λέξεως οἱ πρὸς τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ σχολὰς συρρέοντες ὄχλοι τοῖς εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαντῶσιν, ἀλλ' οἳ μὲν ἀπάτης ὀρέγονται καὶ ψυχαγωγίας, οἳ δὲ διδαχῆς ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ ὠφελείας. Οὔτε δὴ τὸν ἐν δικαστηρίοις λόγον ᾤετο δεῖν κωτίλλειν καὶ λιγαίνειν, οὔτε τὸν ἐπιδεικτικὸν αὐχμοῦ μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ πίνου.

After a brief digression demonstrating how the style of Demosthenes' forensic speeches sometimes shifts, when appropriate, to one more characteristic of epideictic, Dionysius continues (*Dem.* 45.3):

Indeed it seems to me that when *Demosthenes realized* this [i.e., the observation mentioned in 44.2 above], he at first adapted the style of his *sunthesis* to his subject matter, and then, afterwards, when *he had fully grasped* that the different genres do not all require the same choice of words and composition, but that some call for a more polished, others a more austere style, *he wrote*, according to this fashion, his introductions and narratives with more attractiveness than solemnity, and his proofs and perorations with a smaller share of an attractive *sunthesis* and more of an *austere* and *patinated* one.[57]

Τοῦτο δὲ δή μοι πρῶτον ἐνθυμηθεὶς δοκεῖ συμμεθαρμόζεσθαι ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς συνθέσεως ... καὶ ἔτι μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἰδέας τοῦ λόγου καταμαθὼν ὅτι οὐχ ἅπασαι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦσιν οὔτε ἐκλογῆς ὀνομάτων κόσμον οὔτε συνθέσεως, ἀλλ' αἳ μὲν τὸν γλαφυρώτερον, αἳ δὲ τὸν αὐστηρότερον, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀκολουθήσας χρείᾳ τὰ μὲν προοίμια καὶ τὰς διηγήσεις ποιεῖν [τὸ] πλεῖον ἐχούσας τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἡδύ, τὰς δὲ πίστεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλόγους τῆς μὲν ἡδείας συνθέσεως ἐλάττω μοῖραν ἐχούσας, τῆς δὲ <u>αὐστηρᾶς καὶ πεπινωμένης</u> πλείω.

56 Aujac 1988: 'une trop grande sécheresse et un style trop archaïsant'; Usher 1974: 'full of a dry and musty antiquity'.

57 Aujac 1988: 'plus de composition austère et archaïsante'; Usher 1974: 'a thicker incrustation of old-fashioned austerity'.

In these passages, Dionysius consistently makes Demosthenes the grammatical subject of active verbs of thinking, learning, and doing (διδαχθείς, καταμαθεῖν, ᾤετο, ἐνθυμηθείς, καταμαθών, ποιεῖν), indicating that Dionysius believes that Demosthenes not only recognized the different types of *sunthesis* and understood to which type of context each was suited, but also chose which one to employ in any given part of his speech. Furthermore, the implication is that Demosthenes himself perceived the different styles *in the terms* with which Dionysius has described them. This is especially brought out in the last sentence of the first passage, when Dionysius says that it was Demosthenes who 'thought' that epideictic speeches should not be 'marked by aridity and patina'; the syntax (*ôieto* followed by indirect discourse) strongly implies that Dionysius is attributing the phrasing to Demosthenes as well.

Dionysius describes the antiquity of the austere *harmonia* not as *arkhaios*, but rather as *pepinômenês* and *pinos* ('patinated' and 'patina'), terms which refer to the tarnish that develops on bronze with age,[58] and which we have already seen Dionysius use once in close conjunction with *arkhaios*.[59] Their appearance in these passages, I think, is no accident: to call a style 'patinated' is not just another way to describe it as 'ancient'. Patina is not something that is originally part of a work of art; it emerges over a long period and thus only becomes visible to audiences at a much later time.[60] The metaphor thus suggests that the austere *harmonia* does not appear as a timeless 'classical' beauty, but is unmistakably marked as *not* being from the present, as 'archaic' or 'old-fashioned', a relic from the past. One could even speculate that, to the belated onlooker, the patina, or the antiquity that it signals, is precisely what imparts nobility and grandeur to the 'austere' *harmonia*, rather than the other way around.[61]

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58 See the discussion in Van Hook 1905, 44, and the various translations in the glossaries of Dionysian vocabulary: Roberts 1910: 'mellowing deposit, tinge of antiquity, flavour of archaism'; van Wyck Cronjé 1986: *pinos* = 'musty antiquity', 'patina' or 'tinge'; *pepinomenos* = 'old-fashioned'; and Aujac 1992: 'rouille, teinte de vétusté, d'archaïsme (d'un écrit), patine'. On *pinos* and literary criticism, see Donadi 2000, 56–57 and Porter 2006b, 327–328.

59 I quoted above Dionysius characterization of the austere *harmonia*'s 'beauty' as consisting in its 'archaic nature and its patina' (τὸν ἀρχαϊσμὸν καὶ τὸν πίνον ἔχουσα κάλλος, *Comp.* 22.6); elsewhere he speaks of 'the patina of antiquity' (ὁ … πίνος … ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος, *Dem.* 5.3), 'the delicate bloom of ancient patina' (τις … χνοῦς ἀρχαιοπινής, *Dem.* 38.6), and 'the ancient patina' (τὸν ἀρχαῖον … πίνον, *Dem.* 39.7).

60 On Winckelmann's novel interpretation of Dionysius' use of *pinos*, see Fornaro 1998–1999.

61 Because *pinos* can also have a negative connotation—of rust, or dirt—it conveys well the

If Dionysius' Demosthenes conceives of the 'austere' *harmonia* as 'patinated', then the classical orator fully recognizes the 'old-fashioned' effect that austere *sunthesis* could produce; moreover, he exploits it for that purpose, namely, to lend his writing an elevated, non-contemporary feel. In Dionysius' eyes, Demosthenes emulates the 'austere' *harmonia* not in order to sound timelessly ideal, or as part of a complete 'return' to the style of a 'classical' era, but in order to sound 'old' or 'ancient' when the situation calls for it, and thus to lend his passages the qualities attributed to such antiquity—nobility, grandeur, simplicity.[62] In other words, he was *archaizing*.[63]

For Dionysius, Demosthenes is one of the best 'classical' authors because he is able to 'mix' archaic and refined modes in the right proportions.[64] But archaizing is integral not only to the 'classical' practice of Demosthenes, but also to the classicizing program Dionysius is laying out for his readers, who are meant to look to Demosthenes as a model for their own 'well-mixed' compositions. In this respect, Demosthenes begins to look very much like the first *classicizing* author, rather than the last *classical* one. It can surely be no accident that Demosthenes, coming at the very end of the classical era, looks back upon all previous classical literature from a vantage point that is not so different from Dionysius' own, once three intervening centuries of Hellenistic oratory have been expunged.

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ambivalence with which an 'old-fashioned' style could be viewed: noble to some, musty to others.

62 Cf. *Dem.* 38.6: The 'harsh combinations' characteristic of the austere mode 'should not produce ugly or unpleasant sounds … but rather some fine film of *ancient patina* and an unforced charm should bloom instead (ἀλλ' ἐπανθῇ τις αὐταῖς χνοῦς ἀρχαιοπινὴς καὶ χάρις ἀβίαστος)'.

63 Cf. Porter 2006b, 328: 'What is more, writers after Thucydides draw on styles as from a palette, archaism (sounding old, venerable, and classical) being one of the available chromatic choices … Plato is consciously affecting his archaism—or should we say his classicism?'

64 Porter 2006a, 58, singles out Dionysius' attitude toward Demosthenes as an example of 'mediated classicism', which 'consists in the identification, not with an originary moment in the production of classical value, but *with the attitude of classicism itself*.' On this view, Dionysius idealizes Demosthenes, who is *already* a classicizing author looking back to the fifth century for his inspiration. Cf. Bowie 1970, 46: 'Demosthenes is one of the first witnesses to a nostalgia of which he was later to become one of the prime objects.' Demosthenes' nostalgia, however, is focused on the *culture* and *politics* of the fifth-century, not its *literature* or style. While Demosthenes may look to the past for models for behavior, Dionysius attributes to him a different attitude (nowhere expressed by Demosthenes himself, naturally) about its oratory.

Dionysius' identification with the perspective of the fourth-century Demosthenes[65] suggests, however, that Dionysius attributes his *own* views about the 'old-fashioned' feel of the 'austere' *harmonia* to the classical orator. After all, there is no indication in Demosthenes' own works that he considered earlier oratorical styles 'old-fashioned' or 'out-of date'. What can we say then about the other 'classical' authors, particularly those who practiced the austere mode, like Pindar and Thucydides? Were they, in Dionysius' vision, aware of their 'archaic' nature? Were Homer and Herodotus, other masters of the 'well-mixed' style, also classicizing authors *avant la lettre*, perceiving the 'austere' mode as old-fashioned in the way that Demosthenes did, and using it to convey a feeling of archaic grandiosity to their writing?

I suspect not; the self-consciously archaizing Demosthenes is very much the exception that proves the rule. As I said above, neither of Dionysius' sample 'austere' authors—Pindar and Thucydides—seem to think of their own work as *arkhaios*. But just as telling is that neither of the refined authors he examines—Sappho and Isocrates—are described as trying to *avoid* sounding 'old-fashioned'. Instead, all of these authors pursue the *harmonia* that comes naturally to their characters, or was felt most fitting for the type of work they produced—e.g., Sappho sought a smooth, polished composition, Thucydides a harsh, rough one—but any association of either mode with *time* is retrojected onto them by Dionysius. This is largely an argument from silence and plausibility, but one possible piece of supporting evidence appears when Dionysius provides the slightly surprising information that Pindar also composed some of his poetry in the 'refined' mode (the *Partheneia*). Nevertheless, Dionysius insists, 'even in those [poems] a certain solemnity and nobility of *harmonia* is apparent, preserving the *ancient patina*' (διαφαίνεται δέ τις ὁμοία κἀν τούτοις εὐγένεια καὶ σεμνότης ἁρμονίας τὸν <u>ἀρχαῖον</u> φυλάττουσα <u>πίνον</u>, *Dem*. 39.7). The 'archaic' or 'old-fashioned' qualities of Pindar's style come out *even when* he is using the refined mode, the opposite of the austere. Dionysius might be saying that Pindar intentionally retained an 'archaic' flavor in his refined *harmoniai*, but the use of *pinos* here makes it more likely that the 'ancient patina' is something only a belated onlooker like Dionysius would notice, a bit of 'old-fashioned' severity that shines through otherwise refined poems.[66] One suspects also that for ear-

65 It is noteworthy that the *sunthesis* of Lysias, who is a paragon of style in *On the Ancient Orators*, is never discussed by Dionysius, perhaps because he does not quite fit into any of these compositional categories.

66 The idea that certain classical authors are somehow intrinsically 'ancient' or 'old-fashioned' possibly lies behind Dionysius' remarks in *On the Ancient Orators* that 'Antiphon has only austerity and *antiquity*' (Ἀντιφῶν γε μὴν τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἔχει μόνον καὶ <u>ἀρχαῖον</u>,

lier 'well-mixed' authors, like Homer and Herodotus, their ability to mix austere and refined modes was not so much a choice between an old-fashioned and a 'modern' style as an alternation between severity and elegance that had no temporal associations to the authors themselves.

The word *arkhaios*, along with *pinos*, and their cognates thus betray Dionysius' belated classicizing perspective; while Pindar, Antiphon, and Aeschylus might describe their *harmoniai* as noble, solemn, and austere, they would not say it was 'ancient', or 'patinated', even in Dionysius' imagination. It is only Demosthenes, working in the well-mixed mode at the end of the tradition, who can share Dionysius' opinion of the 'austere' authors, who all hail from the fifth and early fourth century, as 'old-fashioned'.[67] For Dionysius' Demosthenes, then, the noble and solemn *harmonia* was no longer a 'living' compositional possibility, but could only be employed as an effect, as if one were to distress a brand new bronze statue in order to make it look 'old'.

7 Conclusion

It is obvious to anyone reading Dionysius' preface to *On the Ancient Orators* that his notion of the 'classical' is dependent upon the positing of a subsequent era of decline, marked as Asian and degenerate. I hope to have shown, from an examination of *On Literary Composition* and the second half of *Demosthenes*, that it also relies on a conceptual 'archaic' from which classical style has developed, or which, in Dionysius' more sophisticated version, the best 'classical' writers employ as an essential part of their compositional method. In his study of literary composition, Dionysius identifies a whole series of qualities—brusqueness, severity, roughness, and plainness—as 'archaic' or 'antiquated', and thereby standing conceptually outside the strictly 'classical' realm. But while Dionysius saw the 'archaic-ness' of old-fashioned vocabulary in a negative light, associating it with a set of potential stylistic flaws—artificiality,

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Is. 20.3), and that 'Theodorus of Byzantium [a contemporary of Gorgias] is rather *old-fashioned*' (Θεόδωρον δὲ τὸν Βυζάντιον ἀρχαῖόν τινα, *Is.* 19.3). Because these comments are made in the course of justifying why Dionysius does *not* treat these orators, it seems clear that such judgments are those of Dionysius himself, rather than that of Antiphon and Theodorus' contemporaries.

67 Another possible practitioner of a self-conscious, 'archaizing' compositional strategy is Plato, like Demosthenes a fourth-century author in the 'well-mixed' mode, and whom Dionysius accuses of occasional archaizing in his choice of vocabulary. Dionysius, unfortunately, does not discuss Plato's *sunthesis*.

over-elaborateness, obscurity, and foreignness—his valuation of the characteristically 'archaic' qualities in literary *sunthesis* is more ambivalent. They remain 'antiquated', but injected in measured doses they play an integral role in the kind of 'classical' writing that Dionysius' classicizing contemporaries should emulate. Moreover, although he does not construct an 'archaic' period *per se*, Dionysius, by identifying with late-classical authors, is led to perceive certain *fifth-century* authors as 'old-fashioned', or 'archaic', in that their work, while technically included among Dionysius' 'classical' canon, sits uneasily within it.

What one detects in Dionysius' description of Demosthenes' archaizing practice is a sense, not that the earlier classical writers were somehow more primitive or less developed—after all, Homer and Herodotus are exemplary practitioners of the 'well-mixed' mode—but that the only properly classical, or *arkhaios*, writer is one who is also a classicizer, that is, one who, like Dionysius' Demosthenes, retains a certain self-consciousness vis-à-vis his classical predecessors. Dionysius' Demosthenes does not just learn the 'austere' style from the great authors of the past; he consciously *imitates* that style because it is marked as *arkhaios*, or out of date, and *thereby* exudes the nobility and solemnity that he desires to convey.[68]

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68 In addition to Leiden, versions of this article were also delivered at Columbia University and Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford; I have profited a great deal from the ensuing comments at each of these venues. Special thanks to Sira Schulz for her criticisms and suggestions on the final written draft.

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CHAPTER 15

The Attic Muse and the Asian Harlot: Classicizing Allegories in Dionysius and Longinus

Casper C. de Jonge

1 Introduction: Greek Classicism at Rome

Periodization plays a crucial role in our perception and understanding of the past. Modern histories of Greek literature are traditionally organized by distinguishing an archaic, a classical, a Hellenistic and an Imperial period.[1] The dates of demarcation between the different periods are often political: the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE separates the classical from the Hellenistic period, and Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BCE is usually taken as the starting point of Imperial literature. In adopting this organization of literary history, modern scholars essentially follow the example of literary critics of the Augustan and early Imperial period.[2] The earliest scholar known to us who explicitly states that the character of Greek literature fundamentally changed after the death of Alexander is Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The key text for his views on

1 Histories of Greek literature in the German-speaking world usually consist of four parts. E.g., Lesky 1971 has chapters entitled 'Die archaische Zeit', 'Die hohe Zeit der griechischen Polis', 'Der Hellenismus' and 'Die Kaiserzeit'. Hose 1999 is likewise divided into four parts: 'Die archaische Zeit', 'Die Klassik', 'Die Literatur des Hellenismus' and 'Die Literatur der Kaiserzeit'. Most handbooks in English are not divided into four parts, but they adopt a similar periodization of literature: Rose 1934 has chapters on 'Hellenistic Poetry' (X) and 'Greek Literature in the Empire' (XIII). Dover 1980 includes chapters on 'Greek literature 300–50 BC' and 'Greek literature after 50 BC'. In Easterling and Knox 1985 there are chapters on 'Hellenistic poetry' and 'The literature of the Empire'. These examples confirm that the monumental work of Droysen 1836–1843 on 'Hellenism' has deeply influenced modern views on 'Hellenistic literature'. In recent years, histories of ancient literature have adopted thematic instead of chronological organizations: see, e.g., Rutherford 2005.

2 As Kim (ch. 14) notes in this volume, the ancient critics did not sharply distinguish between an archaic and a classical period: their division of literary history is a tripartite one, which distinguishes between the classical past, the post-classical period of decline and the Roman present. See Gelzer 1979, Heldmann 1982, 122–131 and Hidber 1996, 14–25. The period known as 'Hellenistic' since Droysen 1836–1843 is for the ancient critics an age of 'Asian' influence: a different perspective on the same phenomenon of intensified cultural contact.

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the past in Greek literature is the preface to his work *On the Ancient Orators* (*Orat. vett.*), which is also known as his *Manifesto of Classicism*.[3]

For Dionysius, the period after the death of Alexander the Great was an age of decline, in which the old, philosophical rhetoric (ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ φιλόσοφος ῥητορική) was maltreated and replaced by a shameless and ignorant rhetoric from Asia (*Orat. vett.* 1.2: see section 2). This period of decline came to an end at the end of the first century BCE: Dionysius claims that his own time witnessed the comeback of the ancient, Attic rhetoric. The 'cause and origin of this great revolution' (αἰτία … καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς) was the city of Rome and its leaders, as Dionysius states (*Orat. vett.* 3.1).[4] In the preface of his *Roman Antiquities*, Dionysius points out that he himself came to Italy in 30 or 29 BCE, 'at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war'.[5] The prefaces of the two works together suggest that for Dionysius the 'Asianic' period of decline ended with Octavian's rise to power. His political periodization thus anticipates that of modern histories of Greek literature.[6]

Dionysius is the most important representative of Greek Atticism and classicism at the end of the first century BCE in Rome.[7] In his rhetorical works, he presents the orators, historians and poets of classical Greece (Athens in particular) as the models of creative and eclectic imitation (μίμησις) for students of rhetoric. Far from being an isolated figure, Dionysius represents a broader Greek movement in Rome. In his literary essays and letters, he mentions several colleagues and addressees, who exchanged and debated ideas on the literature of the past. One of these colleagues is Caecilius of Caleacte, the critic who wrote many works on classical Greek, especially Attic, authors, including a work *On the Style of the Ten Orators*, a polemical treatise on Atticism with the

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3 Hidber 1996 provides a useful introduction and commentary. Important discussions of Dionysius' preface include Goudriaan 1989; Gabba 1991, 23–59; Wisse 1995; and Wiater 2011, esp. 60–61 and 92–100. See also Kim (ch. 14, 360–365) in this volume.

4 Translations of Dionysius are adapted from Usher 1974. Translations of Longinus' *On the Sublime* are adapted from Fyfe and Russell 1999. References to Dionysius follow the edition by Aujac 1978. Longinus is cited according to the edition of Fyfe and Russell 1999.

5 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.7.2.

6 E.g., Rose 1934, 314 presents the period between 325 BCE and 31 BCE as the age of Hellenistic literature. Lesky 1971, 568–716 labels the final stage of the classical period as 'Das vierte Jahrhundert bis Alexander'. Dover 1980, 134 begins the chapter on Hellenistic literature with a reference to the death of Alexander. The handbook of Easterling and Knox 1985 presents the Hellenistic period as starting with the death of Alexander (p. 541) and concluding with the Battle of Actium (p. 642). Hose 1999, 137 likewise takes the death of Alexander in 323 BCE as the starting point of Hellenistic literature.

7 On Dionysius and Greek classicism, see esp. Goudriaan 1989 and Wiater 2011.

title *Against the Phrygians*, and a treatise *On the Sublime* (Περὶ ὕψους).[8] None of these works have survived, but we do possess the polemical response to Caecilius' work *On the Sublime*, which bears the same title as its predecessor. The extant treatise Περὶ ὕψους explicitly answers the 'little treatise of Caecilius on the sublime' ([Longinus], *Subl.* 1.1: συγγραμμάτιον), and it clearly breathes the same spirit of classicism that we find in both Dionysius and Caecilius.[9] Indeed, Longinus, as I will call the author of *On the Sublime*, has been described as 'the perfect classicist'.[10]

A comparison between Dionysius and Longinus, to be undertaken in this chapter, can contribute to our understanding of Greek classicism in the Roman world and the different forms that it could adopt. Both authors were active in a Roman context, and both addressed their Greek essays to Roman patrons.[11] But while they agreed about the exemplarity of the classical Greek past, there seems to be a difference in their attitude towards the Roman present. Dionysius does everything to close the gap between 'Greek' and 'Roman', to the extent of arguing that the Romans were originally Greeks and Rome a Greek *polis*.[12] Longinus, on the other hand, articulates the difference between his own Greekness and the Roman identity of his addressee Postumius Terentianus: as Whitmarsh has demonstrated, Longinus' critical comparison between 'our' Demosthenes and 'your' Cicero (*Subl.* 12.4–5) creates a significant distance between Greece and Rome.[13]

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8 The fragments of Caecilius have been collected by Ofenloch 1907 and Augello 2006. Rhys Roberts 1897 summarizes what we know about Caecilius. On Caecilius, Longinus and the sublime, see Innes 2002.

9 We cannot be certain that the author of *On the Sublime* was active in Rome, but it is plausible for two reasons: the addressee is the young Roman Postumius Terentianus (*Subl.* 1.1); and the treatise (*Subl.* 12.4–5) includes a discussion of Cicero that would be especially relevant to an audience in Rome. Mazzucchi 2010, xxix–xxxiv suggests that the title of the treatise *On the Sublime* in manuscript Parisinus graecus 2036 is right in putting the work under the name of a Dionysius Longinus (Διονυσίου Λογγίνου Περὶ ὕψους). It is possible that a Greek freedman named Dionysius adopted the Roman cognomen Longinus, especially if he had connections with the Roman family of the Cassii Longini.

10 Porter 2006b, 348.

11 Longinus' addressee is Postumius Terentianus (see above n. 9). Dionysius' Roman addressees include his student Metilius Rufus (*Comp.*) and Q. Aelius Tubero (*Thuc.*). Pompeius Geminus (*Pomp.*) and Ammaeus (*Orat. vett.*, *Amm.* I and II) may have been either Greek or Roman: Hidber 1996, 7; de Jonge 2008, 27–28.

12 For Dionysius' theory of the Greek origins of Rome, see *Ant. Rom.* 1.5.1. On his presentation of Augustan Rome as the renaissance of classical Athens, see Hidber 1996, 75–81.

13 For this interpretation of Longinus 12.4–5, see Whitmarsh 2001, 68–69. De Jonge and Nijk

The date of the treatise *On the Sublime* remains a complex issue, although many arguments can be advanced for placing Longinus close in date to Dionysius.[14] Longinus' polemical response to Caecilius of Caleacte (Dionysius' contemporary) sounds like the urgent contribution to a current debate on the sublime rather than the review of a work that was written long ago.[15] Furthermore, the many correspondences between the works of Longinus and Dionysius, in terminology, stylistic interests and themes (e.g., word arrangement, music, sublimity), could indicate that they were roughly contemporary.[16] But the argument of this chapter will not depend on an early dating of the treatise *On the Sublime*, as it will make a more general point on Greek classicism in the Roman Empire, the allegorical discourse it employs, and the different voices that it could adopt. Even if Longinus belongs to a later date, it is productive to read his treatise in close connection with the works of his Augustan colleagues. Presenting himself as a colleague and opponent of Caecilius, Longinus places himself in a tradition of Greek rhetoric and literary criticism in the Roman world.

By focusing on the classical past of Greece and its literary achievements, Greek criticism contributed to the construction of Greek cultural identity in the Roman Empire.[17] But the relationship between Greek literature and Roman rule could be perceived and presented in very different ways. Recent work by such scholars as Goldhill, Swain and Whitmarsh on Greek literature and the Roman Empire, more specifically on the Second Sophistic, has demon-

(in preparation) argue that Longinus does not present Cicero as 'sublime'. See further below, section 5.

14 Mazzucchi 2010, xxix–xxxvii lists arguments for dating Longinus in the Augustan age. For a different view on the dating of *On the Sublime*, see Heath 1999, who concludes that the attribution of the treatise to Cassius Longinus (third century CE) is plausible.

15 Dionysius of Halicarnassus has a similar exchange on the sublime with his correspondent Pompeius Geminus: see de Jonge 2012, 292–295.

16 See Mazzucchi 2010, xxxiv. De Jonge 2012 argues that there is continuity between the concepts of the sublime (ὕψος) in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Longinus. It is of course also possible to point to interesting parallels between Longinus and later writers, including Plutarch see below 402, Lucian (see 396) and Cassius Longinus (Heath 1999). But we know that at least three scholars in the Augustan period were involved in a debate on the sublime: Caecilius, Dionysius and his addressee Pompeius Geminus: see Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 2.5.

17 Whitmarsh 2001 emphasizes that Greek literary texts themselves participate in the construction of identity rather than reflecting certain beliefs of their authors. Wiater 2011 successfully interprets Dionysius' classicism in terms of Greek cultural identity. On classicism in antiquity, see Flashar 1979 and Porter 2006a. Gelzer 1979 discusses the characteristics of classicism from a theoretical perspective.

strated that Greek classicism was not just one simple and straightforward story of Greeks evoking their glorious cultural past in order to voice opposition to Roman rule. Classicism was in fact a multi-layered phenomenon that involved complex forms of self-representation, articulating both continuity and discontinuity with the Greek past, claiming in some cases proximity and in other cases distance to manifestations of Roman power.[18] Recent scholarship has shown that differences between local communities in the Roman world add further nuance to the general picture.[19]

In order to cast more light on the discourse of Greek classicism in Rome and its varieties, the comparison between Dionysius and Longinus in this chapter will focus on two programmatic passages that are thematically connected: the preface of Dionysius' work *On the Ancient Orators* (mentioned above) and the final chapter 44 of Longinus' *On the Sublime*. The connections between these two passages have not received the attention that they deserve. Both Dionysius and Longinus present an allegorical interpretation of the decline of Greek literature after the classical period. Using similar images and discourse, they present the Greek world of the Hellenistic period as a corrupted household in which decadence and ignorance have become dominant factors. The two moralistic allegories can help us to understand the nature of Greek classicism in Rome. In particular, they suggest that the understanding of the past in the circles of Greek classicism relies on the assumption that eloquence, morality and politics form an indissoluble unity. We will see that to a large extent Dionysius and Longinus use the same discourse of classicism. Both critics share a deep admiration for classical Athens and the moral, political and literary values it represents for them. However, the two passages to be discussed also illustrate the different attitudes that the two authors adopt towards their own age: Dionysius appears to be more optimistic than Longinus regarding the state of literature in the Roman present. Both authors cherish the hope that the literary culture of classical Greece will be revived in their own time, but the cultural renaissance can only be successful in a society that honors its moral values, for which political rulers are ultimately responsible. Where Dionysius declares his faith in Roman rule, Longinus' attitude is more ambiguous.

18 See esp. Swain 1996, Whitmarsh 2001 and the first set of papers in Goldhill 2001 ('Subjected to Empire').

19 Whitmarsh 2010. A further complicating factor is that classicism is not confined to Greeks: the revival of classical Greek forms in sculpture and architecture was actively stimulated by Roman rulers (Hölscher 2006, Spawforth 2012), and authors of Latin texts were as interested in Greek classical literature as their Greek colleagues in Rome.

2 Dionysius: The Attic Muse and the Asian Harlot

In the preface to his *On the Ancient Orators*, Dionysius presents the eloquence of classical Athens as the model for the writing of his own time. Classical rhetoric is described as 'ancient' (ἀρχαία) and 'philosophical' (φιλόσοφος), a term that refers to the Isocratean *Bildungsideal* of moral and political education.[20] After the death of Alexander, this ancient, philosophical rhetoric began to 'lose spirit' (ἐκπνεῖν) and gradually 'die away' (μαραίνεσθαι). It finally 'reached a state of almost total extinction', when another rhetoric came in its place. Dionysius paints the 'other rhetoric' (ἑτέρα δέ τις) as a very uncivilized creature (*Orat. vett.* 1.3–4):

> Another Rhetoric stole in and took its place, intolerably shameless and histrionic, ill-bred and without a vestige either of philosophy or of any other aspect of liberal education. Deceiving the mob and exploiting its ignorance, it not only came to enjoy greater wealth, luxury and splendor than the other, but actually made itself the key to civic honors and high office, a power which ought to have been reserved for the philosophic art. It was altogether vulgar and disgusting, and finally made the Greek world resemble the houses of the profligate and the abandoned.

> Ἑτέρα δέ τις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνης παρελθοῦσα τάξιν, ἀφόρητος ἀναιδείᾳ θεατρικῇ καὶ ἀνάγωγος καὶ οὔτε φιλοσοφίας οὔτε ἄλλου παιδεύματος οὐδενὸς μετειληφυῖα ἐλευθερίου, λαθοῦσα καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἄγνοιαν, οὐ μόνον ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ μορφῇ πλείονι τῆς ἑτέρας διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς προστασίας τῶν πόλεων, ἃς ἔδει τὴν φιλόσοφον ἔχειν, εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνηρτήσατο καὶ ἦν φορτική τις πάνυ καὶ ὀχληρὰ καὶ τελευτῶσα παραπλησίαν ἐποίησε γενέσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῖς τῶν ἀσώτων καὶ κακοδαιμόνων οἰκίαις.

In his description of the 'other' rhetoric Dionysius adopts numerous terms that we recognize from traditional characterizations of 'the other' or 'the barbarian' in classical Greek literature from Aeschylus to Isocrates.[21] For example, luxury (τρυφή) is a key term in Isocrates' portrayal of the Persians in the *Panegyricus*. The Asian 'lack of liberal education' (παίδευμα ἐλευθέριον) also finds a parallel in

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20 On the meaning of ἀρχαῖος, see Kim (ch. 14) in this volume. On p. 363, he proposes to translate the word in this passage as 'classical'. On the Isocratean use of the word φιλόσοφος in Dionysius, see Hidber 1996, 44–56.

21 For a detailed analysis, see Hidber 1996, 105–106.

Isocrates.[22] In order to illustrate the decline of rhetoric further, Dionysius introduces a colorful allegory. The ancient, Attic muse is compared to a freeborn, indigenous lawful wife (γαμετή), who is expelled from her household when an ignorant and shameless harlot (ἑταίρα) from Asia takes her place (*Orat. vett.* 1.5–7):

> Just as in such households there sits the lawful wife, freeborn and chaste, but with no authority over her domain, while an insensate harlot, bent on destroying her livelihood, claims control of the whole estate, treating the other like dirt and keeping her in a state of terror; so in every city, and in the highly civilized ones as much as any (which was the final indignity), the ancient and indigenous Attic muse, deprived of her possessions, had lost her civic rank, while her antagonist, an upstart that had arrived only yesterday or the day before from some Asiatic death-hole, a Mysian or a Phrygian or a Carian scourge, claimed the right to rule over Greek cities, expelling her rival from public life. Thus the ignorant woman drove out the philosophical one, the mad woman the sane one.
>
> Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείναις ἡ μὲν ἐλευθέρα καὶ σώφρων γαμετὴ κάθηται μηδενὸς οὖσα τῶν αὑτῆς κυρία, ἑταίρα δέ τις ἄφρων ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ βίου παροῦσα πάσης ἀξιοῖ τῆς οὐσίας ἄρχειν, σκυβαλίζουσα καὶ δεδιττομένη τὴν ἑτέραν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν πάσῃ πόλει καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἧττον ἐν ταῖς εὐπαιδεύτοις (τουτὶ γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν κακῶν ἔσχατον) ἡ μὲν Ἀττικὴ μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων ἄτιμον εἰλήφει σχῆμα, τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπεσοῦσα ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἔκ τινων βαράθρων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην ἀφικομένη, Μυσὴ ἢ Φρυγία τις ἢ Καρικόν τι κακόν, [ἢ βάρβαρον] Ἑλληνίδας ἠξίου διοικεῖν πόλεις ἀπελάσασα τῶν κοινῶν τὴν ἑτέραν, ἡ ἀμαθὴς τὴν φιλόσοφον καὶ ἡ μαινομένη τὴν σώφρονα.

This allegory presents the two types of rhetoric as two women who are in all respects perfect opposites. The Attic muse is freeborn (ἐλευθέρα), temperate (σώφρων), ancient (ἀρχαία), indigenous (αὐτόχθων) and philosophical (φιλόσοφος). The *hetaera*, on the other hand, reminds us again of the barbarian in Greek literature. She is not only foolish (ἄφρων), ignorant (ἀμαθής) and mad (μαινομένη), but also a relatively recent phenomenon, having arrived only 'yesterday or the day before' from Mysia, Phrygia or Caria. These three regions are topical

22 Isoc. *Paneg.* 50 claims that 'the title Hellenes is applied rather to those who share our education (παίδευσις) than to those who share a common blood'. For barbarian τρυφή, see *Paneg.* 151.

names in the discourse of Atticism: in his *Orator*, Cicero points out that Mysia, Phrygia and Caria have the least refinement and taste in eloquence.[23]

Scholars have pointed to various classical Greek texts that may have inspired Dionysius' allegory. Hidber shows that Dionysius' portrayal of the Attic muse, with its emphasis on σωφροσύνη and liberal education, draws on the Isocratean concept of rhetoric.[24] Commenting on the contrast between the lawful wife and the *hetaera*, Aujac refers to the pseudo-Demosthenic speech *Against Neaera*.[25] But it is more plausible that Dionysius is here drawing on allegorical stories. His analogy presents itself as an adaptation of Prodicus' famous story about the *Choice of Hercules*, narrated by Socrates in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.[26] Hercules has to choose between virtue (ἀρετή) and vice (κακία), personified by two women. Virtue is freeborn (ἐλευθέριος) and characterized by respect (αἰδώς) and self-control (σωφροσύνη). The other woman (κακία) is unreal, uncivilized and characterized by softness (ἁπαλότης) and fleshiness (πολυσαρκία). Like Prodicus, Dionysius draws a contrast between two women, a personification of classical virtue and an opponent who is decadent and uncivilized.[27]

Dionysius was not the first to use personification in order to articulate his views on the history of eloquence. His portrayal of rhetoric as a married woman (γαμετή, *Orat. vett.* 1.5) seems to be a variation on the gender-based allegory of rhetoric that Cicero employs in a text written only a few decades earlier.[28] In his *Brutus* (46 BCE), the Roman rhetorician portrays eloquence as a beautiful young woman who has become an orphan after the death of Hortensius. Cicero urges Brutus to guard her carefully: 'Let us keep her (i.e., eloquence) within our own walls, protected by a custody worthy of her liberal lineage. Let us repel the pretensions of these upstart and impudent suitors, and guard her purity, like that of a virgin grown to womanhood (*adultam virginem*), and, so far as we can, shield her from the advances of rash admirers.'[29] Both

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23 Cic. *Orat.* 25. In Dion. Hal. *Orat. vett.* 1.7 Μυσή is Kiessling's emendation of μοῦσα (codd.). See de Jonge 2008, 15 n. 69.

24 Hidber 1996.

25 Aujac 1978, 176.

26 Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–33. See Mayhew 2011, 201–221.

27 Prodicus' allegory also inspired Lucian's *Dream* (see Gera 1995), where the choice is between the two women Craftwork (Τέχνη) and Education (Παιδεία). The *Choice of Hercules* was the model for allegories in various other Greek and Latin texts: see Gera 1995, 239 n. 9.

28 Leidl 2003 compares the gendered analogies of rhetoric in Cic. *Brut.* 330, *Orat.* 63–64, Dion. Hal. *Orat. vett.* 1 and Lucian *Bis acc.* 31.

29 Cic. *Brut.* 330, translation Hendrickson 1952. Cf. Stroup 2003 and Leidl 2003, 35–39. In

Cicero and Dionysius describe rhetoric as a chaste woman who is in danger: in Cicero's *Brutus* she is still a virgin, who is threatened by ignorant suitors (*ignotos … procos*); in Dionysius' preface she has become a married woman, who is driven out of the house by an ignorant rival (ἀμαθής, *Orat. vett.* 1.7). In its turn, Dionysius' allegory may have influenced the portrayal of Rhetoric in Lucian's *Double Indictment*. Lucian tells us that Demosthenes had married Rhetoric as a modest (σωφρονοῦσαν) and dressed-up (ἐσχηματισμένην) wife, but later she turned into a made-up woman (κοσμουμένην), who arranged her hair like a hetaera (εἰς τὸ ἑταιρικόν).[30] In this allegory we recognize the now familiar classicizing distinction between a period of the distant past, here specified as Demosthenes' time, and a later period of corruption and decline.

I would here like to focus on the strong connections that Dionysius presents between rhetoric, morality and politics.[31] His allegory of the lawful wife and the Asian girl reformulates the opposition between two kinds of rhetoric in moral categories. The rather bourgeois scene that Dionysius introduces associates classical rhetoric with the good moral behavior in a proper and decent family. Greek cities (πόλεις) should be like the households (οἰκίαι) of such families. 'In every city' (ἐν πάσῃ πόλει) the Attic muse had lost her rank after the death of Alexander. In other words, the decline of eloquence goes hand in hand with the political decline of the Greek world. It is therefore not surprising that Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 3.1–2) attributes the *revival* of classical rhetoric in the Augustan age also to a *political* revolution: he finds 'the cause and origin' of the recent change in the city of Rome and its leaders (οἱ δυναστεύοντες),

> … under whose ordering influence the sensible section of the population has increased its power and the foolish have been compelled to behave rationally. This state of affairs has led to the composition of many worthwhile works of history by contemporary writers, and the publication of many elegant political tracts and many by no means negligible philosophical treatises; and a host of other fine works, the products of well-directed industry, have proceeded from the pens of both Greeks and Romans, and will probably continue to do so.

Cic. *Orat.* 63–64 the style of philosophical writers (distinguished from that of orators) is compared to 'a chaste, pure and modest virgin'. Cf. Leidl 2003, 39–41.

30 Lucian *Bis acc.* 31. Cf. Leidl 2003, 50–51. Braun 1994, 287 suggests that Lucian borrowed Dionysius' analogy. The word ἐσχηματισμένην ('figured') alludes to the theory of 'figured speech'.

31 See also Wiater 2011, 65–77 and 85–87.

> … ὑφ’ ὧν κοσμούμενον τό τε φρόνιμον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιδέδωκεν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον ἠνάγκασται νοῦν ἔχειν. Τοιγάρτοι πολλαὶ μὲν ἱστορίαι σπουδῆς ἄξιαι γράφονται τοῖς νῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι πολιτικοὶ χαρίεντες ἐκφέρονται φιλόσοφοί τε συντάξεις οὐ μὰ Δία εὐκαταφρόνητοι ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ πραγματεῖαι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησιν εὖ μάλα διεσπουδασμέναι προεληλύθασί τε καὶ προελεύσονται κατὰ τὸ εἰκός.

The direct link between politics and good writing (oratory, but also philosophy, history and other genres) appears to be a central theme in Dionysius' views on past and present. Scholars have speculated about the identity of the δυναστεύοντες (the leaders of Rome) who are said to rule the world so virtuously (κατ' ἀρετήν). Does he mean Augustus himself or more generally the Roman aristocrats in whose circle he was active?[32] The ideal of a decent family life that Dionysius' allegory of the Attic muse and the Asian harlot presents could be related to the Augustan emphasis on moral values, as illustrated by Augustus' family legislation. More particularly, the idea that a decent marriage should not be corrupted by a *hetaera* could remind us of Augustus' marriage laws (including the *Lex Julia*), which stimulated marriage and having children, while rejecting adultery as a crime.[33]

In any case, it is remarkable to see that the Attic muse, who is primarily associated with democratic Athens, makes her comeback in Augustan Rome. The Roman rulers, now married to Greek eloquence, restore the order as 'the new masters of the house'.[34] But the revival of classical Athens is a renaissance of moral values rather than the return of a political system: like classical Athens, Augustan Rome is presented as a city where political leadership supports moral values and thereby stimulates cultural activities.[35] Under Augustus, Greek cities follow the moral example of Rome, so that they look again like decent households, where civilization flourishes.

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32 See Schwartz 1905, 934 (Augustus) and Wisse 1995, 77 (patrons). Further discussion in de Jonge 2008, 17–18.

33 In 17 BCE Augustus introduced the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, which set severe penalties for adultery. See Galinsky 1981, 128: '[T]he main goal was the restitution of a sound family life'.

34 Leidl 2003, 47.

35 Wiater 2011, 99–100 interestingly observes that Dionysius implies that there is a connection between Augustus and Alexander, the two leaders who demarcate the period of decline. Alexander had spread Greek civilization over the eastern world, and Augustus is now doing the same thing again, forcing back Asian rhetoric, while restoring the Attic muse to her rightful place of honor.

The analogy of the Attic muse and the Asian harlot, which draws itself on a classical, Xenophontic motif, helps Dionysius to express his views on the relationship between politics, morality and literature in past and present. It is a story with a happy ending, which holds out hope for the state of Greek literature in a world dominated by Romans. We will see that the allegory in Longinus' *On the Sublime*, although it resembles Dionysius' passage in both form and content, is less reassuring.

3 *On the Sublime 44*: The Family of Wealth and Extravagance

Unlike Dionysius, the author of the treatise *On the Sublime* does not refer to explicit demarcation dates to set the period of decline apart from the preceding classical age. But in his evaluation of Greek literature Longinus implicitly agrees with the periodization that Dionysius employs, for he finds the sublime in the Greek literature of (what modern readers call) the archaic and classical period, from Homer to Demosthenes. The sublime is especially associated with the works of Homer, Demosthenes and Plato, and many examples are also cited from such authors as Herodotus, Xenophon and Euripides. Hellenistic poets of the third century BCE, on the other hand, are mediocre natures, faultless and immaculate—but they are not sublime. 'Would you not rather be Homer than Apollonius?' Longinus asks in a famous digression that compares sublime genius with impeccable mediocrity.[36]

Like Dionysius, Longinus presents Demosthenes as the climax and conclusion of the classical period.[37] Since Alexander (323 BCE) and Demosthenes (322 BCE) had died conveniently close in time, both critics end up with practically the same periodization of literary history.[38] In the first instance one might be

36 *Subl.* 33.4 mentions Apollonius, Theocritus and Eratosthenes.

37 On Demosthenes as a primary model of the sublime in Longinus and Caecilius, see Innes 2002. Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 8.2 presents Demosthenes' style as the perfect culmination of earlier oratory: 'He selected the best and most useful elements from all earlier orators, weaving them together to make a single, perfect, composite style embracing the opposite qualities of grandeur and simplicity, the elaborate and the plain, the strange and the familiar, the ceremonial and the practical, the serious and the light-hearted, the intense and the relaxed, the sweet and the bitter, the sober and the emotional.'

38 Dion. Hal. *Din.* 2.4 explicitly connects the death of Alexander with the death of Demosthenes: 'Dinarchus flourished especially after the death of Alexander, when Demosthenes and the other orators had been sentenced to permanent exile or death, and no other orator worthy of note was left to succeed them.' Cf. Wiater 2011, 85.

inclined to think that Longinus' framework is less political since he does not refer to Alexander's death, but in fact his selection of examples from Demosthenes suggests that his concept of the classical has strong political aspects too. In different parts of his work Longinus cites passages from Demosthenes' *On the Crown*, which deal with the freedom of classical Greece and the imminent loss of liberty.[39] In these citations, Demosthenes presents himself as the defender of freedom and democracy: Longinus' reader is thereby reminded that in spite of Demosthenes' sublime rhetoric, Athens and other Greek cities were overthrown, first by Philip and then by Alexander. Longinus' choice of examples suggests that Demosthenes is for him the last great classic: later authors are mentioned in the treatise, but not really admired.[40] By presenting Demosthenes as the end and culmination of classical oratory, Longinus comes close to associating the sublime with the age of Athenian democracy, even if earlier poets like Homer, Sappho and Pindar are primary models of the sublime too.

In the final chapter 44 of the treatise *On the Sublime* the author reports on a dialogue that he had with a certain philosopher.[41] The topic of their conversation is the lack of really sublime talents in their own time, which results in a 'universal dearth of literature' (λόγων κοσμική τις ἀφορία). The causes of the shortage of great talents are examined in two speeches, one by the philosopher, one by the author himself. The philosopher gives a political explanation: he points out that the great men of letters flourished in the age of democracy (δημοκρατία); since slavery has replaced freedom, there are no rewards for great eloquence anymore. The author himself responds by stating that it is not 'the peace of the world' (ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰρήνη) that corrupts great natures, but rather our internal 'war' against passions, luxury and decadence.

Both the political and the moral explanation of the decline in Longinus 44 resonate with some of the ideas that we have identified in Dionysius' preface. Let us first look at the political explanation of the philosopher (*Subl.* 44.1–5). Commentators traditionally interpret this passage from the perspective of a number of Roman texts that deal with the decline of eloquence, the most

39 See especially *Subl.* 16.2 (Dem. *De cor.* 208) and 32.2 (Dem. *De cor.* 296): liberty (ἐλευθερία) was 'the canon and standard of all that was good'. More citations from *On the Crown* in *Subl.* 10.7, 24.1, 39.4.

40 In the first instance Cicero might seem to be an exception, but it is significant that Longinus (*Subl.* 12.4–5) does not use the word 'sublime' (ὑψηλός) when characterizing the style of the Roman orator. Cicero's diffusion (χύσις) is contrasted with Demosthenes' sublimity (ὕψος). See de Jonge and Nijk (in preparation).

41 Important discussions of *Subl.* 44 include Segal 1959, Donini 1969, Bause 1980, Heldmann 1982, Heath 1999, 10–17 and Whitmarsh 2001, 66–71.

famous discussion being Tacitus' *Dialogus*.[42] Those scholars who read Longinus in close connection with Maternus' speech in Tacitus' *Dialogus* (36–42) interpret the philosopher's contrast between democracy (δημοκρατία) and slavery as pertaining to the transition from the Roman republic to the principate.[43]

This interpretation, however, is problematic. The problem is not so much that the Greek word δημοκρατία would be a rather unexpected label for the Roman republic, for the term is in fact used in this way.[44] But if the philosopher draws a contrast between the Roman republic and the principate—thereby attributing the lack of 'really sublime and transcendent natures' (*Subl.* 44.1) to this political change—this would imply that he believes that the period *before* the principate was an age in which sublime talents still flourished. This would be in flat contradiction with the general tone and message of the treatise *On the Sublime*, which presents itself as a monument of classical Greek literature. The focus of the treatise is almost exclusively on Greek writing, not on Latin oratory, and the selection and discussion of exemplary passages strongly suggests that for Longinus the period of decline starts after the death of Demosthenes, as we have seen. The models of the sublime that he cites throughout his work are the Greek authors of (what we call) the archaic and classical periods. The examples of stylistic failure, on the other hand, are Callisthenes, Clitarchus, Amphicrates and Hegesias, all active in what we call the Hellenistic age: these writers are criticized for their bombast and tumidity.[45] It is thus not the end of the Roman republic but rather the end of the classical period of Greece that results in the decline of sublimity. Within the context of *On the Sublime* therefore the term 'democracy' (44.2) must refer to the classical period of Greece, more particularly to Demosthenes and the age of Athenian democracy.[46]

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42 Roman discussions of the decline of rhetoric include Sen. *Contr.* 1, *praef.* 7–10, Vell. Pat. 1.16–18, Petron. *Sat.* 1–5, Sen. *Ep.* 114, Plin. *HN* 14.1.3–6 and Quintilian's *De causis corruptae eloquentiae* (not extant). For comparative discussion of these texts, see Kennedy 1972, 446–464; Williams 1978, 6–51; Heldmann 1982; Kennedy 1994, 186–192.

43 Heldmann 1982, 289: 'Der Philosoph spricht hier von der römischen republikanischen Beredsamkeit'. Russell 1989, 309: '(…) *dêmokratia*, which must here mean the *libera res publica* which the principate destroyed'.

44 The term δημοκρατία designates the Roman republic in Cassius Dio: see the discussion in Heath 1999, 12.

45 *Subl.* 3.2–3.

46 For similar arguments, see Heath 1999, 53–54, Whitmarsh 2001, 66–67 and Mazzucchi 2010, 298–299.

The fact that Longinus puts the political argument into the mouth of a philosopher, while advancing himself a different, moral explanation of the decline, does not mean that the political argument is irrelevant to his treatise. Whitmarsh has persuasively argued that citing the philosopher can be considered a rhetorical maneuver, which enables Longinus to express criticism of Roman rule, without taking full responsibility for this criticism in the face of his Roman addressee Terentianus. On one level Longinus disagrees with the 'philosopher' who blames Roman power for its bad influence on literary eloquence. On another level, however, Longinus has deliberately given space to the voice of the philosopher: his citation of the philosophical explanation could thus be read as an invitation to his Greek readers to contrast the sublime Greek past with the Roman present.[47]

In the second part of the final chapter (*Subl.* 44.6–11), Longinus answers the philosopher by presenting a moral explanation for the lack of sublime talents. In order to illustrate his own interpretation of the decline, Longinus introduces an allegory on the marriage between Wealth (πλοῦτος) and Extravagance (πολυτέλεια), whose living together in one house (συνοικίζεσθαι) results in a corrupt and wicked family (*Subl.* 44.7–8):

> Indeed, I cannot discover on consideration how, if we value boundless wealth, or to speak more truly, make a god of it, we can possibly keep our minds safe from the intrusion of the evils that accompany it. In close company with vast and unconscionable Wealth there follows, 'step for step', as they say, Extravagance: and no sooner has the one opened the gates of cities and houses, than the other comes and makes a home with him. And when they have spent some time in our lives, philosophers tell us, they build a nest there and promptly set about begetting children; these are Greediness, Humbug and Luxury, no bastards but their trueborn issue. And if these offspring of wealth are allowed to grow to maturity, they soon breed in our hearts inexorable tyrants: Insolence and Disorder and Shamelessness. This must inevitably happen, and men no longer then look upwards nor take any further thought for future fame. Little by little the ruin of their lives is completed in the cycle of such vices, their greatness of soul wastes away and dies and is no longer something to strive for, since they value that part of themselves which is mortal and foolish, and neglect the development of their immortal part.[48]

47 Whitmarsh 2001, 66–71.

48 This passage echoes Longinus' earlier discussion of μεγαλοφροσύνη (greatness of thought)

οὐ δὴ ἔχω λογιζόμενος εὑρεῖν ὡς οἷόν τε πλοῦτον ἀόριστον ἐκτιμήσαντας, τὸ δ' ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν ἐκθειάσαντας, τὰ συμφυῆ τούτῳ κακὰ εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐπεισιόντα μὴ παραδέχεσθαι. ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ ἀμέτρῳ πλούτῳ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ συνημμένη καὶ ἴσα, φασί, βαίνουσα πολυτέλεια, καὶ ἅμα ἀνοίγοντος ἐκείνου τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἴκων τὰς εἰσόδους εὐθὺς ἐμβαίνει καὶ συνοικίζεται. χρονίσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βίοις νεοττοποιεῖται, κατὰ τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ ταχέως γενόμενα περὶ τεκνοποιίαν πλεονεξίαν τε γεννῶσι καὶ τῦφον καὶ τρυφήν, οὐ νόθα ἑαυτῶν γεννήματα ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γνήσια. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τούτους τις τοῦ πλούτου τοὺς ἐκγόνους εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐάσῃ, ταχέως δεσπότας ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσιν ἀπαραιτήτους, ὕβριν καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναβλέπειν μηδ' ὑστεροφημίας εἶναί τινα λόγον, ἀλλὰ τοιούτων ἐν κύκλῳ τελεσιουργεῖσθαι κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν τῶν βίων διαφθοράν, φθίνειν δὲ καὶ καταμαραίνεσθαι τὰ ψυχικὰ μεγέθη καὶ ἄζηλα γίνεσθαι, ἡνίκα τὰ θνητὰ ἑαυτῶν μέρη καὶ ἀνόητα ἐκθαυμάζοιεν, παρέντες αὔξειν τἀθάνατα.

Longinus presents the family of πλοῦτος and πολυτέλεια and their children and grandchildren as the cause of literary decline. Russell and Mazzucchi have shown that Longinus' account can be fruitfully related to various other ancient texts that portray the moral decline of human beings or cities.[49] For example, Russell points to some interesting parallels in Plato's descriptions of democracy and tyranny in the *Republic*.[50] The metaphor of vice entering cities and houses is as old as Solon.[51] And Longinus' vocabulary in this passage corresponds perhaps most closely to that of Plutarch, who explains the decline of Sparta in very similar terms.[52] Both writers are obviously making use of traditional

at *Subl.* 9.3: 'It is impossible that those whose thoughts and habits all their lives long are petty and servile (δουλοπρεπῆ) should produce anything wonderful, worthy of immortal life.' In 44.7, I prefer to read πλεονεξίαν (Ruhnken) to ἀλαζονείαν (Vossius).

49 Russell 1964, 189–192; Mazzucchi 2010, 304–308.

50 Russell 1964, 191. See esp. Pl. *Resp.* 8. 560d–561a (on the democratic character).

51 Solon frg. 4.26–29 West (trans. Gerber 1999): 'And so the public evil comes home to each man (οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἑκάστῳ) and the courtyard gates no longer have the will to hold it back, but it leaps over the high barrier and assuredly finds him out, even if he takes refuge in an innermost corner of his room.' Russell 1964, 190 refers to Eur. *Phoen.* 533–534 (Jocasta): 'Ambition (φιλοτιμία) goes in and out of prosperous houses and cities (ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας / ἐσῆλθε) and ruins those who have dealings with her.'

52 Plut. *Agis* 3 (trans. Perrin 1968): 'When once the love of silver and gold (ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ ζῆλος) had crept into the city (εἰς τὴν πόλιν), closely followed by greed and parsimony in the acquisition of wealth (τοῦ πλούτου τῇ μὲν κτήσει πλεονεξία καὶ μικρολογία) and by luxury, effeminacy, and extravagance in the use and enjoyment of it (τῇ δὲ χρήσει καὶ ἀπολαύσει

motifs, as the categories of wealth, luxury and extravagance are commonplaces in Greek accounts of decline.

One text, however, is not usually read in connection with Longinus' story of moral decline, namely the description of the corrupted family in Dionysius' preface to *On the Ancient Orators*, which I have discussed above.[53] In many respects, Dionysius' allegory forms a much closer parallel to Longinus' story than the accounts of moral decline in Plato and Plutarch. Both Longinus and Dionysius focus on the decline of *logos*, and both critics portray the decline in terms of a corrupted household (οἰκία). The two accounts also have a programmatic function and place in their works. Dionysius' allegory forms the opening of his work *On the Ancient Orators*; Longinus' allegory forms the conclusion of the treatise *On the Sublime*.

4 Two Classicizing Allegories: Dionysius and Longinus

Let us consider the correspondences between the two classicizing allegories. Firstly, it is important to observe that both accounts have a strong political dimension: Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 1.5–7) states that 'in every city' (ἐν πάσῃ πόλει) the Attic muse lost her civic rank, whereas the Asian harlot claimed the right to rule over the Greek cities (Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις). Longinus (*Subl.* 44.7) tells us that Wealth opened 'the gates of the cities and houses' (τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἴκων τὰς εἰσόδους); Extravagance followed, and the grandchildren of this couple became the 'tyrants' (δεσπόται) in our hearts. Secondly, both critics use the image of a domestic household (οἰκία): for Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 1.4), the Greek world resembles the houses (οἰκίαις) of evil men; Longinus (*Subl.* 44.7) says that Extravagance shares a household with Wealth (συνοικίζεται), where they build a nest together. Thirdly, the depiction of moral decline is cast in similar terms. Both critics emphasize the role of luxuriousness or softness (τρυφή), a term that the Greeks traditionally associate with the barbarian Persians. Fourthly, there is the theme of ignorance: Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 1.7) describes the Asian *hetaera* as

τρυφὴ καὶ μαλακία καὶ πολυτέλεια), Sparta fell away from most of her noble traits, and continued in a low estate that was unworthy of her down to the times when Agis and Leonidas were kings.' Cf. Russell 1964, 190 and Mazzucchi 2010, 307.

53 Gabba 1991, 42–45 rightly contrasts the optimism of Dionysius' preface with the pessimism of Longinus' final chapter, but without comparing the allegories of decline in both texts. Mazzucchi 2010, 298–299 suggests that both Dionysius' preface and Longinus 44 deal with the decline of literature after the classical period, but he does not compare the images and language of the two passages.

'ignorant' (ἀμαθής), and claims that in his own time the 'foolish part' (μέρος ἀνόητον) of the city has been forced to be sensible (3.1). Longinus (*Subl.* 44.8) argues that due to moral corruption men care only for their foolish parts (μέρη ἀνόητα). Fifthly, the theme of freedom is of crucial importance in both allegories. Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 1.5) characterizes the ancient philosophical rhetoric as a 'freeborn wife' (ἐλευθέρα … γαμετή), whereas Asian rhetoric has no part in any aspect of liberal education (παιδεύματος ἐλευθερίου, 1.3). Longinus (*Subl.* 44.9–10) states that we are all 'enslaved' (ἠνδραποδισμένοι) by our greed, while there is left no single 'free judge' (ἐλεύθερόν … κριτήν) of great and eternal things. 'For such as we are', he concludes, 'perhaps it is better to be ruled than to be free' (ἄμεινον ἄρχεσθαι ἢ ἐλευθέροις εἶναι). Finally, Dionysius and Longinus formulate the process of decline in very similar terms. When Alexander had died, Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 1.2) says, the Attic Muse began to lose spirit (ἐκπνεῖν) and gradually 'die away' (μαραίνεσθαι) until she had almost disappeared. According to Longinus (*Subl.* 44.8), the greatness of our soul 'wastes' (φθίνειν) and 'dies away' (καταμαραίνεσθαι) and 'is no longer something to strive for' (ἄζηλα γίνεσθαι).

The many correspondences between the two passages, both on the verbal level and on the level of general thought, show that Longinus and Dionysius employ the same discourse of classicism. Not only do they adopt the same admiring attitude towards the Greek classical past, but they also offer a very similar allegorical framework to explain the decline of rhetoric after the classical age of Greece. We can explain the parallels in different ways. If Longinus is to be dated in a later period than Dionysius, we could understand the correspondences as reflecting a certain continuity of thought in the tradition of Imperial Greek criticism. It is also possible that the parallels reflect the discourse of a particular period in the history of criticism, perhaps even a circle of intellectuals in Rome in which both authors were active. But whether they were contemporary colleagues or just two representatives of a general tradition of Greek rhetoric and criticism, it is in any case clear that Dionysius and Longinus, for all their points of agreement, represent two different voices in the Greek chorus of classicism, for their allegorical stories have very different endings.

5 Optimism and Pessimism; Greece and Rome

Despite the striking correspondences between the two passages, there is an important difference between the classicizing accounts of the two critics. Where Dionysius is clearly optimistic about his own time, Longinus seems to be

rather pessimistic—at least in the first instance. According to Dionysius (*Orat. vett.* 3.1), the ancient rhetoric was *restored* in his own time, thanks to the efforts of the Roman leaders, the new masters who put things in order in the corrupted house. Longinus (*Subl.* 44.1), on the other hand, presents the 'universal dearth of literature' (λόγων κοσμική … ἀφορία) as an unceasing problem, which affects his own time. Far from ending on a positive note, his allegory results in the rather cynical observation that 'for such as we are perhaps it is better to have a master than to be free' (44.10). In other words, Dionysius' *oikia* is restored to a decent, proper household again, whereas Longinus' *oikia* is still corrupted by wealth, luxury and decadence.[54]

How should we interpret this difference between the two allegorical stories? Three modes of explanation present themselves, which do not exclude each other. First of all, it is of course possible that the two accounts were presented in different historical circumstances. Dionysius' optimism might be understood to reflect the early period of Augustus' reign, which was presented (and perhaps experienced) as a restoration of the republic. The more pessimistic tone of *On the Sublime*, on the other hand, might be thought to belong to a period in which a painful contrast was felt by Greek intellectuals between the democracy of the Greek past and the tyranny of the Roman present.[55] (Such a line of interpretation would of course still allow for different datings of *On the Sublime*, from the Augustan period to the third century CE.)

A second explanation would adopt a text-internal perspective, focusing on the different positions of the two programmatic passages within their immediate contexts. Dionysius' preface stands at the beginning of an ambitious project that promises to present models of the past for imitation in the present. It is fitting that the opening of the treatise *On the Ancient Orators* should express a hopeful message to its readers, who are encouraged to follow in the footsteps of the classical orators. By presenting the Roman present as a restoration of the Greek past Dionysius stimulates his students to be confident about the success that they will be able to achieve when imitating the ancient models. Longinus' allegory, on the other hand, forms the conclusion of a work that has constantly been looking back to classical Greece. By closing his treatise with an allegory that portrays the present as the corrupted offspring of the sublime past, he can be seen to call for a return to the classical past and its sublime writings.

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54 Gabba 1991, 45 notes the contrast beween Dionysius' optimism and Longinus' pessimism.

55 On the basis of parallels between *Subl.* 44 and Roman discussions of the decline of oratory (Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus), Russell (in Fyfe and Russell 1999, 147) argues for a date in the first century CE.

This brings us to the third and most important point. Dionysius' enthusiasm and gratefulness about the Roman rulers, as we have seen, corresponds to his general efforts to connect the Greek past with the Roman present. The allegory of decline in *On the Sublime* 44, on the other hand, which presents a contrast between the sublime past and the corrupt present, seems to be part of a more general strategy, not limited to the final chapter of the treatise, to create distance between Greece and Rome. Two instances of this tendency have been mentioned above: Longinus' citations of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* (*Subl.* 16.2, 32.2), which evoke the freedom (of speech) of classical Greece, and the comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero (12.4–5), which in various ways brings up the difference between Greece and Rome, between Greek and Latin eloquence, between Greek and Roman judgment.[56] In that passage Longinus points out that, 'if indeed we Greeks may be allowed an opinion', Demosthenes' 'sublimity' differs from Cicero's 'diffusion' (12.4).[57] Having characterized Cicero's oratory in more detail, Longinus adds that 'you Romans of course can form a better judgment on this question' (12.5). These careful formulations and the polite forms of address towards his Roman addressee Terentianus evoke distance rather than proximity between Greece and Rome. From this perspective, then, it is hardly surprising that Longinus does not add a happy ending to his story of decline in chapter 44.

Even if Longinus is less optimistic about the present than Dionysius, he does believe that the classical sublime could and should be revived in the writing and eloquence of his own age. In his inspired imitation of literary heroes from the past, Longinus himself certainly attempts to reproduce the classical sublime in the Roman present, and many modern readers have found that he succeeds in that attempt.[58] Longinus thus seems to hint at a possible escape from the present: the recreation of the classical sublime could help the Greeks of his time to elevate their minds and to free themselves from the chains of immorality.[59] In the end, then, both Dionysius and Longinus believe that the success of classical Greek literature can and should be repeated in the present, although they differ in their estimation of the role played by Rome.

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56 Cf. Whitmarsh 2001, 68: 'This assertion of difference between Greek and Roman is meaningful and deliberate.'

57 Cf. de Jonge and Nijk (in preparation).

58 See Alexander Pope's famous words about Longinus, who 'is himself the great Sublime he draws' (*Essay on Criticism*, 1709). Similar views on Longinus' own sublimity can be found already in the writings of Petra (1612) and Boileau (1674): see Russell 1964, xlii n. 2.

59 For the ethical dimensions of the sublime, see esp. *Subl.* 7.1 and 9.3 (cited in n. 48). Segal 1959 offers a similar interpretation.

To put it differently, the two authors are proposing two opposite movements in time. In Dionysius' account, classical Greek rhetoric is transported into the present. Longinus, on the other hand, urges his readers to escape from the corrupt present and to return to the sublime eloquence of the Greek past.

Notwithstanding this important difference, we have seen that the two texts discussed share a set of specific ideas about past and present, which emphasize the close connections between eloquence, politics and morality. In telling their allegorical stories about the Greek past, Dionysius and Longinus give shape to the classical identity that they wish to adopt in the Roman present.

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CHAPTER 16

From Lesbos She Took Her Honeycomb: Sappho and the 'Female Tradition' in Hellenistic Poetry*

Mieke de Vos

1 Introduction

The great importance that was attached to Sappho's poetry in antiquity implied that poetry by women might be of value, especially if it resembled her work. It is not surprising therefore, that Nossis (280 BCE), a woman poet from Locri in Southern Italy, styled herself as a second Sappho.[1] Nossis' contemporaries Theocritus, Herodas and Posidippus read the work of Sappho and the later women poets Erinna, Anyte and Nossis carefully.[2] They often imitated Sappho and Hellenistic women poets in one stroke or made intricately entwined allusions to several works.

It seems Sappho was valued by her readers in antiquity for at least two reasons: as an archaic lyric poet and as a unique feminine voice.[3] The most popular themes were her love-poetry, her laments and her evocations of a

* I thank Christoph Pieper, James Ker and the anonymous reader for their careful reading and helpful suggestions.

1 See for Nossis Gutzwiller 1998, 75–88, Bowman 1998, who argues that this self-presentation was a strategy on the part of Nossis to share in Sappho's prestige and become part of the literary canon, and Skinner 2005a.

2 For an overview of women writers in antiquity see Snyder 1989 and Plant 2004. Greene 2005 presents articles on Sappho and on Hellenistic women poets. Gutzwiller 1998 discusses Anyte and Nossis, Murray and Rowland 2007 the epigrams by Erinna, Anyte and Nossis, de Vos 2012a the reception of Greek women poets in antiquity.

3 Acosta-Hughes 2010, 13–16 sums up ten reasons why Sappho's archaic poetry was widely admired among Alexandrian poets and their successors, most notably her style, the variety of her metres and her descriptions of the female experience from a woman's perspective. This made her a valuable predecessor and literary model for poets who worked under the patronage of Hellenistic queens, as they needed to present female experiences sympathetically. I think this also explains their interest in the works of later women poets, as they searched for models that might help to give their female characters a ring of authenticity. Kim (ch. 14) in this volume explores the value of archaic poetry for Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his appreciation of Sappho's style as 'refined.'

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feminine world of beauty. Her poetry was special because it presented rare pictures of the world of women, written from the perspective of a woman, which made it even more intriguing.[4] Sappho's archaic style, appreciated for its power of expression and its powerful metaphors, was interpreted as feminine, and her lyrical first-person speaker was often equated with the poet herself.[5] Sappho was by far the most widely read of all women poets. Far more allusions to and citations and imitations of Sappho are found than for other women poets. Because of the antiquity and uniqueness of her voice, Sappho became a model of imitation for many authors, but as the most famous of women poets she functioned especially as a model for aspiring women poets.[6]

Male poets and critics treated women poets as a separate group, measuring later women poets against Sappho. The reception and transmission of women poets reveal an almost exclusive interest in the feminine voice of Sappho and Hellenistic women poets and a neglect of work that does not fit this mold. The reception concentrated on features women poets had in common, namely, that they often wrote about the world of women, that they wrote in a small number of genres that were traditionally considered as suitable for women, and that they wrote in a similar style. That women poets alluded to Sappho and to each other's works probably reinforced the tendency to view them as a separate group, with traditions of its own. The idea of women poets as a separate group becomes visible in the first quarter of the third century BCE in the work of Nossis, Theocritus, Herodas and Posidippus. It continues at least into the first century CE, as is demonstrated by an epigram by Antipater from Thessalonica (50 BCE-20 CE), a catalogue of the nine most famous Greek women poets.[7]

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4 Winkler 1990, 180–187.

5 Pseudo-Demetrius, *On Style* 132 associates Sappho's style with some of her subject-matter: 'Grace may reside in the subject-matter, as gardens of nymphs, wedding-songs, love-stories, all of Sappho's poetry' (εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποίησις). Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.21–32 does the same in contrasting Sappho's 'complaining' (*querentem*) voice in a lament for girls to Alcaeus' 'manly' (*plenius*) voice in songs of war and exile. It seems Sappho's style was associated with her depictions of the world of women and was therefore read as feminine. A wonderful example of the coinciding of the poet Sappho with her lyrical 'I' in the reception is Ovid's portrait of the poet in *Heroides* 15, where the first-person speaker, named Sappho, cites the 'I' of Sappho's poems.

6 See Acosta-Hughes 2010, 12–62 on Sappho's imitators in Alexandrian poetry. Skinner 1989 and Bowman 1998 deal with Sappho's influence on Nossis, Rauk 1989 with Sappho and Erinna, and Gutzwiller 1997 with Sappho, Erinna and Nossis.

7 *Anth. Pal.* 9.26 with de Vos 2012b. Sappho and Corinna figure as the most prominent poets in this epigram. Although no Hellenistic imitations of or allusions to Corinna's work are known, in Rome she was considered as the second most important woman poet, next to Sappho.

In modern discussions of Hellenistic women poets this tendency to set women apart led to the idea that women poets and their audience thought of their work as belonging to a separate female tradition.[8] Bowman contested this idea.[9] She pointed out that Hellenistic women poets, although they shared interests and approaches, such as writing about the world of women and imitating Sappho, were also influenced by male poets, as is evident from various imitations and allusions.[10] Bowman's arguments illustrate the complexity of the question whether a separate female tradition existed. Women poets did have things in common, yet the differences between their work and the important influences of male authors do not seem to justify the label 'female tradition'.

My aim is to show that, although the work of women poets offered some leads for the idea, the concept of a female literary tradition was constructed in their reception by male poets and critics, who viewed women poets as a separate group with its own traditions. What women poets and male poets and critics shared is the great value they attached to Sappho. To women poets her example shone through the ages, whereas male poets and critics saw a second Sappho in all women poets of note. I will start with a brief analysis of Sappho as a model author in Hellenistic poetry (2). Then I will turn to the question of how the idea of women poets as a separate group with a specific female tradition came into being. What was the contribution of women poets to this idea (3) and what was the part of male poets and critics (4)?

2 Sappho as Muse and Model for Imitation

In the fifth and fourth centuries BCE Sappho was already a famous author, frequently depicted on vases and a common character in Attic comedy.[11] From

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She is mentioned together with Sappho by Propertius (2.3.21), Statius (*Silv.* 5.3.158) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.122). See Burzacchini 1998 on Corinna in Rome.

8 Williamson 1995, 16: 'But it is only in the Hellenistic period that the idea arises of a specifically female poetic inheritance. The poet thought of as founding it is, of course, Sappho.' Skinner 1996 suggests Sappho formed the link between a female oral tradition and the writings of later women poets; Gutzwiller 1997, 203 and 1998, 86 argues that Nossis was part of a female tradition.

9 Bowman 2004.

10 See Skinner 1982 for the influence of Homer on Erinna. Anyte was also largely influenced by Homer; cf. Geoghegan 1979, Gutzwiller 1998, 54–74 and Greene 2005b. See Skinner 2005b for the influence of male poets on Moero, and Gutzwiller 1998, 85–87 on Nossis.

11 See Yatromanolakis 2007 on the early reception of Sappho.

the third century she gained importance as a literary model. The three great Alexandrian poets Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes imitated her work, as did writers of love epigrams such as Asclepiades and Meleager. Her inclusion in the canon of the nine lyric poets by Aristophanes of Byzantium (250–180 BCE) and Aristarchus of Samothrace (215–145 BCE) and the Alexandrian edition of her work confirmed her status.[12] That she was the sole woman in the canon affected her reception: she became the only author to be honored as a muse.

I will discuss two epigrams in which Sappho is depicted both as muse and as model for imitation. The first was written by Nossis, the second by Dioscorides. Both epigrams offer an example of a reading of Sappho as a feminine voice. The first poet who exalted Sappho as her muse was Nossis, in what was probably the closing epigram of her book of poetry. The subsequent development of the trope in Hellenistic epigram shows the enormous prestige of Sappho.[13] With a subtle imitation of Sappho's language Nossis recalled her poetry and invited her audience to compare her to her most famous female predecessor (Nossis 11 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.718):[14]

> Stranger, if you sail for Mytilene with the lovely dancing ground
> to breathe in the flower of Sappho's charms,
> tell that the land of Locri bore me, equally dear to the Muses
> and to her. Know my name is Nossis, now go.

> Ὦ ξεῖν', εἰ τύ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μιτυλήναν
> τᾶν Σαπφοῦς χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος,
> εἰπεῖν ὡς Μούσαισι φίλαν τήνᾳ τε Λοκρὶς γᾶ
> τίκτε μ' ἴσαις δ' ὅτι μοι τοὔνομα Νοσσίς, ἴθι.

12 See Pfeiffer 1968, 203–206 on the formation of the canon of the lyric poets. Pfeiffer assumes that Aristophanes edited all lyric poets, including Sappho. Yatromanolakis 1999 argues that Aristarchus edited Sappho's works.

13 See for the development of this theme Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006, Barbantani 2007, 429–433 and Acosta-Hughes 2010, 85–87. In *Anth. Pal.* 9.506, attributed to Plato, Sappho is called the tenth muse. *Anth. Pal.* 9.189 compares Sappho with Calliope, in *Anth. Pal.* 9.521 the Muses speak to Sappho. Sappho as muse is found in the work of Antipater of Sidon 11, *Anth. Pal.* 7.14 and 12, *Anth. Pal.* 9.66, Damocharis *Anth. Pal.* 16.310, and Tullius Laurea, *Anth. Pal.* 7.717.

14 I follow the edition by Gow-Page 1965. The last half of line three and the first half of the closing line are disputed. See Gutzwiller 1998, 75 and 86 for Nossis' poetry book.

As Acosta-Hughes notes, the poem juxtaposes past and present, two voices of two women poets, and two poetic genres, lyric and epigram, as Nossis tries to bring Sappho's lyric voice alive in epigram.[15] The poem starts as a traditional sepulchral epigram, rich in references to literary history as Nossis invites the reader to a journey to the archaic past of Sappho's poetry.[16] The first line especially, with the solemn opening words and the reference to the dancing grounds of ancient cities, imitates archaic poetry closely. With the image of sailing to an antique Mytilene, its air heavy with the scent of flowers, Nossis recreates the atmosphere of Sappho's poetry in the first half of the epigram. In the second distich the object changes from conveying a message of death to celebrating the voice of a living poet. Locri is the new Mytilene as Nossis is the new Sappho. Nossis effects a journey through time and space, as she connects Mytilene to Locri and herself to Sappho. Her admiration of Sappho expresses itself in the sharing of images and themes: in seven of her eleven surviving epigrams she offers vivid pictures of a world of women, and in the opening and closing epigrams of her book she imitates Sappho's flower images.[17]

Two generations later, Dioscorides (fl. 230 BCE) developed the trope of Sappho as muse further, calling her 'the Muse of Eresos'. His epigram presents a beautiful example of what readers in the Hellenistic period valued in Sappho's poetry (Dioscorides 18 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.407):

> Sweetest support of the passions of young men in love,
> Sappho, Pieria and ivied Helicon adorn you,
> together with the Muses, as you share the breath of poetry
> equally with them, Muse of Aeolic Eresos.
> Or Hymen Hymenaios, holding a bright burning torch,
> stands with you over the bridal chambers,
> or you lament with Aphrodite, mourning the young shoot of Cyniras,
> and you look at the grove sacred to the blessed.
> Greetings, Lady, in every way equal to the gods, for even now
> we have your songs as your immortal daughters.

15 Acosta-Hughes 2010, 85–86.

16 Tarán 1979, 146–148 notes allusions to Simonides' famous epigram for the dead of the battle of Thermopylae (Hdt. 2.228.2) and to Asclepiades 31, *Anth. Pal.* 7.500. Acosta-Hughes 2010, 85 compares Sappho 5, a prayer for a safe voyage for her brother Charaxus.

17 In Nossis 1, *Anth. Pal.* 5.170 she alludes to Sappho's images of roses, cf. Gutzwiller 1998, 75–76, 86.

Ἥδιστον φιλέουσι νέοις προσανάκλιμ’ ἐρώτων,
Σαπφώ, σὺν Μούσαις, ἦ ῥά σε Πιερίη
ἢ Ἑλικὼν εὔκισσος ἴσα πνείουσαν ἐκείναις
κοσμεῖ, τὴν Ἐρέσῳ Μοῦσαν ἐν Αἰολίδι·
ἢ καὶ Ὑμὴν Ὑμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην
σὺν σοὶ νυμφιδίων ἵσταθ’ ὑπὲρ θαλάμων.
ἢ Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ
σύνθρηνος μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλσος ὁρῇς.
πάντῃ, πότνια, χαῖρε θεοῖς ἴσα· σὰς γὰρ ἀοιδὰς
ἀθανάτας ἔχομεν νῦν ἔτι θυγατέρας.

Here Sappho is celebrated as a writer of love-poetry. The epigram is a hermetic mixture of praise and imitation. Dioscorides weaves a portrait of Sappho as half poet, half goddess, using elements from the biographical tradition, and language and characters from Sappho's own poetry.[18] Dioscorides considers her wedding poetry, laments and hymns as the quintessential Sappho. These songs made her the support of the young men mentioned in the first line, helping them to give voice to feelings of love and longing, or to console themselves for the pangs of love. Nossis' epigram celebrates Sappho as a model-author, whereas Dioscorides also highlights an important function of her poetry.

The first two stanzas hail Sappho as a muse. Sappho is an extraordinary muse as she is both human and divine: she is an inspired poet with a great oeuvre, touched on in lines 5–8 and 10, and shares the divine power of inspiration with the muses (line 3). The third and fourth stanza recall Sappho as a poet. Dioscorides praises her in wordings that allude to her works, all from book 1.[19] Barbantani and Gosetti-Murrayjohn note that the epigram shows knowledge of an Alexandrian edition and reflects the process of selection of Sappho's poetry by genre.[20]

Dioscorides' focus on genre is a way of representing Sappho as a female poet. The genres mentioned by Dioscorides were traditionally the only ones allowed to women.[21] Sappho's poetry in these genres was best preserved over time, probably because Dioscorides' preferences for her wedding songs, laments and

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18 He follows *On Poets* by Phanias of Eresus, who located Sappho in his place of birth, cf. Barbantani 2007, 440.

19 Acosta-Hughes, 2010, 7, points out that all references are from book 1, in particular in lines 8 and 9.

20 Barbantani 2007, 440, Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006, 30.

21 Stehle 1997, 71–118.

hymns were widely shared in antiquity. As I will point out later, the work of Hellenistic women poets also belonged to genres that were traditionally open to women. Dioscorides' designation of Sappho's songs as her daughters in the last distich of the epigram is another way to emphasize the feminine character of her poetry. Moreover he places her in the almost exclusively female company of the muses, Aphrodite and Hymenaios, who presides over the ceremony that unites men and women. These characters were well represented in Sappho's poetry, and also serve to underline the celebration of Sappho as love-poet and muse.

The epigram closes as a hymn, with praise for a poet that is now in a divine sphere. Her immortal poetry was a source of inspiration for later authors and thus Dioscorides recaptures the theme of Sappho as muse from his third line. The comparison with the muses values Sappho as an inspirational force. Being called a muse is a compliment that is especially appropriate for a poet of the female sex, as an important function of the muse was to nurture and inspire poets, who were usually male.[22] Every repetition of the trope over the centuries enhanced Sappho's position as a famous and exemplary author. Sappho was considered to be the sole woman poet who could compete with men and even outshine them. This can be demonstrated by an epigram on the nine lyric poets by an anonymous author, which lists the men in six lines and devotes the final distich to Sappho (*Anth. Pal.* 9.571.7–8):

> Sappho was not the ninth among men, but among the lovely
> Muses she was inscribed as the tenth Muse.

> ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς
> ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.

22 Hallett 1979, 447 maintains that being called a muse was not a compliment at all, as a muse inspires creativity but is not creative herself. She argues that the trope of Sappho as muse meant that Sappho's work was seen as a spontaneous and effortless creation, not as the product of toil and real artistry. Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006, 40–42 suggests it is ambiguous praise, because it can only apply to women. Snyder, 1989, 155 on the other hand, suggests that Sappho as the tenth muse is a metaphor for the 'inherently female nature of literary creativity according to the classical mode of thinking.' I think the trope rests upon her position as the sole exemplary female author. It underlines Sappho's uniqueness, but does not exclude sincere praise for the outstanding quality of her work and for Sappho as a model for imitation. On the contrary; Sappho is called a muse precisely because she became a model for imitation.

In an elegant allusion to an epigram ascribed to Plato (*Anth. Pal.* 9.506) that celebrated Sappho as the tenth muse, the author at once set Sappho above and apart from the male poets of the canon. He glorified her as an extraordinary poet and emphasized her position as the single woman poet. With its suggestion that Sappho was part of the great tradition of archaic lyric poetry, yet stands apart as the only woman, this epigram is illuminating for the understanding of the reception of later women poets. Women poets shared poetic traditions with men, yet they were different because they were women. What then would have been more natural than to conceptualize women as a separate group with its own traditions, especially if a woman poet like Nossis already posited herself as a new Sappho?

3 A Female Tradition? The Contribution of Women Poets

The women poets under discussion are Erinna (fl. 350 BCE), Anyte (fl. 300 BCE), Moero (fl. 300 BCE) and Nossis (fl. 280 BCE). They lived in different places: Erinna on Tenos (contemporary Tilos, near Rhodes), Anyte in Tegea on the Peloponnese, Moero in Byzantium and Nossis in Locri in Southern Italy. Anyte and Moero were contemporaries, but there is no evidence that they ever met or worked together. So women poets did not form a group or school in the literal sense. What was it then that made their readers in antiquity think of them as a group with its own traditions, apart from the fact that they were all women?

I think three elements were important. The first is the explicit acknowledgement of female predecessors. Women poets wove a web of allusions to the work of Sappho and to each other's work. Secondly, women poets, like Sappho, often wrote about female characters, or about the feminine sphere. Thirdly, their work was restricted to genres that were considered as proper for women.

Nossis' epigram on Sappho, cited above, is, together with the prooimion of her book (Nossis 1, *Anth. Pal.* 5.170), an example of the way she honored Sappho. The allusions are clear and plain: she mentions Sappho by name, thus no great erudition was needed to understand the link. I will give two examples of more complex allusions women poets made to each other. My first example concerns the lament. Here we can reconstruct a chain of allusions, as Erinna alludes to Sappho, and Anyte to Erinna. Erinna became a popular author with her lament for Baucis, a girl who died on her wedding day, called *The Distaff*.[23] Although

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23 Her popularity is well attested. In the *Palatine Anthology* five laudatory epigrams on Erinna are preserved: *Anth. Pal.* 7.11–7.13 and 7.713 and 9.190. See Arthur 1980, Stehle 2001, Neri 2003, Manwell and Rayor 2005 and Levaniouk 2008 on Erinna's *Distaff*.

little remains of this poem, Erinna seems to adopt the structure of Sappho 94 when the first-person speaker pauses in her narrative of Baucis' funeral to recollect memories of her life with Baucis.[24] Erinna's lament combines several elements of Sappho's work. She describes the world of two girls, who work in wool and dream of marriage. The friendship between the two girls, death, separation and mourning were probably her main themes, themes that also figure prominently in Sappho's poetry.[25] Furthermore three epigrams ascribed to Erinna survive, two of which summarize her *Distaff*.[26] Anyte alludes to Erinna's work in five epigrams. One concerns a girl mourning her pets and four epigrams refer to girls who have died shortly before their marriage.[27] Erinna's epigrams on Baucis are written from the perspective of her girlfriend (*Anth. Pal.* 7.710) and from the 'speaking tomb' of Baucis (*Anth. Pal.* 7.712). Anyte offers variations on the theme of the dead bride by introducing new mourners and new perspectives. While the grieving mother is markedly absent in Erinna's work, Anyte wrote two epigrams from the perspective of a mother (*Anth. Pal.* 7.486 and 7.649), one from a first person speaker (*Anth. Pal.* 7.490) and one from a dying girl herself (*Anth. Pal.* 7.646).

Another interesting example pertains to Erinna and Nossis. The third surviving epigram by Erinna (*Anth. Pal.* 6.352) celebrates a lifelike portrait of a girl.[28] Nossis selected this poem as the model for four of her surviving epigrams on lifelike portraits of women.[29] However, she again made variations on Erinna's discussion of of realistic art. In one epigram the woman's portrait cannot be distinguished from the sitter; her dog will wag its tail at the portrait thinking it is her mistress (*Anth. Pal.* 9.604). Another epigram celebrates a portrait that shows a likeness as a child to her mother (*Anth. Pal.* 6.353). Nossis elaborates on Erinna's theme by emphasizing that a true portrait shows more than an exact likeness: it also shows the sitter's character (*Anth. Pal.* 9.605 and

24 *The Distaff* is edited by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983. The similarity to Sappho 94 is remarked by Rauk 1989, 111–112 and Gutzwiller 1997, 207.

25 Stehle 2001.

26 Erinna 1 and 2 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.710 and 7.712. The authenticity of Erinna's epigrams is doubted because of their intertextual character with her own work. Neri 1996, 95–201 gives an overview of the debate. He notes that there are no decisive arguments against authenticity.

27 Anyte 20 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.190. The last line alludes to Erinna 2 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.712. The other epigrams are Anyte 5–8 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.486, 7.490, 7.646, 7.649.

28 Erinna 3, *Anth. Pal.* 6.352 on a lifelike portrait of a girl, is generally accepted as genuine; cf. Gutzwiller 2002, 88.

29 Nossis 6–9 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 9.605, 9.604, 6.353 and 6.354.

6.354). As is mentioned above, Anyte and Nossis drew on many sources, but their allusions to and variations on Sappho (Nossis) and Erinna (Anyte and Nossis) were distinct and elaborate, as they adopted complete themes from their work. Their allusions to male authors are only at the level of words or phrases.[30] The allusions to female predecessors were therefore probably more easily recognizable for readers in antiquity.[31] The making of allusions and the art of variation on themes of eminent female predecessors may have contributed to the idea that women poets formed a separate tradition, especially when this was done in laments and funerary epigrams, traditional genres for women.

An explanation for the desire to show familiarity with and indebtedness to great women poets of the past may be found in what Gilbert and Gubar called 'the anxiety of authorship'.[32] The paucity of women poets may have created feelings of anxiety and loneliness in an aspiring woman poet. As the most famous women poets in a literary history that was otherwise dominated by men, Sappho and Erinna served both as role-models and standards for what women might achieve. Sappho's authority in particular made her a valuable predecessor. This could change the drawback of being a woman poet into an advantage by claiming a special, close connection to Sappho, as Nossis did.[33] Although Snyder writes that this anxiety of authorship was absent among women writers in antiquity, the history of the reception of women poets shows that women poets were not always well received and that some male colleagues regarded writing as an unsuitable occupation for women.[34] Even Sappho was not exempt from criticism and villainous parody. Since the fifth century BCE

30 See the commentary by Geoghegan 1979 on Anyte's allusions. Gutzwiller 1998 discusses all epigrams by Anyte and Nossis and points out allusions to male authors.

31 Nossis' allusions to Erinna were recognized by her contemporaries Herodas and Theocritus. Herodas calls her 'the daughter of Erinna' (*Mim.* 6.20). In *Mim.* 7.56–61 he alludes to both women poets. Theocritus *Id.* 15.80–83 and 145–146 alludes to both Erinna and Nossis. Cf. Skinner 2001, 211–216.

32 Gilbert and Gubar, 1979, 49–50.

33 Gutzwiller 1997, 220 and 1998, 87 argues that Nossis claimed Sappho as her most important model in order to be taken serious as a poet. 'Anxiety of authorship' led Nossis, according to Gutzwiller, to assert her literary independence from Erinna, because Erinna was represented as a nineteen year old girl in the reception. I find it hard to detect a reaction against Erinna in Nossis' poetry.

34 Snyder 1989, 154–155 argues that women poets in antiquity felt no anxiety of authorship, because the metaphor that embodied literary creativity in female figures as the muses and Sappho gave them confidence.

she was portrayed as a lovesick or oversexed woman, and even as a prostitute.[35] According to literary anecdotes Praxilla was stupid and Corinna won an unjust victory over Pindar in a poetry contest.[36] The audience either acclaimed her as the victor because it was dazzled by her beauty, or because she wrote in the simple and boorish dialect her townsmen liked, whereas Pindar wrote a complex and beautiful panhellenic Greek. Herodas attacked Erinna and Nossis as oversexed women, and one hostile parody of Nossis' epigrams survives, presenting her as a prostitute.[37]

The second element that made poetry by women recognizable as women's work was that it almost always featured female characters. Erinna's surviving work has female protagonists; the surviving fragment of Moero's hymn treats a myth about the daughters of Atlas, and her *Arae* was a story about women. Other examples are the epigrams of Nossis, who depicted in nine of her eleven surviving poems a women's world of love, beauty and luxury that reminded the reader strongly of Sappho's celebrations of a world of lovely women.

The third element is the small number of genres women poets could practice. During the Hellenistic period some literary genres were associated with women, because they had been practiced by women poets for centuries. The poetry of Sappho and other women poets of the early classical period, such as Corinna, Telesilla and Praxilla (all florished around 450 BCE), was restricted to laments, wedding songs, hymns to goddesses and gods, and choral poetry for girls.[38] These genres were linked to the few public occasions in archaic and early classical society where women played significant roles: weddings, funerals and women's religious festivals and ceremonies.[39] On these occasions poetry

35 See Yatromanolakis 2007, 312–337 and 359–361 for the development of these images of Sappho.

36 Zenobius 4.21 calls Praxilla stupid. Pausanias 9.22.3 and Aelian *VH* 13.25 give the anecdotes about Corinna and Pindar. All these authors write in the second century CE. It is not clear from which period these anecdotes hail.

37 In Her. *Mim.* 7.56–63 we find a list of dildos with imaginative names as 'Baucis' and 'Nossis'. Cillactor *Anth. Pal.* 5.29 parodies Nossis 1, *Anth. Pal.* 5.170: 'Nothing is better than sex. Who says it is not so? But when you have to pay, it is more bitter than hellebore.' (Ἀδὺ τὸ βινεῖν ἐστί. τίς οὐ λέγει; ἀλλ' ὅταν αἰτῇ / χαλκόν, πικρότερον γίνεται ἐλλεβόρου).

38 Although we have very few references to Corinna, Telesilla and Praxilla from the Hellenistic period, their work was not completely forgotten. For instance Asclepiades 3 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 5.153 is an imitation of Praxilla 754.

39 For women's participations in religious ceremonies, weddings and funerals see Blok 2001; for the performances by women and girls and performances of works of women poets, Stehle 1997, 71–118, 262–319.

by women was sometimes performed. Besides this, women were allowed to set up dedicatory or sepulchral epigrams. None of these genres were the exclusive domain of women. A famous example of a lamenting woman is Andromache in the *Iliad* (22.477–514, 24.725–745), and the work of Alcman and Pindar contains well known examples of choral poetry for girls. But where male writers could choose from a wide range of literary genres, from epic poetry to history, women were limited by tradition to a very small number of poetic genres.

Hellenistic women poets took these traditional women's genres as the starting point for their work, writing mainly epigrams. Besides Erinna's lament and a fragment of a hymn by Moero, only sepulchral and dedicatory epigrams by women poets have survived.[40] In fact they renewed both lament and epigram. Erinna's lament differs in form, length and content from Sappho's laments. Her innovation was the combination of female lamentation with hexameter poetry, thus rendering the lives of ordinary people in epic form. Anyte lamented not just people, but also dead or maltreated animals. Anyte, Moero and Nossis mixed ancient forms and themes to create their own distinct literary style. They were among the first poets to adapt the epigram to the new book culture and to make it into a favored literary genre. Anyte's most important innovation was to introduce the pastoral element into epigram, whereas Erinna, Moero and Nossis renewed epigram by mingling ecphrasis and the dedicatory epigram in their poems on portraits of women.[41]

In conclusion, Hellenistic women poets contributed in three ways to the notion of women poets as a separate group with its own traditions: they frequently and explicitly made allusions to and variations on the work of important female predecessors, they often wrote on women, and they wrote in genres that were traditionally considered appropriate for women. This may explain why male poets and critics lumped all women poets together, a tendency that will be exposed in detail in the next section.

40 See Skinner 2005b on Moero. The fragment contains ten lines from a hymn called *Mnemosyne*.

41 Already Hutchinson 1988, 18 and 23 recognized Moero as an innovative poet. See Tueller 2008 for an elaborate analysis of the innovations in epigram of Erinna (142–145), Anyte (77–80, 152–155) Moero (95–96, 162–163) and Nossis (166–177), and Murray and Rowland 2007 for their experiments with gender and the author's voice.

4 A Female Tradition? The Contribution of Male Poets

What was the contribution of male poets and critics to the idea that women poets formed a separate group with traditions of its own? The idea is strongly related to the value that was attached to Sappho as a great author and as the only canonized female author. The study of her poetry was part of literary education. This meant that virtually all male poets and literary critics were familiar with Sappho's work. Sappho created a feminine world, which she described from a female perspective. Her first-person speakers were equated with the author herself, as her style was amalgamated with her subject matter.[42] In some of her most famous poems, notably the poem that is known as fragment 31, the 'I' expresses strong emotions, which were subsequently interpreted as Sappho's own emotions. The combination of a feminine world, a female perspective, and strongly expressed emotions, became the hallmarks of Sappho's authorial voice for later generations. This voice was interpreted as a *feminine voice*.

Male poets and critics associated later women poets with Sappho. They viewed the work of Hellenistic women poets also as an expression of such a 'feminine voice'. It seems to have been this femininity that attracted male poets to works of women. This is the first contribution of male poets and critics to the idea that women poets formed a separate group, with its own traditions. The second contribution is the association of women poets with Sappho. Male poets and critics seem to have felt that women poets formed a distinct group, whose lives and works were closely connected, despite the time gap of almost three hundred years between Sappho and Erinna. Differences in time, place, and writing seem to have counted less than the fact that women poets belonged to the same sex as Sappho. The third contribution is their selective imitation of women poets. They imitated laments, sepulchral and dedicatory epigrams and wedding songs, i.e., works in 'female' genres. Furthermore they especially alluded to works by women poets in portraits of female personages or when imagining a women's world. In this way they confirmed their view of women poets as interpreters of the 'feminine voice' and they passed this view on to posterity. All this together led to the fourth element: a selective transmission

42 See above n. 5. Lefkowitz 1981 describes how the work of famous authors was regularly interpreted as biographical. This also happened to Erinna, who was not only identified with the character of Baucis' friend, but also with Baucis herself. Like Baucis, Erinna was supposed to have died at nineteen. In the five laudatory epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.11–13, 7.713 and 9.190) she is admired for writing so well at such a young age. Tatianus *Ad Gr*. 33.21–23 calls Erinna a girl. Christodorus *Anth. Pal*. 2. 108–110 mentions a bronze of Erinna as a girl in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus in Byzantium in the third century CE.

of the works of women poets. Works that seemed to be pure expressions of the feminine voice had a far greater chance of being preserved than works on subjects or in genres that were not considered as belonging to the province of women.

I will begin my discussion of the first element with two examples: the reading of the work of women poets as expression of the 'feminine voice' and the view of Sappho as the fountainhead of women's poetry. My first example is an epigram by Posidippus, where he adapts the theme of the untimely death of a young woman (AB 55):[43]

> All Nicomache's things, her playthings, and her intimate
> conversations in the manner of Sappho at the morning shuttle,
> Fate took away too early. The city of the Argives
> mourned aloud for the unhappy maiden,
> the young shoot reared under Hera's arm. At that time
> the beds of the young men that courted her remained cold.

> πάντα τὰ Νικομάχης καὶ ἀθύρματα καὶ πρὸς ἑῴαν
> κερκίδα Σαπφῴους ἐξ ὀάρων ὀάρους
> ᾤχετο Μοῖρα φέρουσα προώρια· τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν
> παρθένον Ἀργείων ἀμφεβόησε πόλις,
> Ἥρης τὸ τραφὲν ἔρνος ὑπ' ὠλένος· ἆ τότε γαμβρῶν
> τῶν μνηστευομένων ψύχρ' ἔμενεν λέχεα.

The imagery of a world of young women who spend their time weaving, playing, and talking, while waiting to be married, evokes Erinna's lament for Baucis, the girl who died on the eve of her wedding day. Also, it refers indirectly to Sappho's pictures of the world of women. The third and the last line allude to a sepulchral epigram by Anyte that focuses on Fate and the lost hopes of the young men in a similar situation, while the words 'unhappy maiden' are an allusion to Erinna's lament.[44] Thus, Posidippus alludes to three women poets who wrote laments or who wrote on the theme of a deceased bride, but the only one he calls by name is Sappho. Sappho stands here for girl's talk, but she also seems to stand for women's poetry at large and the lure this poetry had for the male ear. Posidippus places the reader of his epigram in the position of an eavesdropper on the

43 In AB 51 Posidippus treats the same theme and again refers solely to Sappho as author of songs for women; fragments cited from the edition of Austin-Bastianini 2002.

44 Anyte 6 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 7.649. 'Unhappy Baucis' is used as a refrain in Erinna's lament. Acosta-Hughes 2010, 91–92 discusses the allusions to Sappho in this poem.

intimate conversation of a group of girls, the kind of intimate conversation that was revealed in Sappho's and other women's poetry. The world Nicomache used to share with her friends with its petty talk and household tasks seems to be far away from the men's world. But what could be more compelling than this girl's talk and the themes of women's poetry Posidippus refers to: illness, death, fate, and love? The particular appeal of the lament by Sappho, Erinna and Anyte, as read by Posidippus, is that it is both feminine and universal.

My second example consists of a laudatory epigram on Erinna by an anonymous author and of the poetic descriptions of statues of Sappho and Erinna in Byzantium by Christodorus of Thebes (500 CE). Again, Sappho is presented as the alpha and omega of women's poetry. Christodorus depicts Erinna in almost the same terms as Sappho, suggesting that she bore a close likeness to the great author, while the anonymous author of the laudatory epigram also compares Erinna to Sappho (*Anth. Pal.* 9.190):

> This is the Lesbian honeycomb of Erinna. It may be small,
> but it is all sweetened by the honey of the Muses.
> Her three hundred lines are equal to Homer,
> though she was but a girl of nineteen years.
> Whether she was working her spindle in fear of her mother,
> or stood at her loom, she was a servant of the Muses.
> As much as Sappho surpasses Erinna in lyric poetry,
> so much does Erinna surpass Sappho in hexameters.

> Λέσβιον Ἠρίννης τόδε κηρίον· εἰ δέ τι μικρόν,
> ἀλλ' ὅλον ἐκ Μουσέων κιρνάμενον μέλιτι.
> οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι ἶσοι Ὁμήρῳ,
> τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευς·
> ἣ καὶ ἐπ' ἠλακάτῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ, ἣ καὶ ἐφ' ἱστῷ
> ἑστήκει Μουσέων λάτρις ἐφαπτομένη.
> Σαπφὼ δ' Ἠρίννης ὅσσον μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,
> Ἤριννα Σαπφοῦς τόσσον ἐν ἑξαμέτροις.

In this epigram Sappho's work provides the framework for valuing Erinna. In the opening line she is mentioned as her source of inspiration (the Lesbian honeycomb), while she is the standard by which Erinna's achievements are to be measured in the last distich. The 'honeycomb' probably means that the poem served as an introductory epigram for an edition of Erinna's work. The epigram is structured as a series of oppositions; the last element is always valued through paradoxical expressions: Erinna's work is small but divinely

inspired; it is equal to Homer but the work of a girl; she is a servant of her mother but also of the muses.[45] In the last two lines the poetry of the two most famous women poets is referred to and compared as champions of two opposite genres. Sappho, the great lyric poet, is to Erinna what Erinna is to Sappho in hexameters. The paradox is that Erinna, who is generally considered to be the lesser of the two famous women poets, is here presented as actually superior in hexameter. In the end this makes Sappho and Erinna equals. The comparison of Erinna's mere three hundred lines to all of Homer's work in the third line signals to the playful character of the epigram. It is unlikely and therefore unexpected that a girl of nineteen could be on a par with the greatest poet. Moreover the anonymous author attracts attention to the smallness of her oeuvre compared to Homer's. As Jacqueline Klooster has noted, equalling Homer was deemed impossible in ancient literature. Erinna can only be compared to Homer because her work and her persona differed radically from his.[46] Allusions to earlier laudatory epigrams abound in the first half of the text. The motif 'short but inspired' is borrowed from Antipater of Sidon, just as line four is from Asclepiades, who also refers to the sweetness of Erinna's verses in his introductory epigram, as does another anonymous author of a laudatory epigram.[47] With the comparisons to Homer and Sappho and the image of Erinna as a girl frightened of her mother the poet departs from these predecessors, who all focus on her supposed early death. The image of Erinna as a girl working in wool probably derives from her *Distaff*.[48] The anonymous author of this epigram mirrors Erinna the poet with her literary persona that was conceived from the first-person speaker in *The Distaff*. The author conjures up a vision of Erinna as a poet who wrote of what she knew best: women's lives in the seclusion of the household and the plight of girls.[49] That is how she expressed her unique voice, which was, like Sappho's, perceived as purely feminine.

45 I thank the anonymous reviewer for analysis of the structure of the poem.

46 Klooster 2011, 68–69.

47 *Anth. Pal.* 7.713, 7.11 and 7.12. In *Anth. Pal.* 7.13 by Meleager or Leonidas of Tarente Erinna is called a bee. Although sweetness, honey and the bee are often used as metaphors for the art of the poet, the bee can also be used as a metaphor for Erinna as a girl who led an exemplary life. Semonides 7.83–93 and Xenophon *Oec.* 7.17.32–34, 38 compare the good wife to a bee. Detienne 1981, 98 argues that bees were regarded as chaste and industrious animals of the female sex.

48 That the image may go back to *The Distaff* is remarked by Stehle 2001, 195.

49 This epigram inspired George Eliot to write a poem on Erinna. She represents her as a girl who saw her talent going to waste while she was forced to weave, not poetry but cloth. This poem served as the motto for chapter 51 in her novel *Daniel Deronda* when the protagonist

The image of Erinna plying her distaff may refer to actual sculptures. The title of her most renowned poem furnished the emblem for these statues. Two statues of Erinna sitting with her spindle are attested by Tatianus and Christodorus of Thebes.[50] Christodorus describes bronze statues of Sappho and Erinna in Byzantium that survived to 532 CE, when the building where they were displayed was destroyed by fire. Some pieces have been excavated and attest to the accuracy of Christodorus' descriptions.[51] The resemblance of his descriptions of Sappho and Erinna's statues is remarkable and is another example of how Sappho was perceived as the model for other women poets. Even if the sculptures looked very much alike, Christodorus deliberately describes them in the same pattern. Sappho comes first (*Anth. Pal.* 2.69–71):

> The Pierian bee with the clear voice sat there, Sappho
> of Lesbos, quietly, as she seemed to be weaving a melodious
> song, her mind devoted to the silent Muses.

> Πιερικὴ δὲ μέλισσα, λιγύθροος ἕζετο Σαπφὼ
> Λεσβιὰς ἠρεμέουσα, μέλος δ' εὔυμνον ὑφαίνειν
> σιγαλέαις δοκέεσκεν ἀναψαμένη φρένα Μούσαις.

The description of Erinna's statue resembles that of Sappho's, with small variations. Erinna is described as a girl. According to Christodorus she is not plying

finally meets his mother, who abandoned her child in order to become a great opera singer. Eliot uses the example of Erinna to illustrate that the difficulties society makes for women artists have been around since antiquity.

50 Tatianus *Ad Gr.* 33.8–16 mentions a statue of Erinna in the porticus of Pompey in Rome, and in 33.21–23 he states that Christian girls praise god while sitting with their distaffs, contrasting them with Erinna. I think this refers to the way Erinna was portrayed, as sitting and holding a spindle. According to Tatianus Erinna's statue was made by Naucides, who was active around 400 BCE. This does not fit with Erinna's date (350 BCE), but it may refer to a portrait of Erinna from the fourth century. The portico of Pompey in Rome was dedicated in 55 BCE. Page 1981, 346 dates *Anth. Pal.* 9.190 on stylistic grounds to Hellenistic or early Imperial age. The allusion to Antipater of Sidon, not mentioned by Page, limits his uncertain dates to the period after 140 BCE. Of course there is no conclusive evidence that this epigram refers to a statue of Erinna, but it is a possibility, as an already existing statue of Erinna was exhibited in Pompey's portico from the second half of the first century BCE.

51 Christodorus *Anth. Pal.* book 2 describes 80 statues in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus, which was arranged under Septimius Severus and embellished under Constantine the Great. *Anth. Pal.* 2.69–71 is on Sappho, 2.108–110 are on Erinna. The archaeological evidence is discussed by Bassett 2004, 52, 160.

wool. This refers most likely to a spindle she is holding, that may rest in her lap (*Anth. Pal.* 2.108–110):

> The maidenly girl Erinna with the clear voice sat there,
> not plying the double thread, but in silence
> the drops of Pierian honey welled up inside her.
>
> Παρθενικὴ δ' Ἤριννα λιγύθροος ἕζετο κούρη,
> οὐ μίτον ἀμφαφόωσα πολύπλοκον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ σιγῇ
> Πιερικῆς ῥαθάμιγγας ἀποσταλάουσα μελίσσης.

In Christodorus' rendering the two women poets are one of a kind. The adjective παρθενικὴ for Erinna echoes Πιερικὴ, the opening of the description of Sappho's statue, that is repeated literally at the start of the third line. Both women are described as having a clear voice (λιγύθροος) and they are both in a sitting position (ἕζετο). Also the motif of silence is repeated: Sappho sits in a quiet pose, devoting her mind to the silent muses, where Erinna is silently concentrated on her poetry. This contrasts with the descriptions of male poets, who are generally represented by Christodorus as being on the verge of speaking. The motif of the bee recurs, too: Sappho is a bee, and Erinna's poetry is represented as drops of honey, which makes Erinna a beelike creature. Finally, Christodorus represents the two as illustrations of the metaphor of weaving poetry: Sappho seems to be weaving; Erinna probably has just dropped her spinning in order to create poetry.

Christodorus entwines an evocation of another woman poet, Moero, in a description of the statue of her son, a poet called Homer. He celebrates Moero as a writer of epic verse, who was already as a child an excellent poet.[52] This shows that Christodorus is perfectly able to describe different women poets in different terms. Rosenmeyer explains the likeness of the descriptions by Christodorus from the statues themselves, as she argues that Sappho and Erinna were represented as a standardized version of the woman poet.[53] Even if the startling similarity is meant to show off the skill of the poet in making minor variations in his descriptions, as I think, it is quite possible that the actual statues resembled each other and supplied Christodorus with the theme of the almost identical portraits. Christodorus' description allows for small differences: Erinna is a girl with a spindle, Sappho a grown-up woman. Dillon

52 *Anth. Pal.* 2.407–413.

53 This is also remarked by Rosenmeyer 2007, 291.

argues that portraits of women conformed to two ideal types, the girl and the matron.[54] Sappho and Erinna were probably represented as ideal women, sitting in silence, displaying the restrained behaviour required of women.

Christodorus' almost identical descriptions of Sappho and Erinna are good examples of the second contribution by male poets and critics to the idea of women poets as a closely connected group with its own traditions that were inspired by an ancient model: Sappho. As we have seen, this may have been reflected in a sculptural tradition. It also becomes evident in Posidippus' epigram on the death of a young woman, and in the laudatory epigram on Erinna cited above. The alleged group identity was reinforced by women poets' allusions to Sappho and by their writing in specific genres, but the most important thing women poets seem to have had in common with Sappho in the eyes of male poets and critics was simply that they were women. The following epigram by Antipater of Sidon illustrates this nicely (*Anth. Pal.* 7.15):

> My name is Sappho. I surpassed all women in song,
> as the man of Maeonia (i.e., Homer) surpassed all men.

> Οὔνομά μευ Σαπφώ· τόσσον δ' ὑπερέσχον ἀοιδὰν
> θηλειᾶν, ἀνδρῶν ὅσσον ὁ Μαιονίδας.

In this comparison Antipater states that Sappho was the best of women poets, as Homer was the best of male poets. By comparing Sappho to Homer Antipater emphasized her greatness as a poet and her role as the founder of a literary tradition. At the same time the comparison establishes a difference between male and female poets: Sappho and Homer were in different leagues. Poetry by women is framed as existing separate from poetry by men from its very beginning, and Sappho's exemplary function extends exclusively to women. Another way of grouping women poets was to make intricately entwined allusions to the work of several women poets in one stroke, as was done by Asclepiades, Theocritus, Herodas, and Posidippus.[55] Editors and critics also regularly refer to

54 Dillon 2010, 6–10 argues that portraits of women in antiquity conformed to these two ideal types only. The one preserved statue of a woman poet from antiquity represents Corinna. It is in the Musée Antoine Vivenel in Compiègne. Corinna is represented as a girl, wearing a hymation and a cloak, her hair put up in a bun. The only sign that she is a poet is a box of bookrolls at her feet, and an open roll in her hand.

55 Asclepiades 1 GP, *Anth. Pal.* 5.169 alludes to Sappho and Anyte. Theocritus entwines allusions to Erinna and Nossis in *Idyll* 15 and to Sappho and Erinna in *Idyll* 28; Posidippus

women as a group. In his introductory epigram to his *Garland* Meleager clusters Anyte, Moero, and Sappho, giving them a place of honor as the first authors in his list.[56] In Imperial times Hellenistic women poets were regularly associated with the isle of Lesbos and therefore with Sappho, for instance by the editors of the different collections of epigrams that form the *Palatine Anthology*.[57]

The third element consists of imitations and allusions to women poets. From their various works the 'typically female' genres were mostly selected for imitation. Sappho's hymns and wedding songs were widely imitated in love poetry from Hellenistic to Roman times. In the *Palatine Anthology* we find a number of straightforward imitations of Erinna's funerary epigrams on the untimely death of young women by Posidippus, Meleager, and Antipater of Sidon.[58] Anyte's funerary epigrams for girls and animals influenced epigrammatists such as Leonidas of Tarentum.[59]

A specific use was made of women poets for the creation of female characters. Two famous examples are the reworking of Sappho's fragment 31 in Theocritus' *Idyll* 2 and in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*.[60] In both poems this fragment is used twice, first when Simaetha and Medea recall how they first saw their beloved, and again in the descriptions of their ensuing emotional turmoil. These allusions to Sappho's most famous love poem probably served to make the portraits of Simaetha and Medea as women in love more persuasive to the contemporary audience. Another example of the way in which allusions to poetry by women may have served to add a touch of authenticity to poetry by male artists on women or their world can be found in a poem by Posidippus on a homespun shawl offered by a young woman to queen Arsinoe. This epigram is filled with allusions to Nossis 3, where she evokes a solemn procession of three generations of women to the temple of Hera to offer a linen cloth.[61] Theocritus

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AB 49–51 imitates Erinna and Anyte. Herodas *Mim.* 4, 6 and 7 caricatures Erinna and Nossis. *Anth. Pal.* 9.26 on the nine women poets is another example (see above n. 7).

56 *Anth. Pal.* 4.1.5–6.

57 Erinna and Anyte are mentioned as inhabitants of Mytilene (in the captions of *Anth. Pal.* 7.710, 7.492) and Nossis as coming from Lesbos (caption *Anth. Pal.* 9.332). According to Tatianus *Ad Gr.* 33 Erinna was from Lesbos. In her entry in the *Suda* Erinna was called a companion of Sappho. Pliny at *HN* 34.57 confuses the names and works of Erinna, Anyte and Moero.

58 Posidippus AB 49–51. Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 7.182 and Antipater of Sidon *Anth. Pal.* 7.711 are imitations of the funerary epigrams attributed to Erinna.

59 For imitations of Anyte's funerary epigrams by Leonidas see Gutzwiller 1998, 112–113.

60 *Idyll* 2.82–92, 106–110; *Argonautica* 3.284–298, 962–965. Acosta-Hughes 2010, 49–57 and 66–75 gives an analysis of Apollonius' and Theocritus' reworking of Sappho.

61 Posidippus 36 AB; Nossis 3, *Anth. Pal.* 6.265.

alludes to Erinna and Nossis in his *Idyll* 15, a poem about two women who set out to the royal palace of Alexandria to view the decorations for the festival of Adonis.[62] In *Idyll* 28, a dedicatory poem that went with the present of an ivory spindle to the wife of a friend, he makes allusions to Sappho and to Erinna's lament.[63] Especially in a poem on a spindle, allusions to Erinna would have been hard to miss, anyway.

The selective way of reading women poets as the expression of 'feminine voices' led to a selective transmission of their works. This is the fourth and final contribution of male poets to the idea that women poets formed a separate group. Works in what were considered suitable genres for women, with women in the leading part, and written from a female perspective, had far greater chances of being selected for transmission than works that could not be easily interpreted as expressions of a feminine voice. Poems by women were valued as expressions of the 'feminine voice', and considered important when they had been used as literary models by famous authors, as Theocritus or Apollonius of Rhodes. In the context of the topic of this volume, such selectivity of transmission adds an important aspect to how the past was valued: not all the past had value, but only a part of it that had been trimmed according to the taste and concepts of later generations.

The works of women poets in other genres and on other subjects were hardly transmitted. Sappho's poetry probably presents us with the best example of the trend among editors and critics of focusing on, and transmitting, the work by women that might be read as feminine. Her poems on goddesses, women, and girls are far better preserved than those on political themes.[64] Only scraps remain of the poetry in which she scolds women of rival aristocratic factions. Conversely, Alcaeus' poetry received the opposite treatment in accordance with his gender. His love poetry has almost perished, while his work on 'manly' subjects, such as war, exile and the ship of state remains.[65] Other examples are the vanished works on male heroes by the early classical poets Corinna and Praxilla. Corinna wrote poetry on several heroes: Boeotus, the Seven against Thebes, Orion and Orestes, but only the names of the works are reported.[66] Just

62 Theoc. *Id.* 15, 80–83, 145–146. See also Skinner 2001.

63 Gutzwiller 2007, 186–187.

64 See Parker 2005 for an overview of the remnants of Sappho's poems on political themes.

65 Alc. 368 praises a boy. According to Horace and Cicero Alcaeus wrote love poetry, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.10, Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.79. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.63 writes that Alcaeus 'stooped to love poetry, although he was suited for greater things' (*in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior*).

66 Herodian *Mon. lex.* 924.25–26 L. mentions Boeotus; Apollonius Dyscolus *Pron.* 93.29 Sch.

one line of Praxilla's dithyramb on Achilles exists today. She wrote probably on Carnus or a hymn for his festival.[67] Moero wrote lost hymns on Amphion and Poseidon.[68] Some epigrams by Anyte and Nossis on themes that do not belong to the world of women have been preserved. That is how we know that Anyte wrote on themes like weapons, a dead soldier, and a warhorse.[69] Nossis wrote epigrams about the shields of the enemy of her hometown Locri, and on a male poet, Rhinton of Syracuse.[70] Perhaps Anyte's and Nossis' books of poetry contained more poems on 'male' themes and subjects. It is likely that editors like Meleager were more interested in their epigrams that reflected a feminine voice and made a larger selection of these epigrams. The selective transmission of the works of women poets obscured differences in style, subject matter and literary forms between individual women poets, and made their work look more exclusively feminine in retrospect.

5 Conclusion

The idea that women poets formed a separate group with a tradition of its own that reached back to Sappho, i.e. to a specific ancient past, was first suggested by Nossis, Posidippus and Theocritus in the third century BCE. Valuing Sappho is what these poets had in common. Already before Nossis Sappho had functioned as a role-model for Hellenistic women poets and as a standard for what women might achieve. It was common to regard women poets as the literary descendants of Sappho. Hellenistic women poets worked, like Sappho, in the traditional women's genres, and often wrote on female characters and themes. They regularly made allusions to Sappho and to each others' works. Thus they provided some ground for the idea of women as a separate group. This idea,

mentions the Seven against Thebes; *Pron.* 77.5–9 Sch. mentions Orion. See Corinna 658, 659, 662. Corinna 690 is a papyrus fragment of *Orestes*.

67 Praxilla 748. Pausanias 3.13.5 and *Schol. Theoc.* 5.83 mention Carnus, Praxilla 753.

68 Moero's work on Amphion is attested by Pausanias 9.5.4, her hymn on Poseidon by Eustathius, *Il.* 2.711.

69 Anyte 1, *Anth. Pal.* 6.123 celebrates a spear, 2, *Anth. Pal.* 6.153 a kettle, 4; *Anth. Pal.* 7.724 is a funerary epigram on a dead soldier, 9; *Anth. Pal.* 7.208 figures a warhorse.

70 Nossis 2, *Anth. Pal.* 6.132 and 10, *Anth. Pal.* 7.414. Murray and Rowland 2007, 227–229 argue that Nossis unexpectedly introduces an erotic tone in the closing line of her poem on the Bruttian shields. Therefore it may have had a feminine touch for a contemporary audience. Meleager probably included Nossis 10 on Rhinton of Syracuse in his *Garland* as an early example of a laudatory epigram on a poet in the guise of a funeral epigram.

however, was for the greater part formed in the reception of women poets by male poets and critics.

Male poets and critics read and valued Sappho as an archaic poet and as a 'feminine voice'. They appreciated other women poets most when they resembled Sappho and presented what was perceived as this 'feminine voice'. 'Lesbos' became the metonym for women's poetry; as I argued above, at some point in their reception all Hellenistic women poets have been described as inhabitants of Lesbos. Male poets and critics viewed women poets as women who wrote on women in women's genres. Therefore, men chose for imitation work that was perceived as feminine in tone, style, and subject matter. This led to a selective transmission of poems with female characters and feminine themes.

Roman literature paid little attention to Hellenistic women poets. Just a few imitations survive.[71] Only Sappho's prestige remained intact as she was an important model for imitation for Catullus, Horace, and Ovid. In *Heroides* 15 Ovid combined Sappho's biographical tradition and her poetry to create a convincing character. Ovid's Sappho is a passionate, intelligent, and imaginative poet. She wanders through Arcadian grooves, conversing with nymphs, turning her experiences and feelings into poetry as she laments for her lost lover. In his portrayal of Sappho Ovid transformed the archaic lyric poet not into a distant muse, but into a creative artist of mythical proportions.

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71 Trypanis 1970 recognized an allusion to Anyte 13, *Anth. Pal.* 6.312 in Ovid *Met.* 10.124–125. In the first century CE Marcus Argentarius 21, *Anth. Pal.* 7.364 imitated Anyte 20, *Anth. Pal.* 7.190, and Cillactor parodied Nossis; see n. 37.

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CHAPTER 17

Ennius and the Revaluation of Traditional Historiography in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura**

Jason S. Nethercut

1 Introduction

On the basis of what Lucretius says explicitly about his poem's generic affinities, the reader would be inclined to recognize Lucretius as an epic poet. In the first place, he names both Homer and Ennius in the proem to the *De rerum natura* (henceforth *DRN*), citing a passage of Ennius' *Annales* in which Ennius had presented himself as the epic successor of Homer. Moreover, in this same passage Lucretius programmatically associates the poetry of Homer and Ennius with his own poem, by describing Homer's discourse in the proem to the *Annales* as 'the nature of things' (*rerum natura*, Lucr. 1.126). Earlier in the proem to *DRN* 1, Lucretius asks Venus to lend him assistance as he writes 'on the nature of things' (*de rerum natura*, Lucr. 1.25), entitling his poem as well as announcing its subject matter. Accordingly, Lucretius wants his reader to understand that Ennius' Homer—and, therefore, Ennius himself—wrote the same kind of poetry as Lucretius does, namely, poetry on natural philosophy. This understanding is bolstered by the fact that commentators have long argued that Lucretius incorporates many epic elements into *DRN*.[1] Most often these have been interpreted as part of a thorough-going effort on Lucretius' part to present his *DRN* as an epic—or, at least, to highlight the generic similarities between didactic and epic. But implicated in Lucretius' claim to write *rerum natura* are not just Homer and Ennius, but also Empedocles who himself wrote a poem entitled *On Nature* and who was the most articulate poetic witness for the theory of metempsychosis before Ennius' famous Dream of Homer. Much recent work has focused on Lucretius' intense engagement with Empedocles throughout

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1 See esp. Murley 1947, Sallmann 1968, West 1969, 23–34, Hardie 1986, 193–219, Mayer 1990, Conte 1994, 1–3, Gale 1994, 99–128, 2000, 235–238, 2004 and Piazzi 2008. For a contrary view, see Volk 2002, 69–118, especially 69–73.

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DRN.[2] In terms of genre, however, the inclusion of Empedocles further muddies the water. On the one hand, Empedocles forms a foundational component of what seems like a quite solid tradition in which heroic and philosophical epic coexist. On the other, he is a poet-philosopher whose reception involves the famous and problematic intervention by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1447b13–20) who calls into question not only the genre of his poetry, but whether he is even to be regarded as a poet at all. It would seem, therefore, that Lucretius draws an equivalence between the poetry of Homer, Ennius and Empedocles and the *DRN*, but actively problematizes the genre of this tradition he has constructed and into which he positions his own work.[3]

A further complication in Lucretius' construction of this tradition results from the fact that he also seems to highlight its persistent historiographical tendencies. This characterization can be seen in two distinct ways. First of all, when Lucretius presents explicitly philosophical doctrines that are relevant for our understanding of history, he adduces what look like epic examples to illustrate his point. One could argue that Lucretius thus reads epic as historiography. Secondly, Lucretius often adduces historical episodes or *exempla* in order to undermine the value of history as traditionally conceived in epic historiography. In almost every instance of this second gesture, 'history' does not seem to be divorced from its specific source and is better understood as 'historiography', as Lucretius consistently reads history through the lens of Ennius' *Annales*. In this chapter, then, I will explore these two ways of characterizing

2 Sedley 1998 and Garani 2007.

3 Another way of looking at the presence of epic elements in the *DRN*, however, is to recognize that Lucretius may have mined the epic tradition for aspects concordant with his own philosophical aims. Rather than trying to epicize his own philosophical poem, perhaps his purpose is to philosophize heroic epic or to suggest that the genre is already inherently philosophical. This possibility is consonant with more recent scholarly trends in the interpretation of epic and didactic, going back at least to the work of Lamberton 1986 and Hardie 1986. We are encouraged to look at the Lucretian issue this way on the basis of Lamberton's work above all, which has demonstrated how pervasively the ancient allegorical tradition read the Homeric epics as philosophical poems, even if he focuses on later antiquity (though others—e.g., Clausen 1987, 29–32, Nelis 1992 and Hunter 1993, 175–179—have pushed Lamberton's arguments back into earlier antiquity, primarily with reference to the Song of Orpheus in Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.494–511, which provides evidence of the very same allegorical readings of Homer by conflating the second Song of Demodocus in *Od.* 8.499–520 about Ares and Aphrodite with the Empedoclean principles of Love and Strife). Moreover, Lucretius himself appears to signal that this is exactly his own purpose, when, as we have seen above, he famously—and programmatically—associates the *DRN* with epic poetry only by virtue of the latter's exposition of 'the nature of things' (*rerum natura*, Lucr. 1.126).

the epic genre as inherently historiographical. In the process, it will become clear that Lucretius represents a striking counter-example to the overall exploration of positive valuations of antiquity in antiquity discussed throughout this volume.[4]

2 Epic and Historiography

Lucretius and Epicureans in general do not value the events of the past highly.[5] Most famously, Lucretius uses the example of the Punic Wars as evidence that historical events do not have any effect on the present (Lucr. 3.830–869), but earlier in *DRN*, Lucretius argues that the past does not actually exist—at least not in the fundamental way that atoms and void exist. Indeed, in his discussion of 'properties' (*coniuncta*) and 'accidents' (*eventa*), Lucretius argues that nothing exists *per se* except atoms and void; everything else is only either a property or an accident of these two ontological foundations (Lucr. 1.418–458). Of the many accidents of body and void, Lucretius lists slavery, poverty, riches, freedom, war, civic harmony and time. Amplifying this last example, he argues that time does not exist except as an accident of body, while past events are accidents of the regions in which they took place (Lucr. 1.459–470). To illustrate this point, Lucretius introduces the example of the Trojan War, an event that conventionally marked the boundary between the mythic or heroic and the historical periods, but that for Lucretius is clearly treated as a historical event (Lucr. 1.471–482):[6]

4 But see also the chapters by Greithlein (ch. 13) and Murnaghan (ch. 8) in this volume on negative value.

5 Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 2.67, though there the idea that 'history is silent' (*historia muta est*) is voiced by a Stoic in an invective context and may offer questionable evidence for estabilishing Epicurean ideas. It remains true, however, that since Epicureans were generally disengaged from politics there would not have been many Epicurean *viri illustres* nor, therefore, is it likely that the apolitical Epicureans would have valued the deeds of such men. For Epicurean apathy regarding the value of antiquity, see in this volume Ramelli (ch. 19, 495).

6 For instance, Herodotus and Thucydides treat Homer's account of the Trojan War as a reliable source of history (e.g., Hdt. 1.3–5 and 2.112–114 and Thuc. 1.3). Implicit in this treatment, therefore, is the belief that the Trojan War was a historical event, the historical end, in fact, of the mythological period. On the Trojan War as a marker of the separation between these two periods, see Clarke 2008 with further bibliography. On this ancient view of Homer as a historian, see Kim 2010, 22–46 with further bibliography. On the historicity of the Homeric poems, fundamental is Finley 1954, but see too Snodgrass 1974; Geddes 1984; Morris 1986; Sherratt 1990; Taplin 1992; Raaflaub 1993; Crielaard 1995 and McInerney 2010.

> And so, if there had been no substance of things nor place nor space in which all things are borne about, never would the fire, inflamed by love because of the beauty of Tyndareus' daughter, swelling in the Phrygian breast of Alexander, have kindled the famous contests of savage war nor, unknown to the Trojans, would the wooden horse with its nocturnal birthing of Greek sons have set fire to Pergamon, so that you can see that all events from first to last do not exist nor are by themselves just like body, nor can they be said to exist in the same way as void exists, but rather so that you can correctly call them 'accidents' of body and void, in which all things are borne about.
>
> *denique materies si rerum nulla fuisset*
> *nec locus ac spatium, res in quo quaeque geruntur,*
> *numquam Tyndaridis forma conflatus amore*
> *ignis Alexandri Phrygio sub pectore gliscens*
> *clara accendisset saevi certamina belli*
> *nec clam durateus Troiianis Pergama partu*
> *inflammasset equos nocturno Graiiugenarum*
> *perspicere ut possis res gestas funditus omnis*
> *non ita uti corpus per se constare neque esse*
> *nec ratione cluere eadem qua constet inane,*
> *sed magis ut merito possis eventa vocare*
> *corporis atque loci, res in quo quaeque gerantur.*

That Lucretius recognizes the Trojan War as a historical event is clear from a later passage in *DRN*. As part of his argument about the history of the universe, namely that the earth and the sky had to have some beginning—which implies that our world is mortal and will one day be destroyed—Lucretius introduces an over-determined example to prove his point. Were our world immortal, existing from time everlasting, surely we would have stories older than the epic poems on the Theban and Trojan Wars. It is clear that Lucretius treats these sagas as historical events, even though conventionally they bridged the divide between the heroic and the historical periods (Lucr. 5.324–331):[7]

> Moreover, if there was no origin that gave birth to the earth and sky and they were always eternal, why beyond the Theban War and the funerals of Troy have not other poets sung of other events as well? Whither have

7 For this point, see Schrijvers 1999, 112–113.

> so many deeds of men so often passed away and why are they nowhere flourishing enshrined in the eternal memorials of fame? But indeed, as I think, our whole world has newness and the nature of the universe is fresh, nor long ago did it receive its beginning.
>
> *Praeterea si nulla fuit genitalis origo*
> *terrarum et caeli semperque aeterna fuere,*
> *cur supera bellum Thebanum et funera Troiae*
> *non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetae?*
> *quo tot facta virum totiens cecidere neque usquam*
> *aeternis famae monimentis insita florent?*
> *verum, ut opinor, habet novitatem summa recensque*
> *natura est mundi neque pridem exordia cepit.*

Lucretius here again appears interested in epic poetry—he specifically cites the *poetae* who have sung about Thebes and Troy (Lucr. 5.327)—*qua* historiography, implying that the sagas he cites offer reliable information about the early history of humanity—the earliest history of humanity, in fact. Lucretius thus considers these events historical in the sense that they are the earliest human affairs of which he believes we have reliable records, even though they are poetic records. Moreover, it seems clear enough that he is pointing to Homer in mentioning the Trojan War.[8]

It may also be the case, however, that he is pointing to epic poetry when he mentions Thebes, specifically one of the cyclic epics *Thebais* or *Epigoni*. I draw this conclusion on the basis of Lucretius' description of 'Theban War' (*bellum Thebanum*, Lucr. 5.326), these two parts of the Theban cycle being the only ones to narrate a war.[9] This addition of Thebes is interesting because it suggests that *all* epic, not just the Homeric poems, treats of historical events—or at least that the events celebrated in epic poetry could be read as history. This suggestion would seem to imply that Lucretius characterizes epic not only as philosophical, but also as historiographical. In this regard, it is suggestive that he introduces this example at the very beginning of his own Epicurean historical narrative of the cosmos and civilization, the narrative that occupies him for the rest of *DRN* 5.[10] As a result, one could conclude that Lucretius rejects the

8 Schrijvers 1999, 113.

9 The other two cyclic epics on the Theban saga, *Oedipodea* and *Alcmeonis*, did not treat of war.

10 See Gale 2004 on the narratological aspects of *DRN*, with special reference to *DRN* 5.

historical authority of epic. After all, in the course of his own account of history, Lucretius rejects the authority of poets, explicitly in the case of events like the primeval flood and conflagration (Lucr. 5.380–415) and perhaps implicitly in his account of the origins of human civilization (e.g., he seems to reject the authority of Hesiod in his account of metallurgy at Lucr. 5.1241–1280). Throughout his historical narrative in *DRN* 5, Lucretius relies solely on analogical reasoning.[11]

In any event, it is clear that Lucretius thinks of the Trojan War as a historical event. Returning now to the Trojan War as an example of an 'accident' (*eventum*), we should also note that Lucretius apparently regards historical events—at least this one, at any rate—in epic terms—note the epicizing forms *Tyndaridis* ('of the daughter of Tyndarus', Lucr. 1.473) and *Graiiugenarum* ('of the Greek born men', Lucr. 1.477). Moreover, he may also characterize them as specifically Homeric: the transliteration of the Greek adjective δουράτεος (Lucr. 1.476), which is found only here in Latin, would appear to be taken over from Homer's version of the wooden horse at *Odyssey* 8.493 and 8.512.[12] Given that Lucretius rarely uses Greek vocabulary—the only two examples of transliterated philosophical technical terms in *DRN* are *homoeomeria* (Lucr. 1.830) and *harmonia* (Lucr. 3.131)—this transliteration is striking.[13] As a result, we witness Lucretius making two important gestures. First, he seems to represent the Trojan War as his paradigmatic example of a historical event by singling it out for discussion and even citing epic poetry about the war as a historical source. This suggests that for Lucretius epic may be inherently historiographical and that

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11 On this aspect of *DRN* 5, see Kenney 1972 and Schiesaro 1990, 140–168.

12 The connection is drawn in the Aldine edition of Avancius in 1500. Given that the connection does not appear in Calepino's *Cornucopia* of 1502 which basically served as a collation of the entire lexicographical tradition up to that point, it would seem that Avancius was the first to draw this connection. Before Avancius, it may be that Pontanus or Marullus made the observation; these, at least, would be the most likely candidates since they were the most prominent humanist scholars who wrote on Lucretius before the *editio princeps* in 1473. I cannot say anything definitive about Pontanus, however, because I have not been able to look at his emendations. Regarding Marullus, no one has seen his emendations with complete certainty, most of the readings attributed to him having been done so by Lachmann. Many recent scholars (e.g., Reeve 1980, 44–46; Deufert 1999; Baier 2008; and Brown 2010, 116–117, 120–122; but cf. *contra* Flores 2002, 33), however, argue that they have detected Marullus' hand in certain manuscripts, and, on the basis of Baier 2008, who has provided the fullest account to date of Marullus' working habits, it would be surprising if Marullus located specific textual references to Homer or if the nature of his emendations were overly philological.

13 Sedley 1998, 48–51 discusses Lucretius' use of Greek terminology, concluding that the point is always to highlight the strangeness of what is so described.

epic's most useful explanatory power for Lucretian philosophy may have to do with its status as a historical genre.[14] But secondly, and perhaps paradoxically, Lucretius adduces this historical example with the main purpose of illustrating his ontological contention that 'history'—which in this connection is perhaps better called 'the past'—does not actually exist. This does not mean that the codification of 'the past' in epic poetry has no existence for Lucretius, but he certainly calls into question with this exposition any value that epic *qua* historiography may have, at least as historiography is traditionally conceived of and written (e.g., *res gestae* or *de viris illustribus*). It may be, on the other hand, that throughout the extent of *DRN* 5 Lucretius shows us that *natural* historiography does indeed have great value for us and that to this end Lucretius subverts the aims and values of traditional historiographical writing.

3 Lucretius and Ennian Historiography: The Second Punic War

Given the fact that Lucretius complicates traditional epic historiography in the ways we have explored so far, it would not seem to be an accident that the Roman poet who influenced Lucretius perhaps most profoundly—both in terms of form and content—wrote a historical epic. Indeed, Ennius' *Annales* represents the perfect model for the type of epic Lucretius appears to be characterizing in the lines from *DRN* 5 above. Moreover, though historical *exempla* and digressions are uncommon in the *DRN*, almost every such occurrence is taken over from Ennius' *Annales*.[15] That we can establish this point is remark-

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14 On the topic of possible generic mixing in this regard, we should also note that Lucretius represents the Trojan War as having been caused by Paris' lust, much as the elegists were later to do, but also as Herodotus did by implication (Hdt. 1.3–4; cf. 2.112–114), even if there is no indication that Lucretius has Herodotus specifically in mind here.

15 This does not mean that Ennius is the only lens through which history can be seen in *DRN*. The major exception to this rule of course is Lucretius' narrative of the Athenian plague (Lucr. 6.1138–1286). It is obvious that Lucretius' source in this passage must be Thucydides' account at 2.47–52 (see especially Lück 1932, 175–190; Bailey 1947, 1723–1744; Commager 1957 and Stoddard 1996; on the plague and its relationship to the rest of the *DRN*, see Bright 1971; Müller 1978; Clay 1983, 262–266; Jope 1989, 32–33; Gale 1994, 223–228; Fowler 1997; Penwill 1998 and Stover 1999). It is equally obvious that, unlike what I will suggest below, the Athenian plague is not an episode from Roman history, and there is no reason to believe that Ennius mentioned this event in the *Annales*. I should, therefore, modify my claim: for Lucretius, 'history' appears to be accessed through Ennian historiography until this final scene, in which Lucretius suddenly changes his focus from Roman history

able, given the highly incomplete nature of the *Annales* as we have it. It would hardly overstate the situation to say that the historical record with which Lucretius seems to engage most pointedly is defined in its most important aspects by Ennius (and, as we have seen, Homer). At the same time, however, Lucretius activates such historical material always with one purpose: to show that the traditional commemoration in writing of historical events—which, we remember, have no existence in the present—is (therefore) irrelevant to our existence in the present. Lucretius thus appears constantly to engage intertextually with Ennian historical epic in order to comment, paradoxically, on the lack of value that such epic historiography has for our lives.

The most prominent example of this practice is Lucretius' recycling of the Punic War narrative from Ennius' *Annales*, as evidence that the past has no effect on the present (Lucr. 3.830–842):

> Death, then, is nothing to us nor does it matter a jot, inasmuch as the nature of the soul is held to be mortal. And just as in the time that has passed we felt nothing ill, when the Carthaginians came from all sides to raise a martial conflict, when all things shaken by the trembling tumult of war bristled and shook under the high coasts of the ether, and they were in doubt to which people's kingdoms the lot of all humans had to fall both on land and by sea; in this way, when we will be no more, when there will come a severance of body and soul out of which we are made one, you may know that nothing at all will be able to happen to us, who will not exist at that time, nor arouse our sensation; not even if the earth will be mixed up with the sea and the sea with the sky.

> *Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum,*
> *quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habetur.*
> *et velut anteacto nil tempore sensimus aegri,*
> *ad confligendum venientibus undique Poenis,*
> *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu*
> *horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris*

---

to Greek and from Ennius to Thucydides. I would point out that this approach to the historiographical record highlights the peculiar aspect of the finale to *DRN*, a finale which in all other respects is almost universally recognized as peculiar. Regarded in terms of Lucretius' allusions to other literary accounts of history, then, the apparently singular use of Thucydides in the conclusion to *DRN* would comport well with how the plague passage as a whole has been analyzed in the scholarly literature.

in dubioque fuere utrorum ad regna cadendum
omnibus humanis esset terraque marique,
sic, ubi non erimus, cum corporis atque animai
discidium fuerit quibus e sumus uniter apti,
scilicet haud nobis quicquam, qui non erimus tum,
accidere omnino poterit sensumque movere,
non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo.

It is generally agreed that Lucretius is following Ennius' account of the Punic Wars in this passage. Bailey and Kenney both believe that Lucretius' verses *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu / horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris* (3.834–835) recall *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu* ('Africa, a quaking land, trembled with the terrible tumult', *Ann.* 309 Sk.), which comes from Ennius' Punic War narrative. Kenney further notes the similarity between *DRN* 3.832–842 and Livy 29.17.6 and conjectures that the correspondence is due to the use of a common source, namely, Ennius.[16] These parallels are both attractive and tantalizing, especially since so little of Ennius' Punic War narrative survives: the possibility exists that if we had more of it, we would see Lucretius alluding to it even more extensively.

But even as things stand, we can go further. Why does Lucretius single out the Second Punic War in particular as a past event that is of no concern to us? The commentators have offered different suggestions. Bailey stresses the importance of pre-existence as well as survival in the arguments in antiquity for immortality, noting in particular that the Punic Wars were viewed as the greatest conflict that Rome ever faced.[17] The point, then, is that Lucretius makes an *a fortiori* argument here: if the most chaotic event in all of Roman history does not leave its mark on our souls, surely nothing can. This argument is hammered home at the end of the *exemplum* where Lucretius imagines the end of the world brought about by cosmic upheaval (Lucr. 3.838–842). Kenney, on the other hand, focuses on the poetic possibilities that this example offers Lucretius, suggesting that here Lucretius imitates, or even parodies, the high epic style. For Kenney, such irony provides evidence of the influence of the diatribe on this section.[18] If Lucretius were adopting the high epic style to bolster his argument here, as Kenney suggests, this would not be an isolated occurrence. As we saw above Lucretius appropriates epic elements

16 Bailey 1947 ad loc. and Kenney 1971 ad loc.
17 Bailey 1947, 1134–1135.
18 Kenney 1971, 193.

while making a similar argument earlier in his poem (Lucr. 1.462–482). There Lucretius adduces the example of the Trojan War, presented in an epicizing style and loaded with allusions to Homer, to make the point that time does not actually exist.[19] Here, in a similar vein, Lucretius presents the Second Punic War in the high epic style and infuses his own account of the conflict with Ennianisms as part of an argument that the past does not affect the present.

4 The Value of Historical *exempla*

Similarly, later in *DRN* 3, Lucretius produces the examples of prominent historical personalities to illustrate the truth that even the best men must die (Lucr. 3.1024–1052). The three properly historical *exempla* whom he names—later Lucretius adds lists of poets and philosophers—are Ancus Martius, Scipio and Xerxes. Remarkably, all three figures are introduced through intertexts from the *Annales*. For instance, Lucretius quotes Ennius' assessment of Ancus Martius to begin this section:

> Even good Ancus lost the lights from his eyes.
>
> *lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit.*
>
> Lucr. 3.1025

> After good Ancus lost the lights from his eyes.
>
> *postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit.*
>
> Enn. *Ann.* 137 Sk.

Similarly, Lucretius alludes to Ennius' Scipio:

> The son of the Scipios, thunderbolt of war, terror of Carthage, gave his bones to the earth just as though he had been the lowliest house-slave.

19 As I discussed above the most prominent among the epic elements of this passage is the transliteration of the adjective *durateus*, not technically a Latin adjective, but taken over from Homer's version of the wooden horse at *Od.* 8.493 and 8.512. Similarly we notice the proliferation of epic forms of proper nouns (*Tyndaridem*, Lucr. 1.464—cf. Lucr. 1.473; *Troiiugenas*, Lucr. 1.465; *Graiiugenarum*, Lucr. 1.476). It is also suggestive that this passage is introduced with *dicunt* (Lucr. 1.465), which can be read as an example of the so-called Alexandrian footnote.

Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror,
ossa dedit terrae proinde ac famul infimus esset.

Lucr. 3.1034–1035

Fortune of a sudden brings it about that the loftiest mortal removed from the loftiest seat of regal power becomes the best house-slave.

mortalem summum Fortuna repente
reddidit †summo regno famul †ut †optimus esset.

Enn. *Ann.* 312–313 Sk.

This Ennian fragment has been convincingly restored to Hannibal's address to Scipio before the Battle of Zama.[20] Its connection to the Lucretian passage would seem to be clinched by the form *famul*, the only occurrence of this nominative form—and perhaps in the same metrical *sedes*—in Latin letters aside from the Ennian fragment voiced by Hannibal.[21] We may note too that the phrase *Carthaginis horror*, 'the terror of Carthage', picks up the use of Ennius' Punic War narrative earlier (Lucr. 3.834–835), where commentators have suggested that Lucretius alludes directly to a passage in which Ennius describes the beginning of the Battle of Zama.[22] Equally pertinent, Lucretius' description of Xerxes alludes to Ennius' own description of Xerxes at the beginning of *Annales* 13 (Lucr. 3.1029–1033; *Ann.* 369–370 Sk.).[23]

Not only does this further suggest that Lucretius reads history through an Ennian lens, but here again Lucretius deflates the importance that Ennian

20 Initially by Hug 1852, 30, but taken further by Skutsch 1985, 489–493, who compares Livy 30.30 and Polyb. 15.6.8. Skutsch's discussion seems to have put arguments against this context out of court. It may be, though, that the fragment is voiced by Scipio regarding the fate of Syphax (cf. Kvičala 1906, 116). Support for this claim comes from the parallel passage at Sil. *Pun.* 17.143–145.

21 It seems possible that *famul* is the genuine nominative, developed from *famulos* by regular syncope, and replaced at a later point by *famulus* (the first appearance of this form is at Hor. *Ars P.* 239). The *sedes* of the noun is complicated by the presence of *ut*. Skutsch 1985, 491 notes that *ut* could be either omitted or transposed to precede *famul*. In either case, *famul* would share its metrical *sedes* with the Lucretian line. That the Lucretian use of this Ennian fragment has proved central to many analyses of its provenance in the *Annales* should encourage a restoration of *famul* in Ennius to the same *sedes* as in Lucretius.

22 Skutsch 1985, 486–487.

23 Skutsch 1985, 536–537.

historiography attaches to historical events: the most prominent historical protagonists died, despite their renown; they have value for us, then, only insofar as they are just three of the countless people who have died, exactly as we must. This would seem to stand in direct opposition to Ennius' focus on memorializing the deeds of men and on the positive value of such *exempla* as seen, e.g., in 'the Roman state is founded on its ancient morals and its men' (*moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*, *Ann.* 156 Sk.).[24] Obviously there is a tension that Lucretius by writing about the past, albeit rather indirectly, helps it to survive. The fact that *exempla* keep their power as *loci communes* in many different contexts, while remaining susceptible of many different readings, proves advantageous for Lucretius, who is able to redirect these Ennian *exempla* to his own Epicurean ends, while also implying that Ennius has read them incorrectly.[25] As a result, Lucretius rejects the traditional Roman fetishization of historical *exempla* and does so with reference to its most prominent poetic expression in Ennius' *Annales*. He does this, moreover, in order to prove his anti-Ennian contention that traditional historiography has no value for us.

Shortly after this passage, Epicurus himself is adduced in exactly the same context. While Lucretius certainly would not deny that Epicurus' discoveries have no value for us, it would seem, in this passage at least, that the man himself *qua* human being does not offer us any value except to illustrate the certainty of death. Of course later in *DRN* 5, Lucretius will call Epicurus a 'god' (*deus*, Lucr. 5.8) because of his discoveries. When it comes to Epicurus, therefore, Lucretius is clearly comfortable with philosophical ambiguity. Perhaps we would do better to conceptualize Lucretius' Epicurus as the ultimate, Epicurean, *exemplum*, on the one hand superseding traditional (Ennian) historical *exempla*, on the other, taking on the polysemantic function that these *exempla* traditionally perform, even to the point of violating Epicurean doctrine.

24 Of course this Ennian line, taken from the speech of the elder T. Manlius Torquatus as he hands his son over to the lictor for execution, might ring a bit ironic in its Ennian context. However, we should remember that the author of the *Hist. Aug.* who quotes this line from a letter written by Marcus Aurelius (*Avid. Cass.* 5.7) characterizes the verse as *omnibus frequentatum*, 'repeated by everyone'. This characterization would seem to imply that Ennius was particularly known for this line, which fact in turn would suggest that Ennius was widely considered as a poet who voiced such statements.

25 On the effect different narratological contexts have on *exempla*, see in this volume, regarding Odysseus, Ajax and Athena, Murnaghan (ch. 8, 211–214).

5 History vs. Psychology

Elsewhere in *DRN*, Lucretius appropriates Ennius' *Annales* to make a similar point about the commemoration of historical events. As one of Lucretius' arguments for the mortality of the soul, he suggests that since the soul can be divided with the limbs of the body, it must be mortal, because whatever is immortal must be indivisible. As an illustration that parts of the soul can be separated from it just as parts of the body can be separated from the body, Lucretius adduces the bizarre example of limbs lopped off in battle that nevertheless continue to move. This phenomenon proves that the soul still lives and functions in the amputated limbs (Lucr. 3.642–656):

> They tell how often scythe-bearing chariots hot from the confusion of slaughter so suddenly hack off limbs that the part which falls lopped off from the limbs is seen to twitch on the ground, while the mind and strength of the man nevertheless is unable to feel pain because of the swiftness of the stroke; and at the same time because his mind has been surrendered in his zeal for the fight, with the rest of his body he makes for the fight and the slaughter and often he does not reckon that his left arm has been lost along with his shield and that the wheels have carried it away amongst the horses and ravaging scythes; and another does not realize that his right arm has fallen off, when he climbs and presses onward. Then another tries to rise when his leg has been lost while nearby him on the ground the dying foot twitches its toes. And the head lopped off from a warm and living trunk preserves on the ground the look of life and the gaping eyes, until it has given up all the vestiges of the soul.

> *falciferos memorant currus abscidere membra*
> *saepe ita de subito permixta caede calentis,*
> *ut tremere in terra videatur ab artubus id quod*
> *decidit abscisum, cum mens tamen atque hominis vis*
> *mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem;*
> *et simul in pugnae studio quod dedita mens est,*
> *corpore relicuo pugnam caedesque petessit,*
> *nec tenet amissam laevam cum tegmine saepe*
> *inter equos abstraxe rotas falcesque rapaces,*
> *nec cecidisse alius dextram, cum scandit et instat.*
> *inde alius conatur adempto surgere crure,*
> *cum digitos agitat propter moribundus humi pes.*

et caput abscisum calido viventeque trunco
servat humi voltum vitalem oculosque patentis,
donec reliquias animai reddidit omnes.

Ennianisms appear to permeate this passage. We should first of all mark that this whole description of the havoc wreaked by the scythe-bearing chariots may be introduced by an Alexandrian footnote, 'they tell' (*memorant*, 3.642), a fact to which Kenney draws our attention in his commentary.[26] In this regard, it is suggestive that commentators have pointed out a specific allusion to Ennius in Lucretius' verses 3.654–655:

> And the head lopped off from a warm and living trunk preserves on the ground the look of life and the gaping eyes
>
> *et caput abscisum calido viventeque trunco*
> *servat humi voltum vitalem oculosque patentis.*
>
> Lucr. 3.654–655
>
> The head gapes open-mouthed in the fields torn from the neck and the eyes, half-alive, flash and seek the light of day.
>
> *Oscitat in campis caput a cervice revolsum*
> *semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt.*
>
> Enn. *Ann.* 483–484 Sk.

This similarity convinced Otto Skutsch that this Lucretian passage was 'clearly based on Ennius'.[27] In drawing this conclusion, Skutsch followed scholars such as Heinze, who on the basis of this allusion posited additional Ennian influence elsewhere in the Lucretian passage, specifically suggesting that the phrases *permixta caede calentes* (Lucr. 3.643), *pugnam caedesque petessit* (Lucr. 3.648) and *scandit et instat* (Lucr. 3.651) may be derived from Ennius.[28] Similarly, Skutsch proposes that the Lucretian detail of the arm being cut off together with its shield was mentioned by Ennius.[29] In addition to these unproven possibilities,

26 Kenney 1971, 164.
27 Skutsch 1985, 645.
28 Skutsch 1985, 645 and Heinze 1897, 141; Kenney 1971, 164 similarly suggests that Lucretius is drawing on Ennius here.
29 Skutsch 1985, 646.

we can note a potentially Ennian formation in the adjective *falciferos*, 'scythe-bearing' (instead of the usual *falcatus*).[30] Moreover, this passage is filled with Ennian verse-final monosyllables (*quod*, 644; *vis*, 645; *est*, 647; *pes*, 653) and insistent sibilance (*inter equos abstraxe rotas falcesque rapaces / nec cecidisse alius dextram, cum scandit et instat*, 650–651).[31] On the basis of such evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that Lucretius alludes fairly extensively to Ennius throughout this passage.[32]

So then, what would be the purpose of such extended allusion to Ennius' *Annales* at this point? The Ennian fragment to which scholars have argued Lucretius specifically alludes (*Ann.* 483–484 Sk.) is not assigned by Servius to any specific poem, let alone to any specific book of the *Annales*.[33] Beginning with Merula, however, most editors have considered this fragment as belonging to Ennius' epic.[34] Even still, the fragment is usually included with those *sedis incertae*, without any discussion of what or whom they may be referring to.[35] The arguments of Friedrich, however, have ultimately given rise to a general consensus that these lines come from Ennius' account of the Battle of Magnesia in *Annales* 14.[36] Moreover, given that all other historical accounts regard the use of scythed chariots in this battle by Antiochus the Great as quite ineffectual, the emphasis we see in this passage on the sensational lopping off of limbs

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30 Lucretius adopts a similarly formed adjective *frugiferentis*, 'fruit-bearing' (Lucr. 1.3) from Ennius' *frugiferai* (*Ann.* 510 Sk.). Skutsch 1985, 605–606 shows that such formulations with an adjective in the first part of *-fer* or *-ger* compounds are uncommon in archaic Latin.

31 In this passage four such lines occur in the span of fifteen lines (26.67 %) far exceeding the frequency of such lines in *DRN* 3 (8.68 %) and in the poem as a whole (5.83 %). Merrill 1892, ix–x applied stringent criteria to the use of alliteration in *DRN*, concluding that approximately 1,783 of the 7,349 verses of the poem exhibit alliteration, roughly 22 % of the poem as a whole. More productive for our purposes, however, is Bailey 1947, 148–150, who shows that Ennius' particular penchant was the insistent alliteration of a single letter, exactly like the alliteration of 's' in this Lucretian passage. On the productive poetic aspects of Lucretian alliteration, see Hendren 2012.

32 We may also note in passing that immediately before this section, Lucretius dismisses the 'earlier generations of writers' (*scriptorum saecla priora*, Lucr. 3.629) who imagine souls wandering around the Underworld endowed with all five senses. Given the programmatic rejection of Ennian literary metempsychosis in *DRN*, it is tempting to read this specifically as a dismissal of Ennius' Dream of Homer. If we are correct in seeing an allusion to Ennius here, then we have further evidence for an Ennian context in this section of *DRN*.

33 Serv. *Aen.* 10.396.

34 Assigned to *Annales* 2 by Merula 1595, xi.

35 Representative is Vahlen 1903, 85.

36 Friedrich 1948, 297–299. See Skutsch 1985, 644–647 for further bibliography.

and heads appears to be a specifically Ennian innovation.[37] And it seems to have been influential on later poets. For example, we know from Servius, who provides us with these Ennian lines, that Vergil adapted them at *Aeneid* 10.384–386; he also tells us that Varro Atacinus borrowed *Ann.* 483 Sk. as it stood.[38] It seems very likely, therefore, that Merula, Friedrich and Skutsch are correct and that Ennius, against the authority of those historians who had narrated the Battle of Magnesia in prose, exploited the possibility it offered him to include a sensational battle scene in his epic, and that the resulting scene worked its influence on later poets. Lucretius however seems to have reacted to it differently from the way in which Varro and Vergil would, turning a quite obvious allusion to Ennius' celebrated account of the Battle of Magnesia into a striking proof of the mortality of the soul.

At every point in this passage, however, Lucretius undermines the historical importance of Magnesia, which was perhaps the most decisive blow to Antiochus' ambitions, effectively bringing the Seleucid empire to its end and paving the way for Roman hegemony over Greece and Asia Minor.[39] But Lucretius completely elides this aspect. In fact, the only relevance that the Ennian narrative might have for Lucretius is that it provides him with a proof that the soul is mortal. Lucretius, therefore, would appear once again to read history through an Ennian lens, only to reject in the end any value attached by Ennius to this historical event in the face of Epicurean psychology.

6 History and Religion: Pyrrhus in Ennius and Lucretius

A final passage that illustrates the revaluation of Ennian historiography in *DRN* comes from the anthropology in *DRN* 5. Discussing the origin of *religio*, 'religious superstition', in human history, Lucretius offers examples of misunder-

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37 On the Battle of Magnesia generally, see Livy 37.39–44 and App. *Hist. Rom.* 11.151–189. On the inefficiency of the scythe-bearing chariots, see Livy 37.43.

38 Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 10.396: 'Which verse Varro Atacinus incorporated into his own poem just as it was (in Ennius)' (*quem versum ita ut fuit transtulit ad suum carmen Varro Atacinus*).

39 This, at least, is how the victory of Magnesia has been traditionally viewed. But see Gruen 1984, 636–643 who draws mostly on the primary sources and argues for a Roman understanding of the end of the war as maintaining a limited, rather than crippled, Seleucid power in the East. Even still, if Lucretius is in fact alluding to Ennius' narrative of Magnesia here, he clearly shows no interest in *any* historical importance Magnesia may have had in Ennius. The extent of the importance of Magnesia for Ennius is impossible to determine, absent further evidence.

stood phenomena that humans often impute to hostile divinities. Included in this list is the admiral who prays to the gods when his fleet is taken by a storm (Lucr. 5.1226–1235):

> Also when the surest strength of the savage wind at sea sweeps the commander of a fleet over the waters equally along with his strong legions and elephants, does he not seek the peace of the gods with vows and in fear ask through prayer for calm from the winds and favorable breezes? All in vain, since often caught up in a fierce hurricane he is borne nevertheless to the shoals of death. To such an extent does some inscrutable force overwhelm human affairs and it is seen to tread underfoot and make sport for itself of the magnificent rods and fierce axes.
>
> *summa etiam cum vis violenti per mare venti*
> *induperatorem classis super aequora verrit*
> *cum validis pariter legionibus atque elephantis,*
> *non divom pacem votis adit ac prece quaesit*
> *ventorum pavidus paces animasque secundas?*
> *nequiquam, quoniam violento turbine saepe*
> *correptus nihilo fertur minus ad vada leti.*
> *usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quaedam*
> *opterit et pulchros fascis saevasque secures*
> *proculcare ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.*

Once again the example used to illustrate Lucretius' main point is significantly over-determined. It does not deal with a generic sea captain, but one whose fleet carries *elephants* over the sea (Lucr. 5.1228). Picking up on this detail, most commentators have suggested that Lucretius alludes here to Pyrrhus of Epirus, the general who most famously sailed to Italy carrying elephants.[40] Monica Gale has quite logically suggested that Lucretius specifically follows Ennius' account of the Italian campaign of Pyrrhus.[41] The narrative of this campaign occupied a prominent position in Ennius' *Annales*, taking up all of book 6, the first book in the middle pentad of the original fifteen-book edition of the poem.[42] And as Elaine Fantham reminds us, for Romans who did not

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40 See, e.g., Bailey 1947, 1519 who, as far as I can tell, was the first to make this suggestion.

41 Gale 2009, 201, who was anticipated by Grimal 1963, 94–95.

42 Or conversely, the final book of the first hexad of the final eighteen-book edition of the poem, i.e., the teleological culmination of the early history of Rome before the Punic Wars

have access to the Greek accounts of Hieronymus of Cardia, Timaeus or Fabius Pictor, Ennius' version of Pyrrhus' campaign would have been the earliest and fullest narrative available.[43]

It is also the case that allusions to *Annales* 6—and to Ennius' Pyrrhus—appear to be frequent elsewhere in *DRN*. Most prominently, perhaps, Lucretius characterizes Epicurus in *DRN* with language that resembles Ennius' description of Pyrrhus in the *Annales*.[44] Introducing his philosophical hero into his poem, Lucretius refers to Epicurus as a 'Greek man' (*Graius homo*, Lucr. 1.66), a phrase that was used by Ennius to describe Pyrrhus (*Ann.* 165 Sk.). Additionally, Lucretius begins *DRN* 5, a proem that extols Epicurus' gifts to humanity, with a line that closely resembles the opening of *Annales* 6 and that expresses the difficulty of doing justice to the war with Pyrrhus:

> Who with mighty mind is able to write a worthy song …
>
> *Quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen*
> *condere …*
>
> Lucr. 5.1–2
>
> Who is able to unfold the huge contours of the war?
>
> *Quis potis ingentis oras evolvere belli.*
>
> Enn. *Ann.* 164 Sk.

Lucretius' substitution of Epicurus for Ennius' Pyrrhus can be read as another facet in Lucretius' broader revaluation of Ennian historiography, albeit on a much larger narratological scale than what we have explored so far. Ennian historiography, as I have suggested above, gives way, in the hands of Lucretius, to natural historiography. As a result, the importance of the latter's protago-

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which were narrated beginning in *Ann.* 7. In both cases *Ann.* 6 held a prominent position. Cf. Skutsch 1985, 5–6, 328–329 and Farrell 2008, 121–123. We are fortunate also to have discovered new fragments that belong to *Ann.* 6, on which see Kleve 1990, Suerbaum 1995 and Fantham 2006.

43 Fantham 2006, 567.

44 Scholars have frequently noted the way in which Lucretius characterizes Epicurus as an epic hero, often highlighting the connection to Ennius' Pyrrhus in particular. Cf. Murley 1947, 342–343; West 1969, 57–60; Schrijvers 1970, 256; Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1980; Salemme 1980, 18–20; Hardie 1986, 194–195; Mayer 1990, 39; Conte 1994, 1–3; Gale 1994, 118 and 2000, 235–236; and Piazzi 2008, 105–109. Volk 2002, 70 is not convinced.

nist, Epicurus, supersedes that of the former's, Pyrrhus. We are primed for this development with the first appearance of Epicurus in *DRN* as a *Graius homo* in the mold of Pyrrhus, and the opening of *DRN* 5 may serve as an acknowledgment that in this book Lucretius offers Epicurean natural historiography as an alternative to Ennian epic historiography.[45]

At the same time, Ennius' narrative of the war against Pyrrhus appears to have been influential on later poets.[46] Obviously, one should not discount the possibility that Ennius' influence was at least in some cases filtered through Lucretius' reception of the Ennian Pyrrhus in *DRN*.[47] It is suggestive once again that in the Lucretian passage under discussion, apparent Ennianisms abound. For instance, we notice the noun 'commander' (*induperatorem*, Lucr. 5.1227), an archaism that Ennius used in place of the metrically intractable *īmpĕrātor*.[48]

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45 On the epic narratological aspects of *DRN* 5, see Gale 2004.

46 In general, see Fantham 2006 for the influence of *Ann.* 6 on Vergil especially. We may note that the discovery of a papyrus that contains *Ann.* 6 in Herculaneum has definitively shown that Ennius' version of the many-mouths topos (469–470 Sk.)—a passage particularly influential on later poets (see Hinds 1998, 34–47)—appeared in his narrative of the Pyrrhic War; on which see Kleve 1990 and Suerbaum 1995.

47 For example, we have seen that Lucretius opens *DRN* 5 with an allusion to what was probably the first line of *Ann.* 6. Whereas Ennius then presumably went on to describe the martial exploits of Pyrrhus in the high epic style throughout *Ann.* 6, Lucretius contrasts such traditional epic exploits (represented most of all by the labors of Hercules) with the civilizing philosophy of Epicurus who used 'words, not weapons' (*dictis*, *non armis*, Lucr. 5.50) 'to reveal the whole nature of things' (*omnem rerum naturam pandere*, Lucr. 5.54). Throughout this section Lucretius focuses on the light Epicurus shed on the darkness in human civilization, e.g., 'he gave a foundation to life from such immense shadows with so bright a light' (*vitam tantisque tenebris / in … tam clara luce locavit*, Lucr. 5.11–12). In short, Lucretius would seem to hold up his own Epicurus as an alternative to Ennius' Pyrrhus. It may be that later, Vergil alludes to this very aspect of this Lucretian allusion, when he himself appropriates the same Ennian line in the *Aeneid*, asking the Muse to help him as he narrates Turnus' *aristeia*: 'and unfold with me the huge contours of the war' (*et mecum ingentis oras evolvite belli*, *Aen.* 9.529). While Lucretius called traditional martial epic exploits into question with his allusion to Ennius' Pyrrhus, Vergil seems to reassert what was in Ennius. Moreover, he does so, with reference to Lucretius' Epicurus, who, according to Lucretius, sheds light on human suffering. The main event of the *aristeia* introduced by Vergil with this allusion takes place when Turnus hurls a torch into the Trojans' camp (*Aen.* 9.530–589). Whereas Lucretius' Epicurus uses the light of philosophy to expound *rerum natura*, Vergil's Turnus uses the light of a torch to wage epic battle. This all suggests that Vergil may be looking back to Ennius' Pyrrhus through the window reference of Lucretius' Epicurus.

48 Skutsch 1985, 227–228.

The insistent alliteration found throughout the passage (*vis violenti … venti … super aequora verrit*, Lucr. 5.1226–1227; *pacem … prece … pavidus paces*, Lucr. 5.1229–1230) is also consistent with Ennian practice.[49]

The broader context of this Lucretian allusion to Pyrrhus may also point to Ennius' narrative from *Annales* 6 in particular. The main purpose of the Lucretian passage (Lucr. 5.1194–1240) is to lament the human susceptibility towards religious superstition. This susceptibility stems from our ignorance of what really causes natural phenomena. Traditional religious observance, Lucretius insists, is no piety; instead, piety consists in the contemplation of the universe with an untroubled mind. But it is precisely our inability to confront calmly the more mysterious natural phenomena—the ordered progression of the heavenly bodies, lightning and thunder, violent storms, earthquakes and so forth—that perpetuates traditional religious attitudes and practices.

With this broader context in mind, when we come to Lucretius' *induperator*, we should remember that the additions Ennius made to the story of Pyrrhus were predominantly in the realm of religion. First of all, Ennius begins his Pyrrhus narrative with an episode in which Pyrrhus receives an ambiguous oracle—much like the one that Herodotus' Croesus received—from Delphi (*Ann.* 167 Sk.):

> I declare, son of Aeacus, that you the Romans can defeat.
>
> *aio te Aiacida Romanos vincere posse.*

Cicero, who quotes this fragment, includes it specifically in order to reject the historicity of this prophecy in Ennius on the grounds that '[it] is absent in' all of 'the Greek sources' about Pyrrhus (*ista sors inaudita Graecis est*, *Div.* 2.116). This prophecy, then, may even have been an Ennian innovation.[50]

Ennius similarly introduces a new religious element to the traditional story by having Pyrrhus dedicate an epigram to the Temple of Jupiter in Tarentum after the battle of Heraclea (*Ann.* 180–182 Sk.):

> Best father of Olympus, those men who had never yet been defeated, I defeated these by force in the fight, but I was defeated by them.

49 On Ennius' penchant for alliterating with a single letter see n. 31 above.

50 Skutsch 1985, 333–334; Fantham 2006, 555.

qui antehac
invicti fuere viri, pater optume Olympi,
hos ego vi pugna vici victusque sum ab isdem.

The attestation of this fragment is notoriously complicated. The story of Pyrrhus' dedication of this epigram comes from Orosius (*Hist.* 4.1.14) and is almost certainly an invention. Editors have generally followed Lautius in attributing this epigram ultimately to Ennius, assuming that Orosius found it in Livy, who on this hypothesis would have quoted it from Ennius.[51] Most importantly for our purposes, however, the ultimate justification for Ennian attribution is the fact that Ennius' narrative of Pyrrhus' campaign is so loaded with poetic fictions. Of course, the argument runs, Ennius is the most likely candidate to have introduced into the Pyrrhus tradition such a patently fictive epigram. Moreover, Fantham has persuasively suggested that the entire story of Pyrrhus' dedication of this epigram in the Temple of Tarentine Jupiter is an Ennian innovation.[52] She bases this suggestion on the inherent unlikelihood that Pyrrhus would have broadcast his own losses in such a public way, as well as on the consideration that the epigram is written in the continuous hexameters of Ennius' *Annales*. If this line of reasoning is correct, then we have yet another example of an Ennian innovation that contributes to the particularly religious characterization of Pyrrhus.

Before I return to Lucretius, I want to note one final religious innovation in Ennius' Pyrrhus-narrative. As part of the description of the Battle of Ausculum, Ennius famously includes the *devotio* of the youngest of the three Decii Mures (*Ann.* 191–193 Sk.):

> O Gods, listen a moment to this, how I deliberately with foresight deliver my soul from my body, by fighting on behalf of the Roman people in arms.

Divi hoc audite parumper:
ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis
certando prudens animam de corpore mitto.

Nonius 150.5 definitely ascribes this fragment to *Annales* 6, so we know that this must be the third Decius speaking. The problem, of course, is that the

51 Lautius' suggestion was published in Cholinus' Mainz edition of Orosius in 1615. For a much more detailed history of the problem, see Skutsch 1985, 344–346.

52 Fantham 2006, 566.

Romans *lost* this battle, even if Pyrrhus' army suffered heavy losses. Skutsch suggests on the basis of the very uncertain historical facts surrounding this *devotio*, therefore, that a *devotio* did indeed take place, but that it failed and the third Decius Mus remained alive.[53] The only evidence for a successful *devotio* before the Battle of Ausculum is Cicero (*Fin.* 2.61; cf. *Tusc.* 1.89). But scholars have long assumed that Cicero follows Ennius himself on this point, given the general similarities in their treatments.[54] Once again, therefore, we seem to have Ennius introducing into his Pyrrhus-narrative a religious element that contradicts all of the other independent historical records.

I suggested above how inviting it is to connect what Lucretius says at *DRN* 5.1228 to Ennius' Pyrrhus. Bearing in mind the evidence I have just adduced regarding Ennius' explicit religious innovations in the Pyrrhus' story, I am now in a position to extend my earlier suggestion by observing that aspects of Lucretius' arguments against religious superstition consistently resemble passages in *Annales* 6 that focus on this characteristic of Ennius' Pyrrhus. The *induperator* who confronts the squall with his elephants serves Lucretius as an *exemplum* of profound, if misguided, religiosity. The general prays to the gods to deliver him from the storm, exhibiting the very sort of traditional religious behavior that Ennius had innovatively attached to his Pyrrhus. Of course, Lucretius' point is that such petitionary prayer is fruitless precisely because it is founded on incorrect theology. Once again, therefore, we witness Lucretius alluding to Ennius, only to question the value of Ennian historiography, this time on explicitly religious and philosophical grounds.

7 Conclusion

My point of departure was Lucretius' careful positioning of himself with respect to the poetic past and the concomitant generic complications that attend this self-positioning. There we saw that the primary characteristic of the tradition that Lucretius constructed for himself was the exposition of *rerum natura*, even when *rerum natura* was not the most obvious point of contact between, e.g., Ennius and Homer. We have also seen that Lucretius frequently discusses history as it was represented in epic. In fact, Lucretius may be seen to characterize epic as (among other things) a kind of historiography. In this regard, Ennius provided Lucretius with an important lens through which to view history, his

53 Skutsch 1985, 354.

54 On this point see Skutsch 1985, 353–354.

Annales being simultaneously epic and historiographical. I have argued that Lucretius views history by and large as Ennian history. As a result of my exploration of Lucretius' engagement with Ennian historiography, I want to suggest that one major reason why Lucretius revises Ennius' historical worldview is to underscore the idea that implicit in Ennian historical epic *is* poetry *de rerum natura*, although it may be subservient to—or muted by—other poetic concerns. Lucretius' revaluation of Ennian epic historiography can therefore be seen not just as a rejection of the value traditionally ascribed (especially by Ennius) to historical events and *exempla*, but also paradoxically as part of his systematic attempt to align himself with Ennius as a poet who writes 'on the nature of things'. Part of this alignment involves the deconstruction of certain Ennian themes and values: we have seen Lucretius consistently re-appropriate Ennian historical material to make his own Epicurean arguments, most of which run counter to the ideas and claims implicit in the original Ennian context.[55]

In contrast to a traditional view of Lucretius' response to Ennius that would maintain that Lucretius is happy to be considered an Ennian poet as long as he is not considered a proponent of Ennius' Pythagoreanism, I have suggested that Lucretius also rejected Ennius' conception of the past. If I am right, then Lucretius' rejection of Ennian content extends beyond what has been traditionally recognized. In effect, this all raises bigger questions than we can consider here. Rather than viewing Lucretius as an Ennian poet, except only for Ennius' Pythagorean beliefs, we have to say that Lucretius is explicitly rejecting Ennian subject matter as part and parcel of an Epicurean rejection of the value ascribed to the past in traditional historiography. If for Lucretius history is a function of intertextuality, as I have suggested here, we should then pursue the idea that Lucretius' revaluation of historiography extends into a revaluation of *literary* history and the means by which it is articulated.[56] Lucretius' novel construction of a poetic tradition *de rerum natura* could also serve as the starting point for just such a discussion.[57]

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55 Articulated in this way, the nature of Lucretius' engagement with Ennian historiography reflects his general approach to earlier mythological poetry as outlined by Gale 1994.

56 On valuing antiquity through the lens of literary history and the construction of literary tradition, see in this volume Kim (ch. 14), de Jonge (ch. 15) and de Vos (ch. 16).

57 Unfortunately, I was only able to consult Jackie Elliot's new book on Ennius (Elliot 2013) at the ultimate stage of preparing this chapter for the current volume. As a result, her work is glaringly absent from the body and notes of my essay. I can offer here, however, some general reflections on how her arguments interact with my own. On the one hand, Elliot provides a welcome note of caution against connecting our fragments of the *Annales*

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to particular historical episodes without definitive ancient authority (chs. 1–3). I have attempted to focus on Lucretian allusions to Ennian *loci* that describe historical events and personalities that are as securely identifiable as possible. The Battle of Magnesia is the most prominent exception to this focus, although, as I document in the body of this chapter, there is a general consensus these days that the lines in question do, in fact, refer to Antiochus' chariots. On the other hand, Elliot makes the powerful claim that one of Ennius' major aims in the *Annales* was to position Rome at the center of the cosmos by constructing Roman history as the culmination of universal history (chs. 4–5). If she is correct (and I think that she is), the Lucretian practice outlined in this chapter of emptying Ennian historiography of significance would be even more flagrant than I have suggested; it may be the case, in fact, that Lucretius' reactionary reception of Ennian historiography provides a window onto (anti-)political resonances of *DRN* that are closed off to us because of the *Annales*' fragmentary state.

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PART 6

Antiquarian Discourses

CHAPTER 18

Valuing the Mediators of Antiquity in the *Noctes Atticae*

Joseph A. Howley

1 Introduction

Aulus Gellius, author of the *Noctes Atticae*, had a fondness for the antique.[1] His collection of nearly 400 essays on antiquities has long been valued by modern readers for its own overt valuing of Roman antiquity. But for all the attention lavished on Gellius' collected antiquities, there has remained much less—until quite recently—spent on another substantial component of the *Noctes*: Gellius' accounts of encountering and collecting those antiquities.[2] For all the superficial charm and comfort of the Gellian fantasy of leisured reading and discourse, the actual act of engaging with antiquity is not only subject to a surprising level of detailed narration, but in that narration is represented as fraught and complicated. This is not the only aspect of his intellectual lifestyle to which he adds a deliberate element of difficulty, but it does reveal how much more complex the idea of 'antiquity' is in the *Noctes* than might first be apparent.[3]

Gellius directs his and his readers' attention to the manifold processes of transmission that link antiquity to the present. And he imagines those links as *mediating* phenomena, indicating the way ideas and words are changed as they are repeated and interpreted. More importantly, he alienates antiquity, representing it as at once ubiquitous and difficult to access in the present. Also ubiquitous are post-antique interpretive aids that promise to elide that challenging distance, but which can easily mislead. And behind the present form of an antiquity may lurk chains of interpretation or transmission that have added to its difficulty. Elsewhere in this volume (ch. 14), Lawrence Kim has provided a comprehensive discussion of the periodization on which systems of 'archaism'

1 For Gellius' relationship with the past, cf. Vessey 1994.

2 The significance of Gellius as narrator of his own research is hinted at in Anderson 2004, 113–117. Gunderson 2009 is the first book-length study to focus on Gellius' depictions of the work that ostensibly produced the *Noctes*.

3 Cf. Johnson 2010.

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depend, including the important role of intervening, 'post-classical' eras. For Gellius, that intervening time is literally one of *intervention*—it is defined not by chronology or stylistics but by its inherent secondariness, its function as a time of transmission but also distortion of the antique past. Gellius does not narrate his readings as a charming veneer on a cabinet of curiosities: he actively represents the challenges of accessing antiquity as part of a systematic concern with representing and complicating intellectual activity. He announces as early as his preface that this is a work meant not to provide amusing baubles, but to stimulate curiosity and active learning.[4] The *Noctes* is about valuing the antique, but even more so is it about valuing those who mediate and communicate antiquity.[5]

In this chapter, I offer a few glimpses of the narrative and rhetorical techniques by which Gellius represents antiquity as *inherently mediated*, and explores the choices every valuer of antiquity makes, knowingly or not, about which mediators he or she will trust to provide reliable access to the antique. Gellius shares with Pausanias an interest in adding, to a tour of antiquities in the present, an aura of uncertainty about their meaning. But he unpacks and analyzes the processes that cause that uncertainty, demonstrating how to navigate and master it. And he relates bravura performances, on his own part, of multimedia engagements with antiquity. The *Noctes* does not seek to replace other mediating texts: functionally and logistically, it cannot substitute for all mediators. What it instead offers is a program for how to be more skilled at critically examining mediators and how to know when they must be replaced or circumvented with one's own interpretation—in short, we might say, it advocates a *media-literate* value system for how one relates to antiquity.

2 The Difficulty of Visiting Another Country

Gellius' 'Attic' nights are stocked with antiquities, apparently united by little other than their nature as antiquities. The effect is not unlike a museum such as

4 E.g., Gell. *NA praef.* 12, 16.

5 Modern scholarship has recently begun to move away from merely 'mining' Gellius for his facts and instead considering himself, his project and his agenda; see most prominently Astarita 1993, Holford-Strevens 2003², Gunderson 2009, Keulen 2009. Gunderson's observations in particular on the *Noctes* as readings-of-readings have been influential to my discussion here. See also the complex analysis of *memoria* in the *Noctes* in Heusch 2011, particularly 52–58 for an explication of the various linguistic media in which Gellius sees memory as being constituted.

the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, or Sir John Soane's Museum in London: a space crammed full of pieces clearly selected according to a unifying aesthetic principle, but not organized in any canonical fashion. But it would be a mistake to take Gellius' values as a compiler as a matter of 'antiquity for antiquity's sake'; he makes a deliberate point of indicting such value systems throughout the work. A museum, in fact, may not be the best metaphor: better would be that of a landscape littered with monuments and relics, such as that Pausanias sees in his *Periêgêsis Hellados*. A brief look at that text, and the way Pausanias casts an aura of uncertainty over the antiquities he surveys, will underscore the persistent, low-level reminders in Gellius' writing of the difficulties of accessing antiquity.

For all that the *Noctes* celebrates the retrieval of old words, it also emphatically cautions against their use in everyday speech: things from the past, Gellius seems to suggest, are inherently alienated from the present, and so when used in the present sound foreign, or worse.[6] One detailed scene, which seems on the one hand to helpfully inform the reader on the archaic words *apluda*, *flocces* and *bovinator*, is staged as an account of how two speakers embarrassed themselves by attempting to use those words in forensic speech. The passage tantalizes the would-be archaist by including the offending words, and shows off Gellius' own archaic mastery by offering citations to show he recognizes the words' archaic credentials.[7] But the most vital point of this essay is stated in its opening lines (*NA* 11.7.1–2):[8]

> It seems to me that to use words that are too obsolete and worn out is just as bad as using ones which offend with a rough and unpleasant novelty. Truly, I believe it is worse and more worthy of censure to use new, unknown and unheard-of words than those which are commonly known and base. But I would say that those words seem to be new which are unused, out of fashion, even if they are 'antique'.
>
> *Verbis uti aut nimis obsoletis exculcatisque aut insolentibus novitatisque durae et inlepidae par esse delictum videtur. Sed molestius equidem cul-*

6 See Vessey 1994, esp. 1873–1876 for the 'paradox of archaism'—that the more moderns try to sound like ancients, the less they actually do, because the ancients did not have to try (which is Favorinus' point in *NA* 1.10)—and its implications for understanding Gellius' attitude toward the past.

7 Cf., e.g., *NA* 11.7.6: *idque aput Caecilium in Polumenis legerat*.

8 For a full accounting of this scene's take on archaism and its relationship to ideas found in Fronto, see Holford-Strevens 2003[2], 222–225 (and 54–56). Cf. also Astarita 1993, 61–65.

> *patiusque esse arbitror verba nova incognita inaudita dicere quam involgata et sordentia. Nova autem videri dico etiam ea quae sunt inusitata et desita, tametsi sunt vetusta.*

The scene that follows emphasizes how such words sound literally foreign to modern ears, and how their use makes their audience laugh at the would-be archaizer.[9] And this scene, at the midpoint (roughly) of the *Noctes*, picks up in Gellius' own voice an idea first advanced in *Noctes* 1.10.[10] There, Favorinus is made to chastise a youth who is 'too fond of old words' (*veterum verborum cupidissimo*, 1.10.1) for using in his everyday speech words which are obscure.[11] Such archaic language would only suit the everyday speech of the archaic Romans themselves; but 'it's like you're talking to Evander's mother, when you use language that has been obsolete for so long,' Favorinus sighs (*tu autem, proinde quasi cum matre Evandri nunc loquare, sermone abhinc multis annis iam desito uteris*, 1.10.2)—that is, the man sounds like a raving sibyl.[12]

In both cases, the speakers' eagerness to use their antique learning in daily speech is a byproduct of their diligent study: the ones who embarrass themselves in *NA* 11.7 are labelled *opsimatheis* as Gellius explains that people who have just learned things are often too eager to share them (*NA* 11.7.3).[13] This point is critical, because the *Noctes* so closely concerns itself with studying old things, and with using what one has learned. Gellius explained in his preface that he began collecting the material in the *Noctes* specifically so that he could use it later (*NA praef.* 2: *facile inde nobis inventu atque depromptu foret*).[14] These

9 The speakers have failed to consider how appropriate the word is to their own contexts. Fronto *Ep. ad M. Caesarem* 4.3.3–6 (LCL I.3) argues for the alternative consideration: how precisely the word captures the meaning. On excessive archaism, see Beall 2004, 218; Holford-Strevens 2003², 123; Holford-Strevens 1983.

10 This sort of repetition is typical, as is the graduation from a favored teacher speaking the message the first time to Gellius speaking in his own voice the second time; compare, e.g., *NA* 1.2 and 19.1 or (structured differently) 5.4, 18.4 and 13.31.

11 Favorinus stands out among Gellius' 'professors' for giving witty voice to principles of Latinity and clear communication. For his charming teaching style, e.g., *NA* 16.3.1 (with a hint of reservation). For his command of Latin, e.g., 3.16.17–19.

12 Evander's mother was either a prophetess or a divinity (Verg. *Aen.* 8.336, Livy 1.7.8), which Favorinus surely knows from visiting her temple; cf. *NA* 18.7.

13 Heusch 2011, 382–385 elaborates on the problem of ostentation in learning.

14 The preface also discusses the effect of Gellian learning on speech, cf. *NA praef.* 16: 'but they [the contents of the *Noctes*] might be of that kind of seed and quality by which men's minds grow more vigorous, their memory grows more well-furnished, their oration grows more skillful, their speech more pure or their pleasure in leisure and relaxation

scenes, then, offer a forceful qualification to Gellius' own program in the *Noctes* by reminding the reader that the antiquities valued by author and reader alike cannot be used without caution.

As we will see below, such observations on the complications of antiquity should be understood to form an important part of the experience of the past in the present as Gellius narrates it. A similar effect is found in Pausanias' *Periêgêsis*:[15] like his contemporary Gellius, Pausanias offers a journey through a landscape of prominent and visible antiquities, many of which can either be associated with prominent historical figures or serve as starting points for relating interesting anecdotes or historical narratives.[16] The visible structure or *objet d'art* is a link to a fact or a trigger for a story from antiquity. But like Gellius, Pausanias is quick to note problematic examples of these links; indeed, it is apparent even in the first book of the *Periêgêsis* that many of the visible links to antiquity one encounters around Athens can only be made sense of, or understood accurately, with the assistance of expert historical inquiry. Often, objects are misnamed or their attendant narratives corrupted by ignorant tradition, while other places have had their names forgotten or are indecipherable for the layman because of the obscurity of the figure or event for which they are named. Pausanias, like Gellius, has long been mined for the antiquities he preserves; but like Gellius, he has in recent decades begun to be examined as a literary author in his own right. A recent study by Johanna Akujärvi exhaustively catalogues and lucidly accounts for the literary effect of Pausanias' instances of authorial insertion—the reports of research and movement that have been either ignored or taken literally by many scholars.[17]

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more gentlemanly' (… *sed eius seminis generisque sint ex quo facile adolescant aut ingenia hominum vegetiora aut memoria adminiculatior aut oratio sollertior aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior*).

15 See Miles (ch. 5, 135–137) in this volume for a thorough exegesis of the role of ruins as symbols of the past in Pausanias' work.

16 Gellius likely completed his work in the latter half of the second century CE, no more than a few decades after Pausanias wrote. Gellius himself offers little recognizably periegetic content, but there is much to be said elsewhere about the Herodotean mode in which the travel that makes up Gellius' educational career is framed as underpinning various intellectual progressions. And as noted in Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2013, seemingly unrelated antiquarian questions are sometimes explored by Gellius and his friends in the shadow of important buildings at Rome.

17 Akujärvi 2005. See especially her chapters 5 and 6, on how the narrator constructs the process of evaluating knowledge and the experience of movement and travel. Also typical of a more constructive and modern approach to such texts is Arafat 2004, 'concerned with

Like Gellius, Pausanias represents to his reader the complications of accessing the valued antique. A brief survey of the first book of the *Periêgêsis* will show the important role that mediation plays as Pausanias complicates and interferes with his historical description of the sights of Athens.

Pausanias describes for his reader a world littered with miscellanea and fragments of antiquity. These sites, often statues or altars, have names and traditions attached to them; but this information is not always reliable. So Pausanias' description of the altars at the harbor at Phalerum shifts slowly from descriptive reportage to skeptical analysis with an offhand comment (Paus. 1.1.4, trans. here and below James):

> There is also an altar of Androgeos, son of Minos, though it is called that of Heros; those, however, who pay special attention to the study of their country's antiquities know that it belongs to Androgeos.
>
> ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἥρωος. Ἀνδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι.

As Pausanias continues on to the Coliad promontory, he notes some local goddesses and offers a declarative association of these with another local cult elsewhere, then easily dismisses the local tradition about the destruction of another temple by dating with expert knowledge its artistic elements (Paus. 1.1.5). In the space of a few moments, Pausanias has deconstructed and negated the usefulness of these objects as sources of antique knowledge in their own right: his reader sees that local traditions ignorantly misidentify and misdate, and that local cult may be understood by a well-informed observer to relate to a larger religious phenomenon.

The contrast between local knowledge and scholarly expertise is also tinged with political undertones as Pausanias describes the Royal Portico (Paus. 1.3). He observes statues of Zeus Eleutherios and 'Emperor Hadrian, a benefactor to all his subjects and especially to the city of the Athenians'. A wall behind these shows the Twelve, and the wall opposite Zeus and the emperor shows Theseus, Democracy and Demos; this prompts Pausanias to a digression on how this popular identification of Theseus with the origins of Athenian political freedom is a typical vulgar error: in scarcely more than a breath, Pausanias mentions the Zeus of Freedom, Hadrian the great benefactor of Athens, the

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[Pausanias'] attitudes rather than his accuracy' (18). For the question of Pausanias' sources on his travels, see Jones 2001, Pretzler 2004 and 2005; on Pausanias generally, Pretzler 2007.

fact that Theseus in fact did not give the Athenians their freedom and the pernicious effects of ignorance of historical science.[18] At this nexus of different kinds of power and different sources of Athenian freedom and prosperity, Pausanias challenges how oral and mythic tradition, as opposed to historical science, has misinformed people about the source of their governmental autonomy.

In fact, the sights of Athens are subject to all kinds of supplementation by the critical observer. At the entrance of the Acropolis, Pausanias stops to relate a tale 'never before recorded in writing, but widely believed among the Athenians' (λέγω δὲ οὐκ ἐς συγγραφὴν πρότερον ἥκοντα, πιστὰ δὲ ἄλλως Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πολλοῖς, Paus. 1.23.2). A statue of Diitrephes (1.23.3) prompts a historical account, the details of which Pausanias offers to verify himself (μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι, 1.23.3), while he expresses surprise at the specific weaponry shown wounding Diitrephes on the grounds that it is not historically accurate (1.23.4).[19] The purported seat of Silenus (1.23.5) is turned into a vacuum, a void where knowledge cannot be found on site: 'Wishing to know better than most people who the Satyrs are, I have inquired from many about this very point …' (περὶ δὲ Σατύρων, οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἑτέρου πλέον ἐθέλων ἐπίστασθαι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν τούτων ἕνεκα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον).[20] The cumulative effect is to disrupt the visual tour not only with historical facts but with Pausanian value judgments on the merits and relevance of different traditions; the locally-given names to things are liable to be wrong, and Pausanias creates a distinct group of 'those Athenians who are acquainted with antiquity' (Ἀθηναίων ὅσοι τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴσασιν, 1.27.4), who know the true names and facts of and behind things. This distinction between the exclusively learned and the vulgarly ignorant is also prominent in the *Noctes*.[21]

The correction of local tradition with expert knowledge functions alongside the clarification of otherwise obscure names and images. All of the Egyptian

18 Cf. Paus. 1.3.3: 'But there are many false beliefs current among the mass of mankind, since they are ignorant of historical science and consider trustworthy whatever they have heard from childhood in choruses and tragedies' (λέγεται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνηκόοις οὖσι καὶ ὁπόσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδίαις πιστὰ ἡγουμένοις). Note here the glimpse of *how* error and ignorance spread—they are interlinked phenomena of individuals. On this moment in the text see Arafat 2004, 18 with n. 41, and on this point in context of Pausanias' treatment of Hadrian, Arafat 2004, 166–167.

19 On μαρτυρεῖ μοι see Akujärvi 2005, 125–127.

20 Cf. Akujärvi 2005, 101–103. Miles (ch. 5, 136–137) in this volume, notes Pausanias' interest in the meaning of *physical* voids as well.

21 Consider the banishment of the uninitiated at *NA praef.* 19–21; many encounters in the *Noctes* also involve the expulsion of frauds from groups (e.g., 19.10) or value judgments that distinguish between exclusive expert knowledge and a *vulgus grammaticorum* (*vel sim.*; cf. 2.21.6).

kings outside the Odeon (Paus. 1.8.6) are called Ptolemy, but Ptolemy Philometor's name is ironic, a fact demonstrated by the story of his life.[22] And while the Egyptians are commemorated in statue out of the earnest gratitude of the Athenians, the statues of Philip and Alexander are the product of sycophancy—in other words, the mere presence of a statue is no reliable indicator of how it came to be there. Local tradition can lack important information, as in the case of Pheidias' 'Apollo the Locust God', where the name seems to raise more questions than it answers (Paus. 1.24.8):

> They call it the Locust God, because once when locusts were devastating the land the god said that he would drive them from Attica. That he did drive them away they know, but they do not say how. I myself know that locusts have been destroyed three times in the past on Mount Sipylus, and not in the same way.
>
> Παρνόπιον δὲ καλοῦσιν, ὅτι σφίσι παρνόπων βλαπτόντων τὴν γῆν ἀποτρέψειν ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀπέτρεψεν ἴσασι, τρόπῳ δὲ οὐ λέγουσι ποίῳ. τρὶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἤδη πάρνοπας ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ οἶδα φθαρέντας.

This challenge to the local account from the author's extra knowledge is familiar from Herodotus, but while Herodotus traverses a chronology and annotates it with his expert opinions, Pausanias here traverses space;[23] and over the visible reality of Athenian space, he layers a set of annotations that augment local traditions by critically scrutinizing their merits and supplementing their accounts. This repeated distinction between those who merely say things and those who have studied antiquities serves not only to authorize Pausanias' narrative but also to complicate the experience of antiquity: it is no longer easily encountered through remnants left littered around, but distanced and mediated by both the passage of time and the vagaries of tradition. Akujärvi identifies the effects of this element of Pausanias' work: it signals the uncertainties of exploring both past and present, and reminds the readers that the work's composition was laborious, but it also signals that the work 'builds on material that does exist independently from it, and … [is] a construction of reality that would

22 Hutton 2005, 280 reads here a characteristic 'digression [that] focuses on Alexandrian intrigue and familial dysfunctionality' and makes the sarcasm of the epithet Pausanias' interpretation.

23 On Pausanias and the Herodotean mode, see Akujärvi 2005, 119–120; on Apollo Parnopius, 116.

not exist in the form which it has outside the text'.[24] Finally, the repeated insertion of the perspective of a researching author/narrator highlights uncertainty in the material and invites readers to their own skepticism and critical evaluation, which matches closely Gellius' own stated goals in his preface (*NA praef.* 13–18). While both Pausanias and Gellius are often thought of as exponents of a contemporary interest in antiquities, we might better see them as reflecting a contemporary self-consciousness and concern over the appropriate way of relating to antiquity. What we see in both is not a fashionable system of values but a critical examination of valuation and its consequences.

Gellius' *Noctes*, although lacking the logical geographical progression of a *periêgêsis*, nevertheless offers a tour, inviting the reader simultaneously to traverse with Gellius his libraries and his life (which may be the same thing). And at many stops on this journey, a similar effect may be observed: the complicating of the valued antiquities by way of engagement with or challenge to their descent from past to present. Just as a given statue might present to Pausanias not an easily told story but rather a complicated contradiction of traditions, so apparently simple encounters with antique words can lead Gellius into uncomfortable showdowns with competing interpretive traditions. And just as Pausanias challenges directly the sources of these traditions, Gellius implicates the interpretive aids that present themselves as ostensible solutions to the alienating distance of antiquity discussed above.

The very verbal gems of ancient language that give Cato and others their value as reading material also make them difficult to read. A reading of Cato must be interrupted when an unknown phrase is encountered (Gell. *NA* 17.6.2):

> It was asked what a *servus recepticus* is. Immediately Verrius Flaccus' volumes *On the Obscurities of Cato* were asked for and brought in.
>
> *Quaerebatur 'servus recepticius' quid esset. Libri statim quaesiti allatique sunt Verrii Flacci* De obscuris Catonis.

The asking of questions and the summoning of reference works to answer them collide in the same verb (*quaero*). But Flaccus' explanation is found wanting.[25] Gellius' complication of accessing past language is thus twofold: hard words can only be understood via commentaries, but those explanatory

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24 Akujärvi 2005, 173.

25 For more on Flaccus, see the criticism in *NA* 4.5, 16.4 and the ambivalence at 5.7, 5.18 and 18.7.

commentaries are often unreliable. One cannot live without commentaries, but unfortunately, the authors of grammatical commentary seem inherently flawed.[26] When Cato names three types of musician in a speech, Caesellius Vindex' *Notes on Early Words* is consulted (*NA* 20.2). But although Vindex can reason etymologically that two of them play the instrument named in their professional title (*tubicines* play the *tuba*), he throws up his hands about *siticines*; it takes the jurist Ateius Capito, operating in antiquarian mode, to observe that this word has a different etymology formed not from instrument but from context of performance.[27]

The books of the past lie all around, it seems, ready to hand (assuming one has the right kind of friends, access to the right libraries or enough money); but the reader who picks them up has need of interpretive assistance from other volumes. Access to antique language and literature is thus mediated by a class of material that is inherently unreliable in ways that map on to the idiosyncracies and inadequacies of a certain kind of scholar: the grammarian, too narrow-minded, will force that past through his own restrictive filter, offering the present reader a picture of the past almost as distorted as if it were encountered unaided. Other kinds of secondary reading, by contrast, will offer edification that makes the text sensible: better to have read Capito before reading Cato than to wonder at Cato and turn to Vindex.

These texts designed specifically to mediate access to antiquity are, then, a large part of the problem:[28] the past, already challenging because of its distance from the present, comes down to the present in more distorted forms when it is accessed by way of these mediating interpretive works and authorities. What is worse, Gellius knows 'antiquity' to be composed of eras, and to be further separated from the present by an intervening age of mediation;[29] and in this succession of mediations is born *tradition*, in which mediators can either

26 The commentaries Gellius describes all seem like purpose-written texts, meant to be helpful. Gellius' text is signally unhelpful as a reference work—he offers 'commentary', but not in any way that a reader of the text commented on could easily find (as opposed to line-by-line or topical commentary).

27 On the intersection of legal authority and linguistic inquiry, see Heusch 2011, 78–80; Howley 2013.

28 On commentary and secondary literature in antiquity, see Kaster 1997, 160–170; Sluiter 2000, esp. 202–203.

29 See, for example, *NA* 1.1, which opens the work by discussing *Plutarch's* report of *Pythagoras*' analysis of the height of *Hercules*—two distinct kinds of antiquity, accessed by way of the more recent Plutarch. For ancient reflections on different temporal layers of the past, see Kraus (ch. 9) and Grethlein (ch. 13) in this volume.

correct or amplify earlier errors. It is one thing to pick up the wrong guide to Cato, but quite another to be at the mercy of a descent of knowledge through multiple interpreters.

3 The Nature of Tradition and the Vulnerability of Transmission

The vulnerability of knowledge from and about the past to those who convey it to the present is a phenomenon that Gellius sees multiplying itself as sources receive and report each other's accounts: for many of the sources one may consult in the present are themselves dependent on earlier mediators. And although a variety of issues clouds the transmission of knowledge—the language it's articulated in, its form or genre or even the medium it's recorded on—Gellius' interest is invariably in drawing attention to an earlier writer's success or failure at properly making sense of those interferences. The antique is thus handed down by a chain of individuals, each of whose uncertain ability as interpreter might introduce errors to the transmission.[30]

Gellius' interest in the philosopher Pythagoras ranges widely, from his reckoning of Hercules' height (*NA* 1.1) to his strategies of classroom management (*NA* 1.9). But Pythagorean teaching presents a unique challenge, given its inherently cryptic form.[31] *NA* 4.11 tackles one such Pythagorean precept, the forbidding of beans in the diet, and finds it a clear example of the unreliability of transmission, focusing on the way erroneous *opinio* is transmitted in place of accurate knowledge, leading authors to write unreliable *verba* as a result of their insufficiently critical attitude toward their own sources or their lack of qualification to consult primary material. The discussion of Pythagoras on beans foregrounds the phenomenon of *opinio*, which has a life of its own: it is but a pale reflection of true, original fact, but it also causes writers to write in a certain way. *Opinio* is thus both a cause and an effect of intellectual tradition, and the opening of the discussion grants it considerable agency (*NA* 4.11.1):

> An ancient and false opinion has taken root and flourished: that Pythagoras the philosopher did not eat animal flesh and likewise abstained from the bean, which the Greeks call κύαμος.

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30 On the question of authoritative traditions, and the use of allegorical or figurative interpretation, see Ramelli (ch. 19) in this volume, particularly her concluding remarks 503–505.

31 Johansen 1998, 37; Burkert 1972, 174 and 183–184; Huffman, 76–77. For a full account see Astarita 1993, 85. See on this scene most recently Heusch 2011, 93–94.

> *Opinio vetus falsa occupavit et convaluit Pythagoram philosophum non esitavisse ex animalibus, item abstinuisse fabulo quem Graeci* κύαμον *vocant.*

Both Callimachus and Cicero wrote lines about Pythagoras' hatred of beans as a result of this *opinio*.[32] Opening the essay in this way, Gellius has completely undercut the status of *verba*—usually a matter of primary interest for him—making them instead victims of a thriving and incorrect *opinio* that has affected a notably intellectual author from each of both Greece and Rome.

It is the fact that other secondary authors (of perhaps less celebrated name) offer a different account of Pythagoras and beans that allows Gellius to cast the question of the beans as a three-dimensional one of competing traditions. Cicero's and Callimachus' qualifications needed no introduction, but Aristoxenus too should be taken seriously, as a *vir litterarum veterum diligentissimus* and a student of Aristotle's, and both he and the poet Alexis say that Pythagoras loved beans.

Gellius overcomes this conflict not by simply passing judgment in favor of one or against another, but by analyzing the entire phenomenon of erroneous *opinio* (*NA* 4.11.9–10):

> But it seems to have been the cause of the error about beans not being eaten that in a poem of Empedocles, who followed the teachings of Pythagoras, this verse is found: 'wretches, utter wretches, keep your hands off the beans'. Many have thought that κύαμοι here means 'beans', as is commonly said. But those who have more diligently and carefully studied the poems of Empedocles judge that here it means 'testicles' …, because they are the 'cause of reproduction' and provide the force of human generation; and therefore that Empedocles in this verse wishes to lead men away not from the eating of beans but from an excess of sexual activity.

> *Videtur autem de* κυάμῳ *non esitato causam erroris fuisse, quia in Empedocli carmine qui disciplinas Pythagorae secutus est versus hic invenitur*:
> δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἄπο χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι.
> *Opinati enim sunt plerique* κυάμους *legumentum dici, ut a vulgo dicitur. Sed qui diligentius scitiusque carmina Empedocli arbitrati sunt*, κυάμους *hoc in*

32 Cf. *NA* 4.11.2: 'according to this opinion the poet Callimachus wrote …' (*ex hac opinione Callimachus poeta scripsit* …) and 4.11.3: 'and according to that same opinion M. Cicero wrote the following words in the first book of his *De divinatione* …' (*ex eadem item opinione M. Cicero in libro de divinatione primo haec verba posuit* …).

> *loco testiculos significare dicunt ..., quod sint* αἴτιοι τοῦ κυεῖν *et geniturae humanae vim praebeant; idcircoque Empedoclen versu isto non a fabulo edendo, sed a rei veneriae proluvio voluisse homines deducere.*

The causes of bad *opinio* about Pythagoras' diet are manifold: (1) Pythagoras' teachings are preserved not in his own words but in the poetry of his student; (2) it is in the nature of Pythagoreans to use obscure and non-literal language; and (3) there are two kinds of readers in the world, the many who in their ignorance of (2) reached bad *opinio* (*opinati*) and the few who have studied Empedocles' poetry far more closely. Pythagoras' view of beans is thus mediated by Empedocles, by the obscurity of Pythagorean discourse and by those careless readers foolish enough to think a bean is just a bean. But the bean is subject to change, and the command 'keep your hands off the beans' lives many lives between Pythagoras' mouth and the contemporary reader.

The claim about Pythagoras and beans is generally transmitted alongside ascriptions of vegetarianism; having mastered the *opinio* about the bean, though, Gellius turns to Plutarch for further confirmation that Pythagoreans also ate meat. Understanding of the processes of intellectual transmission is accompanied by a mastery of those processes; *opinio* is seen to be a powerful force that not even Callimachus and Cicero could resist, but Gellius demonstrates that he is not only not subject to its power but confidently aware of how it works. And by ending with an aside about Pythagoras' own reincarnations, he not only reiterates his awareness of less widely-known knowledge of the philosopher but also finds a helpful image of the afterlife of interesting antique teaching.

Just as the archaic words *apluda*, *flocces* and *bovinator* were embedded in a narrative about how embarrassing it would be to misuse them, whatever insight is to be gleaned from *NA* 4.11 about Pythagoras and beans is inextricable from the tangled chains of transmission; indeed, 4.11 seems to teach far more about how transmission works, and about what makes for an authoritative mediator, than it does about Pythagoreanism *per se*.

4 Choosing Wisely in the Library

To properly engage with antiquity, then, one must not only value it as antique: one must also be able to value, or perhaps to evaluate, the mediators who provide access to it. Gellius fully integrates this task into his experience of antiquity by demonstrating not only that antiquity is always mediated, but that to learn about some subjects, one must negotiate a diverse array of mediations at the

same time. By narrating such 'multimedia' researches, Gellius shows learning about antiquity to be a rigorous undertaking. And, somewhat paradoxically, sufficient engagement with and scrutiny of mediators and their mediation may begin, finally, to prepare a reader to approach a direct, unmediated experience of antiquity.

Gellius' seemingly meandering inquiry into the length of human pregnancy at *NA* 3.16 features many of his characteristic observations on the mediation of antique knowledge.[33] Its opening advertisement of its program—eventually undermined by the course the discussion takes—signals two issues we have already encountered: the role that disciplinary experts play in controlling or distorting access to knowledge, and inherent uncertainty of *opinio* as a kind of knowledge (*NA* 3.16.1):

> Famous doctors and philosophers alike have inquired into the period of human gestation. The common opinion, received as truth, is that after the womb of the woman is impregnated, a child is born rarely in the seventh month, never in the eighth, often in the ninth, and more often in the tenth, and that this is the uttermost limit of human gestation: the end of the tenth month, not its beginning.
>
> *Et medici et philosophi inlustres de tempore humani partus quaesiverunt. Multa opinio est eaque iam pro vero recepta, postquam mulieris uterum semen conceperit, gigni hominem septimo rarenter, numquam octavo, saepe nono, saepius numero decimo mense eumque esse hominem gignendi summum finem: decem menses non inceptos sed exactos.*

This question showcases the unique position of 'antiquity' in a value system of learning: the topic at hand (how long pregnancies last) is a matter of objective reality, still true in Gellius' present day; and while antiquity is often authoritative in such areas, Gellius is already signaling that his attention is as much on attempts to answer the question as it is on the answer itself. He will find that a Hippocratic text is the best authority, but that text is just one of several kinds of evidence that must be consulted.

Just as in the case of Pythagoras' beans, Gellius zeroes in here on conflict in the tradition, and attempts to identify its source. So, finding that Menander and

33 The unstated interest of this inquiry is its legal ramifications, for the outlines of which see Hanson 1987, 589; Treggiari 1991, 29; Gardner 1986, 51–53. A brief overview of Gellius and medicine, which notes the significance of this passage, can be found at Astarita 1993, 157–163.

Plautus agree on the question of the eight-month child, but Caecilius disagrees with them, Gellius turns to Varro (*NA* 3.16.5):

> M. Varro leads us to believe that Caecilius did not speak unthinkingly about this matter nor rashly depart from the opinions of many others.
>
> *Eam rem Caecilium non inconsiderate dixisse neque temere a Menandro atque a multorum opinionibus descivisse M. Varro uti credamus facit.*

The concern here not with the correctness of the assertion so much as with the state of mind and motivation of the one who made it stands out as a typically Gellian consideration of the mechanics of mediation. Varro's citation, in turn, of Aristotle indicates to Gellius that he is in the presence of a real problem, which he tracks to its source (*NA* 3.16.7–8):

> But the cause of this disagreement about the eighth month may be understood in the book of Hippocrates which is titled *On Nutriment*, from which book are these words: 'The eight-month child is and is not.' The doctor Sabinus, who has commented on Hippocrates most aptly, has elucidated this abrupt and obscure aphorism with these words: …
>
> *Sed huius de mense octavo dissensionis causa cognosci potest in libro Hippocratis qui inscriptus est* Περὶ τροφῆς, *ex quo libro haec verba sunt*: ἔστιν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν τὰ ὀκτάμηνα. *Id tamen obscure atque praecise tamquam adverse dictum Sabinus medicus qui Hippocratem commodissime commentatus est verbis* ⟨*his*⟩ *enarravit*: …

Once again, the authoritative text that mediates the ancient authority's knowledge and subsequent scholarly access to it is inherently opaque in its aphoristic vagueness, susceptible to misinterpretation. Once again, finding the right textual evidence requires finding the correct and properly qualified mediator to interpret it—in this case, a medical commentator. In this approach to critiquing and praising earlier commentators Gellius is reminiscent of Galen's establishment of his own authority: essential to Galen's pose is that he not only interprets Hippocrates himself but passes judgment on prior commentators and—like Gellius—perceives that their misreadings have mediating effects on sectarian tradition.[34]

34 On Galen's rhetorical approach to commentary see Staden 1999 and 2009.

The problem of the eight-month child thus resolved, Gellius turns to the upper and lower bounds of pregnancy. His first stop is Varro, and to check Varro's assertions about the 'early Romans' (*antiquos … Romanos*, 3.16.9) and how their names for the Fates reveal an answer to the question at hand, he finds himself consulting the *Odyssey* of Livius Andronicus, as cited by Caesellius Vindex (*NA* 3.16.11):

> Now Caesellius Vindex in his *Ancient Readings* says, 'The names of the Three Fates are Nona, Decuma and Morta', and he gives this verse from the *Odyssey* of the most ancient poet Livius: 'When comes the day which Morta has predicted?' But although he is a not entirely incompetent man, Caesellius took 'Morta' as a name when he should have understood it to be equivalent to 'Moera'.
>
> *Caesellius autem Vindex in* lectionibus *suis* antiquis *'tria' inquit 'nomina Parcarum sunt: Nona, Decuma, Morta', et versum hunc Livii, antiquissimi poetae, ponit ex* Ὀδυσσείᾳ:
>
> *quando dies advenit, quem profata Morta est?*
>
> *Sed homo minime malus Caesellius 'Mortam' quasi nomen accepit, cum accipere quasi Moeram deberet.*

In other words, Vindex did not fully grasp the nature of the Latin *Odyssey*'s debt to the Greek original—a rather obvious mistake. And so the account he provides of this fragment of Livius is deeply problematic.

Not only is Gellius able to catch this mistake, he is able to do Vindex one better, by turning, himself, to Homer's *Odyssey* (after an interlude to reflect on an imperial court verdict which also has bearing on the question). *Odyssey* 11.248 puzzles Gellius with its unclear articulation of a period of time, and he takes his question to 'many grammarians' (*complures grammaticos*, *NA* 3.16.16). Unsurprisingly to any reader of the *Noctes*, these grammarians offer nonsensical accounts of the Greek phrase in question, and it is only Favorinus, conspicuous throughout the *Noctes* for his equal erudition in Latin and Greek, who can translate the phrase accurately into Latin (3.16.17). And Gellius himself checks Favorinus' mediating authority by validating his Latin explanation against Ciceronian usage (3.16.18).

Gellius has, over the course of the essay, engaged repeatedly with those authorities which do or do not provide useful access to the antique sources in which the answer to his question may be thought to reside. The cumulative effect is not just to complicate the image of antiquity, but to demonstrate Gellius' own readiness to confront that complication. The deliberateness of this

seemingly jumbled passage becomes clear as Gellius returns to Hippocrates' *On Nutriment* to crack the case once and for all. In the same book where we needed Sabinus to help us with previously, Gellius finds the assertion that when it comes to the term of pregnancy, 'there are longer periods and shorter periods, both in whole and in part, but the longer are not much longer and the shorter not much shorter' (γίνεται δὲ ἐν τούτοις καὶ πλείω καὶ ἐλάσσω καὶ ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος· οὐ πολλὸν δὲ καὶ πλείω πλείω καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐλάσσω, *NA* 3.16.20). He then proceeds immediately to elucidate this aphorism in his own words: 'Now, by these words, Hippocrates means …' (*quibus verbis significat* …). This insight, presented as his own, independent interpretation of the difficult primary text, is the pinnacle of an investigative course which, although apparently wandering, has accumulated not just information pertinent to the question but skills pertinent to its answering—namely, a grasp of the problems with the key evidence and the approaches required to solve them.[35] That the passage then ends with an offhand but improbable anecdote from Pliny the Elder, elsewhere maligned for his scholarly sloppiness, serves only to heighten our attention to the role and suitability of mediators.[36] Not only is mediation important to antique knowledge, but its investigation and comprehension are also a progressive experience; and not only are many mediators inadequate, but that fact also means the onus for accurate mediation falls on the reader or researcher himself.

5 Conclusions

Modern theories of mediation—the way processes of transmission affect and change what they transmit—focus on technologies and institutions.[37] But it should be apparent from this brief survey that while Gellius has a clear sense that antiquity is changed by its transmission to the present, that transmission itself is, for him, embodied in individuals, alone or in interlocking sequence, rather than in technology. There is some attention given by Gellius to what modern scholars would identify as the technological or material mediation of knowledge in antiquity: he knows, for example, that ill-informed readers can

35 And yet it should be noted that Gellius himself conspicuously mediates Hippocrates by dissecting and dividing the two Hippocratean passages at either end of the essay.

36 Cf. Gardner 1986, 183. Pliny is more explicitly problematic at *NA* 9.4, 9.16 and 10.12

37 The classic text of modern media theory in the electronic age is McLuhan 1964, which observes the effect that technological media, from writing to television, have on societies as a whole, arguing that media mediate not only communications but society itself.

erroneously emend texts (*NA* 1.7.1–5), and that flawed exemplars lead to more flawed books (6.20.6). But the real culprit of error in the written word is not the mechanics of textual copying but the ignorance of an incompetent editor (15.6.2).[38] Technology does not mediate culture, individuals do.

Nor is he the only ancient to view the spread of ideas this way: Lucian describes how the reputation of the prophet Alexander is both spread and exaggerated by Romans' eagerness to impress and believe one another; and Pliny watches how the Christ cult spreads between people like a disease.[39] But Gellius articulates a view of this phenomenon along the historical axis, adding a fundamental layer of complication to the valuing of antiquity: antiquity is not just at a remove, it is fenced off. Gellian antiquities may be collected and placed under glass by the miscellaneous project, but it is a glass through which we may see more or less darkly depending on our attention to the dynamics of transmission and the nature of authority.

Gellius' consistent framing of the antique alongside the mediators that provide access to it establishes antiquity and post-antique mediation as intrinsically linked phenomena. He represents the seeking of antique knowledge as an act that necessarily involves analyzing and evaluating those processes which are mediating it. And he conceives of that mediation as something highly idiosyncratic, done by individuals. One effect of this treatment of antiquity is to make the sort of 'ancient reading' that seems so in vogue among his peer group seem difficult: it has a high entry cost and numerous pitfalls, in the form of dangerous mediators and corrupt traditions, and the skills necessary to sort them out. To model and encourage a 'media literate' relationship to the mediators of antiquity is also to establish clear standards for would-be users of antiquity: in Gellius' view, it is not enough simply to value the antique, but one must explicitly engage in the valuing of the individuals and phenomena that make the antique available to the present.

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38 Cf. *NA* 15.6.2: 'For this reason I do not so much wonder that Cicero erred in that matter as that it was not noticed and subsequently corrected either by him or by Tiro, his freedman, a most diligent man and most zealously attentive to the books of his patron.' (*quamobrem non tam id mirabamur errasse in ea re M. Tullium, quam non esse animadversum hoc postea correctumque vel ab ipso vel a Tirone, liberto eius, diligentissimo homine et librorum patroni sui studiosissimo*). Tiro deserves fuller treatment than there is room for here, but has been discussed by Gunderson 2009, 186–194 and Keulen 2009, 258–264.

39 Cf. Lucian *Alex.* 30–31, 57; Plin. *Ep.* 10.96.9. Note that August. *Conf.* 6.8.13, the story of Alypius at the games, uses the imagery of contagion as well but reflects a more modern identification of the medium as itself having the deleterious effect.

But Gellius' *Noctes* is deliberately training its reader less in facts and more in principles of fact-checking, and figures knowledge as dependent on an awareness of where one's facts have come from. The processes of mediation that bring antiquity to the modern day add value to that antiquity, and so it becomes clear that the distance between the past and the present—the road that must be traveled to retrieve ancient knowledge and deploy it in a contemporary setting—is the distance from factual assertion to usable knowledge.

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CHAPTER 19

Valuing Antiquity in Antiquity by Means of Allegoresis

Ilaria L.E. Ramelli

The ancients were not people of no account,
but were also able to understand the nature of the cosmos
and had the ability to philosophize on it *by means of symbols and enigmata.*
CORNUTUS, *Theol. Graec.* 35

1 Introduction: Methodological Guidelines and Main Arguments

An important case of how antiquity was valued in antiquity comes, I think, from philosophy, and particularly from allegoresis, that is, the allegorical interpretation of texts, rituals, traditions, iconography, cultic epithets, etc. Allegory is not only a manner of composing, but also an interpretive method: for the latter I use the term 'allegoresis'.[1] The term ἀλληγορία is far more recent than the thing allegory and the practice of allegoresis, and it entered rhetorical terminology relatively late. I suspect this is because theoretical reflection on allegory was born within philosophy and not within rhetoric. Thus, theories of allegory had from the beginning, and continued to have, broad implications for the history of thought.

Allegoresis—as I have extensively demonstrated elsewhere,[2] against tendencies to reduce Stoic allegoresis to an 'etymologizing' with little philosophical relevance[3]—was part and parcel of *philosophy* in Stoicism from the Old Stoa to Roman or Imperial Stoicism or Neostoicism (although not all Stoics were allegorists; for instance, not Seneca); and then in so-called Middle and Neopla-

1 Copeland and Struck 2010, 1–11, with the review article by Ramelli 2011c, and Rolet 2012.
2 Ramelli 2004a, chs. 1 and 9.
3 E.g., Steinmetz 1986, 18 ff.; Long 1997, 200–201, 208–209.

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tonism, when the remarkable issue arose of which ancient texts were eligible to be allegorized, and thereby valued as bearers of truth. There existed also non-allegorical approaches to the valorization of the past, for instance Posidonius' theory of the 'golden age' discussed in Seneca's Letter 90.

After an analysis of Stoic allegoresis from Old to Imperial Stoicism, and the way it bears on the valuing of antiquity, I will argue against the thesis of the merely apologetical role of Stoic allegoresis, i.e., its use as a defense and legitimization of Stoic philosophy.[4] I will propose that the Stoics' use of allegory did not aim only at reinforcing their philosophical system—otherwise allegory should have faded away over time instead of becoming more and more prominent—but also, exactly, at *valuing antiquity*: allegory could value ancient cultural traditions (such as ancient myths, rituals, poetry, visual representations of deities, etc.), partially eroded by rational criticism, and integrate them in a vast cultural system, unified by the *Logos*, i.e., the Stoic system itself, comprising theology, cosmology, ethics, etc.

In the second part I will explore how allegoresis functioned as a powerful means of valuing antiquity in Middle and Neoplatonism (in turn influenced by Stoic allegoresis) and worked in the Imperial debate on which traditions should be considered authoritative and susceptible of allegorical exegesis. This debate was especially lively across 'pagan' and Jewish-Christian Platonism; it involved thinkers such as Philo, Plutarch, Celsus, Clement, Origen and Porphyry, and was still a hot issue as late as Proclus' time. All of these Platonists—'pagan', Jewish or Christians—were allegorists, and used allegory to value their own favorite antiquity: Porphyry, for instance, to value Homer as endowed with perfect wisdom;[5] Philo to value Mosaic scriptures as the source of all philosophy, including Greek philosophy; and Clement and Origen to value Jewish-Christian scriptures and interpret them in the light of Platonism.

2 Stoic Allegoresis as Philosophy and a Means to Value Antiquity: Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus

For the Stoics allegory was part of philosophy and not only a rhetorical device or an etymologizing exercise, even though etymologies were often used in Stoic allegoresis. Stoic allegory was a powerful means for valuing the ancients, and

4 This component has been emphasized e.g., by Blönnigen 1992, 33, and it is there, but it is far from being the only reason, or the predominant, for Stoic allegoresis.

5 See in this volume Nethercut (ch. 17, 436n.3) on allegorical interpretations of Homer and their influence on later philosophers and poets.

this especially (though not exclusively) in Imperial Stoicism. For already Zeno, with a relatively new approach, looked back at Homer and Hesiod, the first Greek poets, to value their works by means of an allegorical interpretation that could reveal in them the presence of hidden philosophical truths.[6] With this intention he composed a commentary on both Homeric poems (*Quaestiones Homericae*, 'Homeric Questions', in five books) and one on Hesiod's *Theogony*. He also established the principle, followed by his disciple Perseus, that in Homer some things are written 'according to opinion' (κατὰ δόξαν), and others 'according to truth' (κατὰ ἀλήθειαν), as testified by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 53.4 (*SVF* 1.274). The philosopher's task is to distinguish the latter from the former and interpret them allegorically, so as to find out the truth hiding there. In this way, Zeno could defend Homer by interpreting him allegorically in philosophical terms, at the same time enhancing the value of his own philosophy by showing that it was already 'in' Homer.

According to Cicero in *De natura deorum* 2.63 (*SVF* 1.166) and 1.36 (*SVF* 1.167), the kind of allegoresis applied by Zeno to ancient myths was physical: deities were identified with physical principles such as fire, water, air, etc. For example, Hera was a symbol of the air, Zeus a symbol of the sky or ether, Poseidon of the sea, Hephaestus of fire; and other deities of ancient myth were symbols of other elements (*SVF* 1.169). Physical allegoresis remained predominant in Stoic allegoresis. But Zeno also initiated Stoic ethical allegoresis. For instance, he interpreted the Dioscuri as representing 'right arguments (ὀρθοὶ λόγοι) and morally good dispositions (σπουδαῖαι διαθέσεις)' (*SVF* 1.170). In his interpretation of the ancient poets and their myths Zeno sometimes employed etymology, a method of which Stoic allegorists would avail themselves a great deal. For example, in his exegesis of the beginning of Hesiod's *Theogony*, Zeno had the name of Chaos derive from χέομαι, 'I am poured, I flow' (*SVF* 1.103). This etymology will be found again in Cornutus and other allegorical sources.

Cleanthes also allegorized archaic poetry, even proposing textual emendations to support his own interpretations.[7] In his view, poetry is the most suitable means of expressing the loftiness of the divine (*SVF* 1.486; 1.538). In *SVF* 1.482 he divides philosophy not simply into logic, physics and ethics—the standard Stoic division—but into six parts, by duplication of those three: dialectic and rhetoric, ethics and politics, and physics and theology. Here physics and

6 See Ramelli 2004a, ch. 2.1–2; Ramelli 2007, ch. 1.2, on Zeno, with the relevant texts and commentaries.

7 Ramelli 2004a, ch. 2.3; relevant texts and commentaries in Ramelli 2007, ch. 1.3.

theology are distinguished from one another but are also reciprocally related. Indeed, in Stoic immanentism, physics ultimately coincides with theology, and Cleanthes considers the objects of physics and theology as coextensive, consistently allegorizing deities as physical elements (for instance, Zeus as the ether, according to Lactantius, *Inst.* 1.5; this allegorical interpretation, taken over by Chrysippus, *SVF* 2.1061, is one of the most stable in all of the Stoic tradition). However, Cleanthes distinguishes theology from physics from the point of view of the discipline: theology explains the universe, conceived as a mystery; deities are regarded as mystical figures and myths as endowed with a peculiar epistemological status. For myths are expressed in a more sublime form than the discursive *logos*: the symbolic form, which calls for an allegorical exegesis. This is why theology is founded upon allegoresis, and allegoresis is part and parcel of philosophy—specifically, of its highest part, theology. Given Cleanthes' theorization of the importance of poetry, it comes as no surprise that he devoted a great deal of attention to allegoresis of the god of poetry, Apollo, his name, his epithets and his attributes in ancient myths, having frequent recourse to etymology (*SVF* 1.540–543; 1.502). In his exegesis of Homer Cleanthes availed himself of both textual emendations (*SVF* 1.535) and etymologies (e.g., *SVF* 1.549; 1.526) in support of his allegorico-philosophical interpretation of the most ancient and authoritative Greek poet.

Chrysippus, too, especially in book 2 of *On Divinities* (Περὶ θεῶν), used allegoresis as a key to interpret and value ancient poetry and religious traditions, e.g., Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer and Hesiod. What is more, he provides the first theory of Stoic allegoresis in book 1 of *On Divinities*.[8] Here, he clarifies the relationship of allegory to theology, the latter as expressed in poetry, rituals, iconography and religious traditions in general. In this programmatic piece Chrysippus declares that the *Logos* is expressed in different ways by philosophers, poets and institutors of laws and customs in various cities, including rituals (*SVF* 2.1009):

> Those who have handed down the worship of the gods have presented it to us in three forms:
>
> – first, the physical form,
> – second, the mythical form,
> – and third, the form attested by laws and customs.

8 Ramelli 2004a, ch. 2.4; 2007, ch. 1.4, with the relevant texts and commentaries.

> Now, the physical form is taught by philosophers, the mythical one by poets, and the normative one is established by individual cities.
>
> οἱ τὸν περὶ τῶν θεῶν παραδόντες σεβασμὸν διὰ τριῶν ἐξέθηκαν ἡμῖν εἰδῶν·
>
> – πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ φυσικοῦ,
> – δεύτερον δὲ τοῦ μυθικοῦ,
> – τρίτον δὲ τοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων εἰληφότος.
>
> διδάσκεται δὲ τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, τὸ δὲ μυθικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, τὸ δὲ νομικὸν ὑφ᾽ ἑκάστης ἀεὶ πόλεως συνίσταται.

Therefore poetry, which narrates religious myths, and all the diverse cultic traditions need to be interpreted allegorically to reveal the truth that they contain under a veil. Because the truth and the *Logos* are one, the truth revealed by allegorizing ancient texts and traditions turns out to dovetail with the philosophical truth of Stoicism. Chrysippus' theory implies that allegory is an essential feature of theology, and consequently of philosophy. It supplies the crucial *connection* between theology and physics, which is the gist of the Stoic system (this has no metaphysical plane proper, but deems all that exists physical). For Chrysippus, allegory is the *principal* method for studying theology, in its various traditional forms, and for relating it to physics and ethics. Consequently, allegory becomes a major instrument of cultural unity. And the need for cultural unity was paramount for Chrysippus, with his exceptionally vast cultural interests.

Ralph Rosen has shown how Galen criticized Chrysippus' use of ancient poetry in support of his philosophical arguments.[9] The same criticisms, I add, were directed by Seneca against Chrysippus.[10] I hope to have clarified the reasons why Chrysippus made such a staggering use of ancient poets within his arguments: they were sources of philosophical truths expressed symbolically. For the same reason another Stoic leader, Antipater of Tarsus, shortly after Chrysippus regularly brought in quotations from ancient poets while discussing philosophical arguments (e.g., in *SVF* 3.3.63, an excerpt from his treatise *On Marriage*, within a few lines one finds one quotation from Sophocles, two from Euripides, and two from unidentified comic poets).

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9 Cf. Rosen 2013.

10 See Ramelli 2004a, section on Seneca. That Seneca refrained from allegoresis as an exegete and criticized it as a philosopher does not mean that he avoided metaphors as an author: cf. Bartsch 2009.

3 Imperial Stoicism: Cornutus, 'The Ancients' and Middle Stoic Background

One of the clearest and most emblematic attestations of Stoic valuing antiquity through allegoresis is found in a document of Nero's age written in Greek by a Roman Stoic, Annaeus Cornutus. At the end of his handbook of Greek theology (*Compendium theologiae Graecae*; in Greek Ἐπιδρομὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θελογίαν παραδεδομένων, 'Survey of the traditions of Greek theology'), this philosopher and teacher of philosophy declares: 'The ancients were not people of no account, but they were also *able to understand the nature of the cosmos* and had the ability to *philosophize on it* by means of symbols and enigmata' (οὐχ' οἱ τυχόντες ἐγένοντο οἱ παλαιοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιέναι τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἱκανοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διὰ συμβόλων καὶ αἰνιγμάτων φιλοσοφῆσαι περὶ αὐτῆς εὐεπίφοροι, *Theol. Graec.* 35). Cornutus declares the ancients—their antiquity is not precisely defined—to be nothing less than *philosophers*, since they were endowed with the understanding of the cosmos, of what exists. What they expressed allegorically are philosophical truths. The task of 'modern' philosophers, those contemporary with Cornutus, and of course Stoics in his perspective, is to interpret their expressions and find philosophical tenets therein.

Cornutus' attitude is not different from that of previous Stoic allegorists who attached to the most ancient poet, Homer, the knowledge and veiled expression of philosophical and scientific truths. This position was criticized, for instance, by contemporaries of Crates of Mallus.[11] But Crates held Homer in high esteem as a poet extremely competent in various disciplines. Crates coined for himself the designation 'critic' (κριτικός), by which he meant he was an expert in philology, linguistics and literature, and moreover these competences of his were framed by the Stoic philosophical system. Crates was probably, and Apollodorus of Athens was certainly, a disciple of Diogenes of Babylon, himself a disciple of Chrysippus. All of them allegorized ancient traditions showing that they contained philosophical truths.

Diogenes devoted a whole treatise, *Athena,* to the allegorical analysis of myths, names and attributes of this goddess. His physical interpretation of the divinities is perfectly in line with the Stoic tradition of Zeno and Chryippus: Zeus represents the cosmos and is at the same time its soul (qua *logos* and hegemonic); the part of Zeus that spreads into the sea is Poseidon, that which spreads into the air is Hera, and that which spreads into the ether, the highest element, is Athena; this is why the ancient myth symbolically represents

11 See Ramelli 2004a, ch. 3; 2007, ch. 1, sections on Apollodorus and Crates, and Bilić 2012.

her as born from Zeus' head, the highest part of the cosmos (*SVF* 3.2.33). Apollodorus composed a treatise *On Divinities* (Περὶ θεῶν), in 24 books, which—like the homonymous work of Chrysippus—was devoted to the allegorical interpretation of ancient poetical, iconographical and cultic traditions concerning deities.

Cornutus, who seems to have been influenced by Apollodorus, shared the Middle Stoic idea[12] of the excellence of the most ancient humans, who, thanks to their superior intellectual capacities, could directly access the truth and expressed it in myths, rituals and traditions. Furthermore, he connected this idea to the Old-Stoic concept of a direct and common access to truth through 'common (innate) notions'.[13] Therefore he supported the subsumption of allegoresis under philosophy, as a way of detecting the philosophical truths that the ancients hid in poetry, myths and ritual traditions. In his handbook of Greek theology Cornutus offers an allegorico-etymological interpretation of each divinity's names and epithets, attributes, aspects of myths and rituals and the like. Physical allegory is prevalent. From this viewpoint, for instance, what the ancients called 'Zeus' is a symbol of the ether; what in Antiquity was named 'Hera' is an allegory of the air; and so on. By way of example I quote and translate *Theol. Graec.* 2–3:[14]

> Just as we are governed by a soul, so also does the cosmos possess a soul that keeps its cohesion, and this soul is called Zeus, because it lives (*zôsa*) primarily and everywhere, and it is the cause of life (*zên*) for the living beings (*zôntes*). This is also why Zeus is said to reign over all beings, in the same way as one could say that in us, too, the soul and our nature reign. We call him *Dia*, too, because thanks to (*dia*) him all realities come to existence and are kept in existence. Some people also call him *Deus*, perhaps because he soaks (*deuein*) the earth, or has living beings participate in (*metadidonai*) life-giving humidity. The genitive of this form is *Deos*, parallel to the genitive *Dios*. He is said to dwell in heaven, because there resides the most sovereign part of the soul of the cosmos;

12 It seems to be a Posidonian idea: see Sen. *Ep.* 90, Boys-Stones 2001 and the review by Ramelli 2004d.

13 On Stoic preconception (πρόληψις), common notion (κοινὴ ἔννοια), natural notion (φυσικὴ ἔννοια) and ἐννοήματα (with their conceptualization by Chrysippus) see Todd 1973 and Dyson 2009.

14 I use the edition by Ramelli 2003, which has some changes vis-à-vis Lang's edition, especially with regard to integrations and expunctions. An English translation by George Boys-Stones, with facing Greek, is forthcoming.

for our souls, too, are fire. As for his wife and sister, tradition has it that she is Hera, who is the air (*aêr*). For she turns out to be immediately joined with him, rising from the earth, while he is over her. And they were born from a flux in the same direction; indeed, by flowing toward fineness, the substance constitutes both fire and air.

Ὥσπερ δὲ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ ψυχῆς διοικούμεθα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος ψυχὴν ἔχει τὴν συνέχουσαν αὐτόν, καὶ αὕτη καλεῖται Ζεύς, πρώτως καὶ διὰ παντὸς ζῶσα καὶ αἰτία οὖσα τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ βασιλεύειν ὁ Ζεὺς λέγεται τῶν ὅλων, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν βασιλεύειν ῥηθείη. Δία δὲ αὐτὸν καλοῦμεν ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γίνεται καὶ σώζεται πάντα· παρά δέ τισι καὶ Δεὺς λέγεται, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεύειν τὴν γῆν ἢ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ζῶσι ζωτικῆς ἰκμάδος· καὶ ἡ γενικὴ πτῶσις ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐστι Δεός, παρακειμένη πως τῇ Διός. Οἰκεῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγεται, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστι τὸ κυριώτατον μέρος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς· καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ πῦρ εἰσιν. Γυνὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται ἡ Ἥρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ· συνῆπται γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ κεκόλληται αἰρομένη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνου αὐτῇ ἐπιβεβηκότος· καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ῥύσεως, ῥυεῖσα γὰρ εἰς λεπτότητα ἡ οὐσία τό τε πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ὑφίστησιν.

Indeed, poetry and other modes of transmission of ancient theology, such as cultic epithets, visual representations and rituals, express truth symbolically, and the task of philosophical allegoresis is to decode those symbols. Such a task is philosophical, and precisely theological, insofar as its focus is the truth about nature and the divine. In Stoic immanentism theology and physics are two sides of the same coin, and the application of allegoresis to traditions handed down from antiquity reveals this.

4 Etymology in the Service of Allegoresis: The Most Ancient or Original Meanings

In this connection, the Stoics had extensive recourse to etymology in the service of philosophical allegoresis, but what needs to be made clear is that Stoic philosophical allegoresis cannot be reduced to the application of etymologies or a linguistic disambiguation exercise,[15] any more than Philo's scriptural allegoresis can be reduced to a mere etymological exercise, although etymology

15 See above n. 3 for some advocates of such a reduction.

is a consistently deployed tool in Philo's[16] as well as in Stoic allegoresis. In fact, etymology was a constituent of the Stoic theory of language, according to which names are 'by nature' (a view that could be traced back to Plato's *Cratylus*).[17] This is because the 'first sounds' were imitations of the objects that the ancients experienced around them. Names were formed on this very basis. The ancients are, again, those responsible for their constitution, and 'modern' Stoic philosophical etymology is responsible for their interpretation, by detecting in words their first constituents and meanings. Thereby philosophical etymology provides the original, true (ἔτυμος) sense of words.

On this basis etymology was considered to be a tool both for grasping the nature of deities, since etymology goes back to the authentic meaning of a name, and for showing how traditional names and epithets of deities reflect their nature, thus revealing physical or (sometimes) ethical truths. This same nature is expressed allegorically in myths. All this shows that the allegoresis of theological traditions, viz., traditions concerning deities, is not a futile exercise, but can catch the truth, because according to Stoic linguistics etymology has a direct grasp on nature, i.e., on truth. This is why it is used as a tool within Stoic philosophical allegoresis.[18]

5 Beyond the 'Apologetic' Function: The Ideal of Cultural Unity and the Valuing of the Ancient Heritage

Allegoresis in Stoicism had not simply an 'apologetic' role. In other words, when the Stoics used it they did not merely aim at supporting their own philosophical system against other philosophical schools or ways of thinking. This might have been the case at the beginning of their school, but less so already in Chrysippus' day, and much less so in Cornutus', i.e., in Imperial Stoicism. Of course, the Stoics' interpretation of myths was *Stoic*, as is clear for example from book 2 of Chrysippus' *On Divinities*, in which materials from Hesiod, Homer and other poets were adapted to Stoic theology as expounded in book 1 of the same work. But the merely 'apologetic' interpretation of Stoic allegoresis is unsatisfying if one takes into consideration that interest in allegoresis *increased* dramatically among Stoics over time, and likewise their allegorical production, instead of diminishing, grew and grew. If Stoic allegoresis had been simply

16 On this point see Runia 2004.

17 Ramelli 2004a, ch. 9.2.2, with documentation and critical debate.

18 Cf. Ramelli 2004a, ch. 9.

intended to prove the truth of Stoic doctrines, one should expect that over time, when the Stoic system became consolidated and could more and more stand by itself, Stoic interest in allegoresis of myths would *decline*, instead of increasing. Besides, in such a unified and structured system, at a certain point of its development the support of allegoresis, applied as it was to Homer, poetry and other mythological and cultic traditions, would have inevitably become too unsystematic to be useful. Therefore, that Stoic allegoresis merely served an apologetic agenda is unlikely. No doubt it did *also* serve such an agenda, especially at the beginning, but this must not have been its sole or primary aim.

I think, instead, that Stoicism with its philosophical instrument, allegoresis, aimed at integrating into its own philosophical system the ancient patrimony of traditional expressions of theology: poetic, cultic, iconographic and so on. Its goal was the creation of a comprehensive cultural synthesis, which embraced the whole traditional heritage, once this patrimony was rendered philosophically legitimate, after it had been to some extent undermined by rationalism. Stoicism could thereby value the antique legacy of myth, in all of its traditional expressions—poetry, epithets, rituals, iconographical representations of deities, etc.—as a bearer of truth. The Stoics notoriously engaged in linguistics, etymology, poetry, literature and the like; this is why they wanted to salvage and reevaluate the legacy of antiquity in terms of poetry and other expressions of myth and theology, by means of allegoresis in accord with their own philosophical system. Their valuing of antiquity by means of allegoresis was likely intended to build a vast cultural unity, systematic and based on the *Logos*. For the whole Stoic allegorical theory focuses on the *Logos*. The different divinities are seen as partial manifestations of the same *Logos-Pneuma*; the *Logos* also inspired ancient poets, the inventors of myths and rituals and those ancients who created the 'natural' language that etymology now explicates, in order to find the truth in the words.

From Zeno down to the early Imperial age, the time of Heraclitus' *Homeric Allegories* and the pseudo-Plutarchean *Life and Poetry of Homer*,[19] Stoics continued to represent Homer as well steeped in a variety of disciplines, especially physics and geography, besides all sorts of literary devices. This was obviously meant to project onto antiquity, at the very origin of culture, the Stoic ideal of a unity grounded in the *Logos*. In this connection, it is meaningful that in Cicero's *De natura deorum*, among the speeches delivered—the Epicurean in book 1, the Stoic in book 2, and the Academic in books 1 and 3—the Stoic is the

19 On these two works see Ramelli 2004a, chs. 7–8, and 2007, chs. 8–10, with texts and commentaries. On Heraclitus also Russell and Konstan 2005.

most extensive of all, with a dramatic disproportion, and also includes a much broader spectrum of disciplines than the others.[20] Thus it reflects very well the Stoic ideal of the construction of a wide-ranging cultural unit revolving around theology and physics, and additionally embracing logic, mathematics, physiology, cosmology, astronomy, ritual, legends, customs, traditions, poetry, rhetoric, linguistics, etymology and more. An element that must be taken into account in this connection is also the Stoics' polemic against the Epicureans' generally negative attitude toward antiquity. The latter attached no value to antiquity,[21] while Stoic allegorists seem to have done the opposite.

It must be stressed that the Stoics valued antiquity, and the ancient cultural heritage, not *instead of*, or *at the expense of*, philosophy, but precisely because antiquity expressed philosophy. In the Stoic view, antiquity is a source of philosophy—if opportunely decoded—and the proof of the naturalness of philosophy: the ancients, spontaneously inspired by the *Logos* and, as it were, philosophers by nature, expressed philosophical truths under symbolic veils. One primary task of contemporary philosophy, according to the Stoics, was the decoding of those symbols.

Likewise, the cultivation of 'cultural unity' has much philosophical value from the Stoic perspective, because it refers to the unity of the *Logos*. The Stoic is a distinctively monistic, holistic and unitary system centered in the *Logos-Pneuma*—symbolized by Zeus—that extends to all nature and all thought and reasoning. The Stoics speak a great deal of unity and conceive the cosmos itself as a whole (τὸ ὅλον, τὰ ὅλα). Chrysippus (*SVF* 2.945) insists that in the universe, τῶν ὅλων, nothing happens independently of all the rest, because the whole cosmos is directed by the same *Logos* and all causes are interconnected. Many other fragments, mostly from Chrysippus or ascribed to 'the Stoics' in general, emphasize the unity of the cosmos: e.g., *SVF* 2.528–533, 2.576, 2.620, and 2.1013.

Moreover, if allegoresis detects the identity of theology and cosmology, this means that it covers all, since there is nothing beyond the cosmos and the divine, and the latter is coextensive with the former. This is a strong support for the ideal of the unity of all. Philosophy must reflect this unity, and indeed both Chrysippus and Posidonius insisted that although philosophy has three parts—physics, ethics and logic—it is a unity (*SVF* 2.35, 2.38). Posidonius underscored that 'the parts of philosophy are inseparable from one another' (τὰ … μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀχώριστά ἐστιν ἀλλήλων, *SVF* 2.38). There is 'one and the same

20 Analysis of the Stoic argument in Ramelli 2004a, ch. 5; text and commentary in 2007, ch. 6.
21 See Nethercut (ch. 17) in this volume.

virtue' (μία ἀρετή) for all of philosophy (so Chrysippus, or 'the Stoics', in *SVF* 2.35). The Stoic behavior with regard to exemplary figures is perfectly consistent with this ideal of unity and cultural and traditional synthesis. For they chose the widest possible variety of exemplary figures—including non-Stoic philosophers, politicians and ancient heroes[22]—instead of only one such as the 'divine' founder of the school, like Epicurus for the Epicureans. The ideal of cultural unity is formulated by the Stoics in their multifarious interests themselves; suffice it to think of Chrysippus, Posidonius, Apollodorus and Crates, the above-mentioned speech of Balbus, or Cornutus.

6 The Philosophical Role of Allegoresis in Middle and Neoplatonism and the Valuing of Antiquity—Greek or 'Barbarian'?

The philosophical role of allegory, established in Stoicism, was inherited by Middle and Neoplatonists, all the more so when Platonism began to verge toward the religious.[23] What is more, these used it in valuing antiquity as well. It is meaningful in this connection that Philo and Plutarch, both close to 'Middle Platonism', renounced Plato's criticism of Homer and viewed the work of this most ancient poet as useful for philosophy. In fact Philo and Plutarch seem to have been the first thinkers in the Platonic tradition to value Homer,[24] a trend that would continue with Neoplatonism. Middle and Neoplatonists valued Ur-traditions, not only Greek ones, but of various peoples, to be interpreted allegorically in order to discover an original, uncontaminated wisdom in them. Of course, the choice of these ancient traditions was crucial. While writers such as Herodotus and Plato had emphasized the intellectual debt of Greek thinkers to the ancient Egyptian tradition, Plutarch, in a context in which the superiority of the Greek cultural heritage, assumed by the Second Sophistic,

22 Cf. Reydams-Schils 2011.

23 See Ramelli 2011a. Chlup 2012, 30–32 nicely illustrates Neoplatonism's 'turn toward religion' after Plotinus, and remarks that this denotes an 'effort at safeguarding the Hellenic cultural tradition, which had always been closely interrelated with religion' (32). I note this is the same concern shown by Stoic allegorists. On the meaning of ancient religion see Rüpke 2012, 283–300.

24 See Niehoff 2012, who, however, does not take into account Stoic influences on Philo in this respect (criticism of Chrysippus does not rule out Stoic influence; Chrysippus was even criticized by Stoics as well, such as Seneca). But Niehoff is right to classify Ps.-Plutarch's *De vita et poesi Homeri* as Stoic. So also Ramelli 2004a and 2007, sections on Ps.-Plutarch.

was contested by the claims of rival cultures such as Egypt, Judea and India, 'allows for the wisdom of the Egyptians, but always reminds his readers that real wisdom, real philosophy, is the gift of the Greeks'.[25] This is the same attitude as Diogenes Laertius', not long after Plutarch, I would observe: he insists that, although there are traditions of wisdom in other peoples (e.g., Persian Magi, Babylonian Chaldaeans and Celtic Druids: Diog. Laert. 1.1), philosophy is the great invention of the Greeks.[26] Plutarch significantly rewrites travel stories, in which itinerant Greeks become bearers, and not receivers, of wisdom. Likewise in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, the traveling Apollonius of Tyana instructs other cultures, before engaging with Indian Gymnosophists.

The choice of which ancient traditions to interpret allegorically was especially relevant to the debate between 'pagan' and Christian Platonists. Numenius of Apamea seems to have been the only (apparently) non-Christian and non-Jew who allegorized episodes from the Bible. This operation is momentous, in that it presupposed that philosophical truths were embedded in Scripture and Scripture was authoritative, as I will point out. Here the issue of valuing antiquity surfaces again, in that the defenders of the presence of authentic philosophical truths in the Bible (both in Hellenistic Judaism and among Christian apologists) also felt the need to claim that Moses, as the author of the Torah, was anterior to Plato and actually inspired him. On this assumption, Greek philosophy itself derived from the more ancient and authentic Hebrew philosophy. On the other hand, 'pagan' Platonists such as Celsus, Porphyry and later thinkers, at least in anti-Christian works, denied that Scripture contains a philosophical kernel. It is clear that the core question was: which ancient traditions are to be deemed authoritative? Greek myths? 'Barbarian' myths of various traditions (Phoenician, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Indian, etc.)? The Bible (conceived as 'Hebrew myths')? For allegorizing ancient texts meant to recognize them as endowed with a nugget of philosophical truth and wisdom which came from the most remote times and needed to be detected and decoded through allegoresis.

Indeed, the same attitude toward 'the ancients' as knowers of truths expressed symbolically, as found in the Stoic Cornutus, also underlies the Neoplatonist Porphyry's exegesis of Homer's cave of the Nymphs: 'It is very properly (δὴ ἐπιεικῶς) that *the ancients* consecrated caves and grottoes to the cosmos, taking it as a whole and in its parts, presenting the earth as a symbol (σύμβολον) of matter, from which the cosmos derives … [B]y means of caves they

25 Richter 2011, 198, and the whole of ch. 5 entitled 'The Origins of Human Wisdom'.

26 See my introductory essay to Reale and Ramelli 2005.

represented the cosmos, which derives from matter' (*De antr. nymph.* 5). No wonder that Porphyry called Homer a 'theologian' (θεολόγος, *De ant. nymph.* 32.25). Homer is for Porphyry, as for the Stoic allegorists, a source of philosophical truth, and that truth is for him the same as Plato's (for the Stoics, it was the same as the Stoic truth). For, as Porphyry explains at the end of *De antro nympharum*, Homer's intelligence and perfection in every virtue allowed him to 'express allegorically, in the fiction of a despicable myth, images of more divine truths' (ἐν μυθαρίου πλάσματι εἰκόνας τῶν θειωτέρων ᾐνίσσετο, 36.10–12). This is why in his *Homeric Questions* Porphyry—albeit without recourse to allegory here[27]—aimed at demonstrating that Homer never errs.[28] His attitude is the same as Origen's or other Christian exegetes' before the Bible. It is the same attitude of valuing one's own ancient authoritative text—often accompanied by the denial of any authoritative status to other ancient texts felt as threatening. So Porphyry and other 'pagan' Platonists, at least in their anti-Christian writings, denied any authoritative status to the Bible, while Christians denied any authoritative status to 'pagan' myths.

Both Proclus and his teacher Syrianus are ascribed by the *Suda* (s.vv. Πρόκλος and Συριανός) a lost work *On the Agreement between Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato and the Chaldaean Oracles*.[29] This work reflects well the ideal of the School of Athens, which contemplated the construction of a scientific theology embracing all traditional divinities read in the light of Plato's philosophy—of course by means of allegoresis, whose structural role is the same as in Stoic theology. From Proclus' and Syrianus' viewpoint, truth is one—Plato's truth—but first it was expressed symbolically by Homer and Hesiod, then in images by the Pythagoreans, then dialectically by Plato, and finally in a theosophic form by the *Chaldaean Oracles* (Procl. *Theol. Plat.* 1.4, p. 20 Saffrey-Westerink).[30] Proclus remarks: 'All of Greek theology is the child of Orphic mystagogy: Pythagoras was the first who received initiation from Aglaophamos, and Plato in turn received from the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines perfect knowledge concerning the gods' (*Theol. Plat.* 1.5, pp. 25–26 S.-W.). Sara Rappe, noting that the same direct line of transmission from Orpheus to Pythagoras to Plato was already drawn by Iamblichus, who inspired Proclus, comments that 'The theory behind Proclus'

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27 Unlike *De antro nympharum* and *De Styge*, Porphyry's *Homeric Questions* is a philological enterprise that makes use of etymology and the application of the principle of 'clarifying Homer with Homer'. See MacPhail 2011, based on a new manuscript collation.

28 Johnson 2013 shows how Porphyry critically engaged with the processes of Hellenism in Late Antiquity.

29 The attribution to the sole Syrianus was supported by Praechter 1926.

30 See Saffrey 1992.

synthesis of various philosophical dialects into a single theological language is the unity of primordial tradition', a concern that seems to me at work already in Stoic allegorists; Rappe continues: 'By reading Plato in Pythagorean terms and Pythagoras in Platonic terms, by insisting upon the equivalence of *muthos* and *logos*, by substituting mythic names for metaphysical terms, and by authorizing his interpretations through reference to the *Chaldaean Oracles*, Proclus creates a totalizing speech that sweeps up the entire history of philosophy'.[31] In his *Commentary on the Republic*, at the beginning of the sixth essay,[32] Proclus prepares his project of reconciling Plato with Homer through an account of archaic myth as containing philosophical truths, to be interpreted allegorically.[33] This endeavor, like that of the Stoic allegorists, probably also aimed at preserving the cultural and literary heritage of a 'classic' for future generations.

7 Origen the Middle-Neoplatonist and the Stoic Allegorical Tradition

So-called Middle Platonism, as well as Neoplatonism, absorbed several aspects of Stoic thought, some of them prominent. One of these was the use and status of allegoresis as part and parcel of philosophy. This emerges with evidence in both 'pagan' and Christian Middle-Neoplatonism.[34] It is for this reason that, from the Christian side, a Middle-Neoplatonist such as Origen significantly placed his theorization of Biblical allegoresis not in any exegetical work, but in his *philosophical* masterpiece, *On First Principles* (Περὶ ἀρχῶν). For he, like the Stoics, deemed allegory a constitutive part of *philosophy*. Likewise, the goal of Origen's allegoresis is structurally parallel to that of Stoic allegoresis. I have argued that the Stoics availed themselves of the allegoresis of myth not merely to buttress and defend their own philosophical system, but especially with the intention to value antiquity, that is, ancient mythical and ritual traditions, by integrating them into a great, unitary philosophical system revolving around the *Logos*. Similarly, it is not simply the case that Origen used Scripture in order

31 Rappe 2000, 167–196; quotation from 169.

32 On which see Sheppard 1980 and Lamberton 2012. On Proclus' allegoresis of Homer see also Lamberton 1986.

33 On Proclus' reconciliation of Homer with Plato see Chlup 2012, 185–200. On Plato's criticism of Homer in his *Republic* see, e.g., Mitscherling 2009, who hypothesizes that 'Plato's criticism of poetry was indeed, at least to some extent, intended as a parody of sophistic literary criticism' (253). For Plato's evaluation of poetry, esp. tragedy, in his later *Laws* (where Plato maintains that he himself is the true poet) see Delgado 2011, 89–115.

34 See Ramelli 2009 and 2011b.

to defend his own metaphysical system; rather, he put metaphysics, and the whole of philosophy, in the service of Scripture, which, in his view, was the privileged repository of truth. His aim was to supply Scripture with a philosophical foundation, so as to defend (against its detractors) and value to the utmost degree the ancient tradition of the Hebrews joined with the message of Christ, making it the core of a unitary philosophical system centered in the *Logos* just as the Stoic system was. To Origen's mind, the *Logos* is Christ-*Logos*.

Origen was in fact conversant with the works of early imperial Stoic allegorists, such as Cornutus and Chaeremon the Egyptian (Porphyry, *Contra Christianos* frg. 39 Harnack):

> [Some people] pretend, boastfully, that the things Moses said so clearly are enigmas, and proclaim that they are oracles full of recondite mysteries. … This method, so odd as it is, derives from a man whom I also met when I was still quite young, who gained great renown and is still well known thanks to the writings he left: Origen. … His life was that of a Christian and contravened the laws, but in his view of the existing realities and of God his thoughts were those of a Greek, and he *turned Greek ideas into a substratum of alien myths*. He was always close to Plato, and acquainted with the writings of Numenius, Cronius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, Nicomachus and the most distinguished of the Pythagoreans; he *availed himself of the books of the Stoics Chaeremon and Cornutus, from which he learned the allegorical method of Greek mysteries*, which he applied, then, to Jewish Scriptures.
>
> Αἰνίγματα γὰρ τὰ φανερῶς παρὰ Μωυσεῖ λεγόμενα εἶναι κομπάσαντες καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ὡς θεσπίσματα πλήρη κρυφίων μυστηρίων. … ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ κἀγὼ κομιδῇ νέος ὢν ἔτι ἐντετύχηκα, σφόδρα εὐδοκιμήσαντος καὶ ἔτι δι᾽ ὧν καταλέλοιπε συγγραμμάτων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, Ὠριγένους. … κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον Χριστιανῶς ζῶν καὶ παρανόμως, κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ θείου δόξας ἑλληνίζων τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς ὀθνείοις ὑποβαλλόμενος μύθοις. συνῆν τε γὰρ ἀεὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι, τοῖς τε Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου Ἀπολλοφάνους τε καὶ Λογγίνου καὶ Μοδεράτου Νικομάχου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Πυθαγορείοις ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν ὡμίλει συγγράμμασι, ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ Κορνούτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις, παρ᾽ ὧν τὸν μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν μυστηρίων γνοὺς τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσῆψεν γραφαῖς.

The source, the 'pagan' Neoplatonist Porphyry, is hostile, not to Origen *tout court*, whom he admires as a philosopher, but to his adherence to Christianity and his application of allegoresis to a disqualifying book such as the Bible

(in *De antro nympharum* 4, outside an immediate anti-Christian context, Porphyry quotes Numenius' interpretation of Gen. 1:1 approvingly, but without saying that it is *biblical* allegoresis and vaguely mentioning 'a prophet' instead of Moses). Porphyry holds Origen responsible for the transfer of the allegorical method from 'pagan' myths—its traditional object—to the Bible. He does not take into account, or even mention, Philo or other Jewish allegorical exegetes, let alone Clement or 'Gnostics', who preceded Origen in the application of allegoresis to Scripture. This striking omission, be it intentional—as I deem likely—or not, is already found in Celsus (*ap.* Orig. *C. Cels.* 4.51). In his own works Origen also shows some reminiscences of allegorical interpretations of myths that are found in Cornutus and the Stoic allegorical tradition, and of Stoic etymological interpretations.[35] In *Contra Celsum* 1.24 Origen even mentions the Stoic etymological principles based on the Stoic notion of language 'by nature'. Origen also displays allegorical interpretations of Greek mythical figures that remind readers of those of the Stoic tradition.

8 Origen's Predecessors in Allegoresis within the Platonic Tradition and His Reaction against Exclusive Allegorism

Besides the Stoic allegorists Cornutus and Chaeremon, Origen was also familiar with Middle Platonic and Neopythagorean allegorists, such as Numenius and Philo. The latter allegorized the Septuagint in the light of Platonism, and his cosmological and allegorical exegesis was brought into Christian culture by Clement of Alexandria.[36] Numenius does not seem to have been a Jew or a Christian; nevertheless, he interpreted allegorically, not only the Septuagint, but also some books of what later became the New Testament.[37] Origen particularly esteemed Numenius, whom he quotes four times in *Contra Celsum*, 1.5 (frg. 1b des Places); 4.51 (frg. 10a); 5.38 (frg. 53); 5.57 (frg. 29). He attests that Numenius, 'in his desire for learning, wanted to examine our scriptures, too, and was interested in them *as susceptible of allegorical interpretation*, and not full of odd ideas' (*C. Cels.* 4.51). This point was paramount in Origen's debate with 'pagan' Middle and Neoplatonists who claimed that the application of allegoresis to the Jewish-Christian scriptures was illegitimate, since no philosoph-

35 In *Princ.* 2.8.2–3, for example, the noun ψυχή, 'soul', is said to derive from ψῦχος, ψῦξις, 'cold, cooling down', in accord with an old Stoic etymology (*SVF* 2.222–223).

36 See Ramelli 2008 and, on Philo as a declared model for Origen and the significance of this, 2012. On Origen's exegesis of Genesis and his scientific knowledge see also Dorival 2011.

37 According to Edwards 1990, however, Numenius' knowledge of Scripture was not too deep.

ical truth whatsoever could be expected to hide there. Again, it is Origen who informs that Numenius, the Pythagorean, a man who expounded Plato better than Celsus did, and studied the Pythagorean doctrines in depth, in many passages of his works quotes Moses' and the prophets' writings, and offers very likely allegorical interpretations of them, for example in his *Hoopoe*, *On Numbers*, and *On Place*. In book 3 of *On the Good* he also cites a story concerning Jesus, without mentioning his name, and interprets it allegorically.

Numenius inspired Origen at the exegetical and theological level. His allegoresis of Scripture parallels his exegesis of Plato. Due to his allegorical interpretation of Scripture, Origen esteemed Numenius much more than Celsus, who, like Porphyry, admitted of no allegorical interpretation of Scripture: 'He [*sc.* Numenius] also cites Moses', Jannes' and Jambres' story, and, even though we are not at all exalted in it, nevertheless we appreciate Numenius more than Celsus and the other Greeks' (Orig. *C. Cels.* 4.51). The continuation of this passage includes Numenius' famous saying: 'What else is Plato, if not an Atticizing Moses?' (Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 11.10.14 = frg. 8 des Places). Numenius, as well as Clement, probably influenced Origen's view of the relationship between Platonism and Moses' 'philosophy', as already Philo saw it. In *Comm. Cant. prol.* 3.2–4, Origen, after speaking of the division of philosophy into *ethica*, *physica*, *epoptica* and *logica*, first posits *epoptica* as the crowning of philosophy—thus regarding theology (*epoptica = de divinis et caelestibus*) as part and parcel of philosophy and making it clear that theology cannot be studied without philosophical bases—and then states that Greek philosophers drew inspiration from Solomon's wisdom. Hence the obvious priority of Scripture, but also the unescapable affinity between the Bible's teaching and Plato's.

Besides Philo and Numenius, Origen was acquainted with 'Gnostic' allegorists, particularly Valentinians, such as Heracleon. Origen criticized their allegorical method as Philo had criticized the Hellenistic Jewish allegorists of Scripture who came before him: for both these and the 'Gnostics', in their exclusively allegorical approach, eliminated Scripture's historical level. Notably, this is also precisely the main difference between the Christian and the 'pagan' Platonists' use of allegoresis. Christian Platonists, such as Origen and later Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa, maintained the historical level of Scripture, whereas 'pagan' Platonists claimed that the stories of myths never happened in reality, historically, but are only allegories. In this way they kept to the allegorical sense, discarding the historical. Origen clearly exalted Philo by referring to those Jews who interpreted the Law not only literally, but also—and yet *not exclusively*—allegorically (*C. Cels.* 7.20). For Philo retained the literal, historical level of Scripture, along with its spiritual meanings. He refused to regard scriptures as fictional, merely made out of myths. Both Philo and Origen, indeed,

deemed Scripture a historical record in the first instance. But Neoplatonic exegetes of myths did exactly the opposite. For example, Secundus Salustius, who was deeply influenced by Iamblichus, in *On the Deities and the World* (Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου) 4.9, declared squarely that the facts narrated in myths are only apparently facts: these never happened at all, but are mere symbols of eternal truths.

From Origen's perspective, the *defectus litterae* does occur in a few cases in Scripture; thus, some passages are actually deprived of a literal meaning and have only 'bare spiritual meanings'. But these cases are rare and their function is to provide readers with hints to more sublime and spiritual senses. In all other cases, according to Origen, the literal level must be kept together with the spiritual. Scripture's literal accounts almost always recount historical events that really happened, and not mere allegories of eternal truths. In this respect, Origen's allegoresis of the Bible, which retained the historical level, like Philo's and Clement's, differed from both Stoic and Middle-Neoplatonic allegoresis. In this connection it is meaningful that Origen used ἀλληγορία and related words sparingly, probably because they were felt as compromised with 'pagan' allegorical tradition. However, Origen's allegoresis seems to share something more with Platonic than with Stoic allegoresis: for example, the division between an immanent and a transcendent level—the opposite of Stoic immanentism—and the need for unity and coherence in allegoresis.

9 The Comparative Method: Which Ancient Traditions are Authoritative and Allegorizable? Conclusions

Middle Platonic allegorical exegesis, though, was influenced by Stoic allegoresis in several respects. One of these is particularly relevant to the present investigation. The Imperial Stoic Cornutus indicated a comparative method to find the philosophical truth hidden in myths and rituals, and Middle-Neoplatonists such as Plutarch, Numenius and Porphyry seem to have taken it over. This method essentially consisted in a comparison between two or more peoples' mythological and ritual traditions.[38] This interest in different peoples' religious traditions also appears in the Imperial Stoic Chaeremon, who interpreted Egyptian mythology allegorically and was concerned with the symbolic value of hieroglyphics. His work attracted the attention of Clement of Alexandria.[39]

38 Boys-Stones 2003, 189–216 and Ramelli 2004a, ch. 9.

39 Ramelli 2004a, ch. 7.1; 2007, ch. 9 with the relevant texts and commentaries.

Around the time of Clement, Diogenes Laertius, as I have mentioned, seems to have been involved in the debate over the authority and value of various peoples' traditions, as well as Tatian and several 'pagan' Imperial Platonists.[40]

It is crucial to remark in this connection that a conflict arose between Christian and 'pagan' Platonic allegorists—such as Origen on the one side and Celsus and Porphyry on the other[41]—concerning which peoples' traditions to consider authoritative. 'Pagan' Middle-Neoplatonists such as Celsus, Porphyry and Julian—but not Numenius, who is a remarkable exception and was also a Neopythagorean—rejected the authority of the Hebrew Scriptural tradition (especially because it had meanwhile become the tradition of the Christians too). Therefore they denied that it had any philosophical import or concealed profound philosophical truths that allegoresis was able to reveal. This principle, on the contrary, was supported by Christian allegorists such as Clement and Origen, and had already been supported by Philo and his predecessors in Hellenistic Judaism. 'Pagan' Platonic allegorists, for their part, rejected this claim altogether. The Middle Platonist Celsus, for example, thought 'that in the Law and the prophets there is no deeper doctrine beyond the literal sense of the words' (*ap.* Orig. *C. Cels.* 7.18). This is why he remarked (*ap.* Orig. *C. Cels.* 4.50–51):

> The more reasonable among Jews and Christians try to allegorize these [*sc.* biblical] stories somehow; yet, they are *not susceptible of any allegorical interpretation*, but, on the contrary, are *bare myths, and of the most stupid kind*. … However, the allegories that appear to be written on these myths are *far more shameful and unlikely* than the myths themselves.
>
> οἱ ἐπιεικέστεροι Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν πειρῶνταί πως ἀλληγορεῖν αὐτά· ἔστι δ' οὐχ οἷα ἀλληγορίαν ἐπιδέχεσθαί τινα, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς εὐηθέστατα μεμυθολόγηται. … αἱ γοῦν δοκοῦσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀλληγορίαι γεγράφθαι πολὺ τῶν μύθων αἰσχίους εἰσὶ καὶ ἀτοπώτεραι.

Origen in his refutation was of course quick to turn these charges upside down and direct them against traditional 'pagan' mythology. This was old apologetic lore that received new strength in the light of the issue of the valuing of antique traditions by means of allegoresis.

40 See Ramelli 2004b and c.

41 On Celsus, Porphyry and Julian against Christianity and the centrality of Biblical interpretation to their criticism, see Schröder 2011, esp. chs. 3–4.

The broader question at stake manifestly was which among the ancient traditions—Greek and Barbarian, such as Egyptian, Persian, Hebrew, and so on—were to be regarded as authoritative and capable of transmitting philosophical truths under the veil of symbolism and cryptical expressions. For allegorizing ancient texts meant to recognize them as endowed with a nugget of philosophical truth and wisdom which came from the most remote times and needed to be detected and decoded through allegorical interpretation. Against this backdrop it emerges with evidence that allegoresis was in antiquity, and continued to be in Late Antiquity, an extremely powerful means—although not the only one—of valuing antiquity. It should remain so for many further centuries.

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The ‘classical tradition’ is no invention of modernity. Already in ancient Greece and Rome, the privileging of the ancient played a role in social and cultural discourses of every period. A collaboration between scholars in diverse areas of classical studies, this volume addresses literary and material evidence for ancient notions of valuing (or disvaluing) the deep past from approximately the fifth century BCE until the second century CE. It examines how specific communities used notions of antiquity to define themselves or others, which models from the past proved most desirable, what literary or exegetic modes they employed, and how temporal systems for ascribing value intersected with the organization of space, the production of narrative, or the application of aesthetic criteria.

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